

“IDEOLOGIA”

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Editoriale

p. 9 Laura Turano & Emanuele Martinelli, *Ideologia e Soggettività*

Monografica (I)

p. 21 Roberto Finelli, *Fortuna e sfortuna dell'ideologia: una breve storia (parte prima)*

Abstract: The concept of “ideology” has acquired a complex multiplicity of meanings in the history of modern thought. They range from a positive interpretation of the concept to a profoundly negative interpretation. The first part of this essay illustrates the birth of the term during the late Enlightenment to clarify the three different definitions of ideology present in Marx’s work. In fact, in Marx’s thought ideology moves from a superstructural position to a position in the structure, according to what is treated the theme of fetishism in *Capital*. Particular emphasis is given to the originality of the conception of ideology in Antonio Gramsci’s *Prison Notebooks*, who profoundly innovates with respect to the Marxist tradition, reaching an enhancement of ideology as an indispensable function for the conquest of hegemony and the transition to a new historical-social formation. But in the essay there are also some very critical reflections on the limits of the conception of L. Althusser with his theory of the “Ideological State Apparatuses”.

Keywords: Enlightenment; Marx; Hegel; Gramsci; Ideology; Fetishism.

p. 49 Fabio A. Sulpizio, *L'ideologia francese. Cabanis e Destutt de Tracy oltre Gramsci*

Abstract: The *Prison Notebooks* of Antonio Gramsci are today acknowledged as a classic of Twentieth-century social theory, Philosophy and theory of Ideology. This essay proposes to make a contribution to the reflexion upon the French Ideology, namely the philosophy of

Destutt de Tracy and Cabanis; Gramsci's interpretation of *Idéologues* is the first step towards a new theory of Revolution in opposition to French Revolution.

Keyword: Ideology; Destutt de Tracy; Cabanis; French Revolution; French materialism.

Monografica (II)

p. 67 Marco Gatto, *L'esposizione come ideologia del contemporaneo. Riflessioni a partire da Gramsci*

Abstract: The article explores the concept of "exposition" to underline the ideological structure of contemporary capitalism, conceived as a processual totality. The aim is to demonstrate the paradoxical condition of ideology's criticism under late capitalism, with the proposal of reconsidering totality as the only one way to understand advanced postmodernity. Starting from Gramsci, the article moreover offers a reflection on the fate of dialectical thought in a world completely dominated by a theoretical immanence without depth.

Keywords: Postmodernism; Criticism; Totality; Gramsci; Ideology.

p. 97 Alessio Frau, *L'ideologia fra religione e mito. Per un itinerario storico-concettuale nei Quaderni del carcere di Antonio Gramsci*

Abstract: The essay tries to find a path in the *Prison Notebooks* of Antonio Gramsci in order to highlight the meaning of the concept of ideology in contrast with the concept of religion set up by Benedetto Croce and, at the end, of the concept of myth set up by Georges Sorel. Specifically, following the most up-to-date philological research, the paper analyses diachronically the gramscian notes together with the epistolary exchange between Gramsci, his sister-in-law Tatiana Schucht and his friend and comrade Piero Sraffa, written during the period between April 1932 and the end of the summer of the same year, in order to evaluate the role of politics in defining ideology. The mix of diachronic analyses, the attention to religion and myth and finally the role of politics helps us to find a way among others to understand the gramscian concept of ideology.

Keywords: Ideology; Myth; Religion; Politics; Diachronic Approach.

p. 123 Camilla Sclocco, *Antonio Gramsci e le scienze sperimentali*

Abstract: This article reconstructs the conception of experimental sciences elaborated by Gramsci in his *Prison Notebooks*, by means of the diachronic and historicist criteria laid out by the new season of Gramscian studies opened by the activities of the National Edition of Gramsci's works. The first paragraph investigates the historical and cultural reasons involved in the little attention for Gramsci's reflections on sciences and traces some passages referring to the history of Italian intellectuals between the second postwar period and the 1960s. It is found that the first interpretations in the 1950s suffered from the conditionality of the Cold War and that in the 1960s the theme was neglected concurrently with the decline of Crocean and Gramscian historicism. The second paragraph reconstructs the critique of positivism in the writings of 1915-1918, in order to understand the nature of critique toward the positivistic conception of science in *Prison Notebooks*. Availing of the most recent critical studies, it is found that the youth critique of positivism is strongly influenced by the neoidealistic critique of material transcendence and by the philosophy of Benedetto Croce. The remaining paragraphs reconstruct the prison reflections on sciences and point out that Gramsci's polemical objective is not only Bucharin's sociological Marxism, but also the materialistic epistemology supported by Lenin in *Materialism and Empiriocriticism*, that marked the philosophical tendency of the Third International. The article provides new items regarding Gramscian confrontation with *Materialism and Empiriocriticism* and sheds light on the different way in which the revolutionary Amadeo Bordiga interpreted Lenin's book.

Keywords: Sciences; Epistemology; Marxism; Philosophy of Praxis; Idealism.

Monografica (III)

p. 163 Matthew Lampert, *Ideology Without Dupes: Althusser's Materialist Theory of Ideology*

Abstract: I begin this essay by explaining several problems with ideology critique. First, it has a tendency to conflict with or undercut the goals of critical theory (Robin Celikates calls these "political-strategic" problems). Second, the theory of ideology rests on problematic ontological commitments and empirical assumptions. These charges, I argue, offer compelling reasons to reject ideology critique as a component of any emancipatory critical theory. And yet, there continues to be a distinct *need* for something like ideology critique within any critical social theory; we recognize many instances in which the oppressed seem to work "all by themselves" (i.e., without the direct oversight of an armed slave master) in

support of (or at least in harmony with) the status quo. Critical theory seems faced with an impossible choice, then: Either take up an elitist, empirically suspect theory of ideology, or forego an essential critical tool. In the second part of my essay, I diagnose the root of this dilemma: Critical theory in its various radical forms has attempted to supplement a *materialist* critique of society with an *idealist* account of social reproduction (the theory of ideology). In order to overcome the contradiction at the heart of (would-be) egalitarian critical social theory, I suggest, we need to move past the idealist account of ideology. This essay argues that, in his work from the mid-1970s on, Althusser sketches out the foundations of just such a materialist theory of ideology. By filling in (and building upon) the foundations left by Althusser, I argue, we can rehabilitate ideology critique as a part of a more radically egalitarian critical theory.

Keywords: Ideology; Louis Althusser; Ideological State Apparatuses; Critical Theory; Materialism.

p. 185 Luca Pinzolo, *La fabbrica dell'intellegibilità e il passaggio per l'immaginario*.
Una notation merleau-pontyana in Leggere il Capitale

Abstract: The reading of some passages of *Reading the Capital* by Louis Althusser suggests that Althusser would have recognized in Merleau-Ponty the possibility of *structural causality*, however folded into a – certainly conscious and intentional – ontology of the imaginary: it is in this imaginary that we mystify but, at the same time, an *adequate* way to think about the relationship between structure-infrastructure-superstructure can be seen. This confrontation with Merleau-Ponty's ontology is perhaps linked to Althusser's late admission that he had built an *imaginary Marxism*. This phrase, rather than a weakness of the Althusserian argument, would define a political and methodological option: a progressive and perhaps never completed approach to Marx, in a reading that intentionally remains in the state of *prolegomena* and, at the same time, is carried out in an uninterrupted detour aimed at tracing the problematic in his philosophical surroundings (as will happen in the case of Spinoza, Machiavelli, Lucretius and Epicurus). The construction of the *object of Capital* would require a passage into the imagination, as if it were necessary to pass from there and almost pause a bit in order to build, starting from it, the nucleus of a philosophy for Marxism. In the latter case, the detour in the imagination and, of course, its demystification is presented as a renewed version of the critique of the ideology and as a repetition or relaunch, by Althusser, of the same Marxian gesture.

Keywords: Althusser; Marx; Merleau-Ponty; Ideology; Structure.

p. 209 Markus Gante & Felix Schneider, *Ideology and Immanent Critique. On Mannheim, Althusser, and Adorno*

Abstract: The aim of this paper is to distinguish between two approaches to the notion of ideology. (i) Firstly, the all-encompassing notion of ideology, which stems from a view of society as total and without exterior. The two positions we subsume under this header, regardless of their substantial differences, are the sociology of knowledge as put forward by Mannheim and the Spinozist Marxism of Althusser. We argue that both positions ultimately fail to adequately address the problems of relativism and justified social critique. (ii) In the second part of our paper, we claim that Adorno offers a convincing alternative to the all-encompassing notion of ideology, stressing the fragility and openness of both society and ideology. Adorno's critical approach is twofold, emphasizing two aspects of ideology and, concomitantly, as we demonstrate throughout the paper, immanent critique. On the one hand, Adorno points to the promise inherent to ideological notions. It is in the rupture between a postulated ideal and its insufficient realization that immanent critique – as conventionally conceived of – takes hold. On the other hand, Adorno presents us with the possibility of supplementing this conventional form of immanent critique with a second aspect, as ideology increasingly forfeits its justificatory function and retreats to the mere assertion that the fundamental structures of society cannot be changed. Ultimately, we claim that this second aspect can be conceived of as critique of social naturalization, which poses a necessary addition to the conventional concept of immanent critique.

Keywords: Althusser; Adorno; Ideology; Immanent Critique; Social Naturalization.

Monografica (IV)

p. 235 Sébastien Roman, “*Le degré d’élucidation d’un concept ne peut jamais atteindre à l’absolu*”. *Plasticité et fécondité du concept d’idéologie chez Karl Mannheim*

Abstract: *Ideology and Utopia* is difficult to read, due to Mannheim's writing. Not only Mannheim expresses sometimes in an abstruse manner, but also assumes in this book the experimental nature of his thought. Indeed, the sociology of knowledge is still in its infancy. *Ideology and Utopia* is voluntarily a heterogeneous book, divided into chapters which are

like sketches. They are essays, only essays, which are not logically linked. The concept of “Ideology” is the proof of its voluntary heterogeneity. Mannheim provides several successive definitions of it. There are shifts in meaning, and Mannheim emphasizes unity of each essay rather than the unity of the book. The paper’s aim is to understand the reasons behind this approach, in order to highlight its significance and relevance. It is hard to understand Mannheim, but his multi-local approaches give to the concept of ideology a very interesting polysemy. The concepts of Ideology and Utopia form the core of Mannheim’s thought. They are political concepts, which are only distinguished in terms of axiological aspect.

Keywords: Mannheim; Ideology; Utopia; Reality; Sociology of Knowledge.

p. 255 Jacques-Louis Lantoiné, Bourdieu: la science des idéologies

Abstract: Despite the diffidence Pierre Bourdieu increasingly showed towards the Marxist concept of ideology, his attempt to produce a scientific explanation of ideological discourses by means of the sociological concept of field as well as his anthropology of dispositions appears as a reworking of the notion as it is found in Marx, Engels, and even Althusser’s works. Ideologies cannot be understood as mechanical effects directly caused by an infrastructure, nor as a false consciousness. Other concepts that Bourdieu proposed as substitutes, such as “symbolic violence”, “symbolic power” or “sociodicy”, may highlight aspects of ideologies and explain their efficiency. The reference to the *habitus* as a system of schemes of perception and appreciation as well as the consideration of the specific laws of the fields of ideological production, complicate the relation between social positions and stances. The concept of *habitus* as incorporated dispositions also makes us understand the inclination humans have to naturalize and universalize their interest, and the notion of field emphasizes the struggles that animate the production of ideologies. Nevertheless, none of this represents the opposite of ideology as Marx and Engels formulated it, but renders it more complex. As a sociology that focuses its attention towards cultural and symbolical domination, the work of Bourdieu may appear as a science of ideologies. It serves as a crucial contribution to the philosophical knowledge of the concept that aims to take into account the sociological and anthropological conditions that govern the production of discourses, philosophy included.

Keywords: Bourdieu; Marxism; Ideology; Science; Field.

p. 285 Corrado Piroddi, *Can critical theory work without the concept of ‘ideology’? A Bourdieusian alternative perspective*

Abstract: Analyzing Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of field and habitus, as well as his theory of social reproduction, the paper aims at showing how Pierre Bourdieu's perspective constitutes a valid theoretical candidate for developing a conception of domination that aims at going beyond the ideas of ideology and false consciousness. In this respect, the paper highlights how a focus on objective and subjective structural factors can contribute to explaining the stabilization and reproduction of unfair social orders without postulating a weakening of social actors' critical skills.

Keywords: Pierre Bourdieu; Habitus; Integrative Struggle; Social Field; Recognition.

p. 311 Giorgio Borrelli & Ferruccio Rossi-Landi, *Per una semiotica dell'ideologia*

Abstract: *Ideology* is undoubtedly one of the main themes of Ferruccio Rossi-Landi's (1921-1985) research. Starting from different interpretative approaches, Rossi-Landi developed a semiotic analysis of this Marxian concept. In this paper I will illustrate the fundamental characteristics of Rossi-Landi's theory. First of all, I will consider one of his most pioneering hypothesis: Rossi-Landi proposes an innovative interpretation of the relationships between *structure* and *superstructure*, considering *sign-systems* as the *mediating element* in the relations between the two levels. Then, I will explain why Rossi-Landi consider ideology as a *social design*. More specifically, I will analyse why – from a Gramscian perspective – the struggle for *hegemony* can be understood as a conflict between opposing institutions and social designs. Furthermore, I will investigate Rossi-Landi's theory of alienation. Starting from this analysis, I will focus on one of the most suggestive theses of Rossi-Landi's semiotics: ideology can be considered a discursive rationalisation of "false consciousness". I will conclude by proposing a comparison with other lines of research.

Keywords: Alienation; Ideology; Semiotic; Sign-System; Structure-Superstructure.

Monografica (V)

p. 335 Matteo Pirazzoli & Lorenzo Lodi, *Linguaggio, ideologia e (ri)produzione: da Gramsci e Rossi-Landi alla 'Fabbrica 4.0'*

Abstract: The fundamental connection which Gramsci identifies among social praxis, language and consciousness has a common thread with the analysis of social reproduction, sign systems and ideology by Rossi-Landi. The thought of these authors is explored here, highlighting its roots in the Marxist tradition and its relations to Lukàcs' understanding of

the ‘ontology of social being’. Then, aiming to illustrate the fruitfulness and actuality of such theoretical framework, the reflections of Gramsci and Rossi-Landi are integrated with the Marxian analysis of the labour process – as updated by Braverman – and more recent accounts on ‘Toyotism’, ‘Industry 4.0’ and ‘Digital Economy’. Today, in fact, the growing relevance of ‘information’ for capital accumulation mediates the transmission of ideology at the point of production and deepens the linguistic-ideological control of the labor-force, both in the workplace and society.

Keywords: Gramsci; Rossi-Landi; Language; Ideology; Industry 4.0.

p. 357 Francesco Aloe & Chiara Stefanoni, *Anatomia della nazione. Dalla formula trinitaria alle forme della produzione di popolazione*

Abstract: Following Althusser and the Neue Marx Lektüre’s approach to Marx’s critique of political economy, this article aims to *reconstruct* the structural *anatomy* of capitalist societies, showing, alongside the forms of use-value production, the necessary emergence of specific social forms of population production process along lines of race, gender and species. The analysis of the Trinity Formula shows how labour and capital appear in this enchanted world as equally necessary so much so that they constitute the anatomy of that “imaginary community” called the nation. Drawing on the Althusserian notion of ideology in its relation with the *Verkehrung* of Trinity Formula, we claim that the nation is a fetishized social form, a way of organizing political unity. From this perspective, the nation is continually shaped by the actions of the state as a welfare state which assures the reproduction of the labour-power mitigating capitalistic destructive tendencies toward it. The welfare state, though, does not exhaust the ways of organizing unity that are held under the nation form: first, following Balibar, we will briefly discuss the function of imaginary ethnos. Then, confronting Foucauldian population’s *dispositif* analysis, we will overcome a boundary and a lacuna of Marxian perspective developing a non-reductionist multi-level logic of social materiality able not to fall into the material/cultural dichotomy. Thus, we will demonstrate and fully analyze the emergence of generativity and anthropological social forms and their indispensable role in the process of the production of all the social figures necessary for the reproduction of capitalist social complexes.

Keywords: Marx; Foucault; Population; Social Forms; Nation.

p. 383 Thomas J. Spiegel, *Is Naturalism an Ideology?*

Abstract: This paper argues that naturalism has a special logical status that differentiates it from other philosophical perspectives. Such a peculiar status can be grasped particularly by the expressions of the “worldview” and “ideology”. Indeed, naturalism is not just a purely philosophical thesis, but rather a current of thought that is interwoven in cultural and social processes in an unusual manner for a philosophical debate. The article proceeds as follows. Part 1 reconstructs the concept of naturalism as scientific naturalism, which can be shared both by proponents and opponents of naturalism. Part 2 explains the concept of ideology with the help of research in recent Critical theory. Thereby, three characteristics of ideologies emerge: (i) ideologies are products of social practice and are reproduced socially, (ii) ideologies have practical effects and (iii) ideologies feature a so-called dual deception. Part 3 argues that the concept of naturalism essentially satisfies these three characteristics.

Keywords: Naturalism; Scientism; Quietism; Critical theory; Ideology.

p. 403 Giulia Bergamaschi, *Il luogo neutrale: critica di un’ideologia della conoscenza*

Abstract: This essay aims to portray and criticize the ideologic background that encompasses some current ways of thinking and, specifically, debating, that we can see spread among the public discourse. These modalities refer to the concept of *neutrality*. We want to represent a particular way of describing, thinking, and justifying the knowledge through a broad conception of neutrality: neutrality of the source – which can be a person or pieces of evidence; neutrality of the intentions – knowledge does not take sides, thus the supposed neutrality of the knowledge itself. The ideological form that emerges from this concept is rooted in the epistemological and gnoseological domains and impacts the individual, social and political ones, causing repercussions on the dialogical practices of the public discourse. In this issue, we argue that the political and social use of the concept stripped it of its practical and processual fundamental purpose, bringing it to an ahistorical place in which what is true or just are determined. Consequently, the complexity and situated nature of knowledge became oblivious, allowing a form of domination of the discourse that enables maintaining the biases of common sense and preserving old authoritarian ways of thinking and spreading knowledge.

Keywords: Epistemic authority; Ideology; Neutrality; Knowledge; Public Discourse.

p. 425 Jeremy Spencer, *Art between Knowledge and Ideology: The place of ideology in Materialist Histories and Theories of Art*

Abstract: This essay deals with the art and ideology relation theoretically and historically. It considers how the relation was conceived in the work of Marxist scholars of art and culture and in Althusserian Marxism. The focus is the theorisation of this relation and this relation as the foundation for a political aesthetics and a critique of discipline of art history. This paper addresses the specificity of the art history that emerged from this relation as a methodological approach and the claim that its foregrounding enables us to see artworks differently and “better”. It is suggested that as a foundation for a political aesthetics the art/ideology relation operates akin to strategies of Brechtian practice and theory.

Keywords: Louis Althusser; Pierre Macherey; T. J. Clark; Ideology; Politics of Aesthetics; Method.

Varia

p. 451 Odile Tourneux, *Historical examples in Hobbes’s political science*

Abstract: Hobbes never has a rest to criticize speech that is full of imagery, and to blame the resort to metaphorical discourse. Words have to be unambiguous in order to reach real scientific knowledge. The project of the *Elements of Philosophy* relies on clear language. Nevertheless, the reader discovers many examples in the *Elements*, in *On the Citizen* and in both *Leviathans*. Hobbes finds in historical literature especially many stories he adds to his argumentation. If those examples simply illustrate his analysis, this rhetorical process runs the risk of disturbing the reader’s attention. Because they suggest images, the examples could affect the strictly rational thought. From then on, how can we understand this use of historical examples in Hobbes’s political science? I would like to show here that, far from disturbing the reader’s attention, historical examples play a decisive role in the construction of a new demonstrative science. One can see history, and especially ancient history as a source of examples that allows everyone to obtain scientific knowledge by themselves. The problem of examples in the Hobbesian corpus invites us to think more generally about how we learn, and what History is.

Keywords: Hobbes; Examples; History; Actors; Political Science.

p. 469 Emanuele Martinelli (a cura di), *Intervista a Franco Ferrarotti su “Ideologia, Sociologia e Paesaggi Piemontesi”*

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