

Building Consent: Hegemony, ‘Conceptions of the World’ and the Role of Evangelicals in Global Politics

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Since Robert Cox’s early interventions in the 1980s, the work of Gramsci has been openly applied to the arena of international politics, often superimposed on to the wider concepts of ‘world order’ and ‘transnational class’ formation. While this has produced a great deal of commendable scholarly work, it has equally produced a growing number of critics who have voiced concerns over the viability and feasibility of applying Gramsci’s key concepts to the realm of the international. Rather than revisiting these charges, we argue that one of the main problems associated with the ‘neo-Gramscian’ interpretations of international relations (IR) is that they have tended to develop an ontology of their own and have not pursued a re-reading of Gramsci’s actual work to explore a fresh opening towards applying Gramsci to the international. We argue that by re-exploring Gramsci’s understanding of ‘conceptions of the world’ and by re-examining Gramsci’s concept of hegemony, a greater scope can be achieved for understanding power relations within global politics. We demonstrate the potential for this by tentatively looking at the role of increasingly popular global evangelical religious groups in the fashioning of hegemonic consent across diverse parts of civil society, arguing that it is such bottom-up studies of societal consent that are required in order for Gramscian theory and research to move beyond their current ontological applications.

Keywords: hegemony; international relations; religion; Gramsci

The influx of ‘neo-Gramscian’ material within the area of international studies, particularly in the disciplines of international relations (IR), has been such that it has almost acquired the status of a paradigm in recent years. While debates continue over the validity of the application of Gramsci (Femia, 2005; Germain and Kenny, 1998), over the manner in which it is applied (Ayers, 2008; W. I. Robinson, 2005; Worth, 2008) and on its compatibility with Marxist rigour (Bieler *et al.*, 2006; Morton, 2006), the ‘neo-Gramscian’ approach is one that has been utilised in order to demonstrate how power and consent are maintained in international politics. Central to this has been the legacy of Robert Cox and his work on ‘world order’ and on the role of hegemony in international politics. From here, Gramsci’s central concept of hegemony is transferred to an international level through a combination of production, ‘transnational social forces’ and the inspiration of leading states (Cox, 1987; 1996). It has been this utilisation of hegemony at an international level that has often raised as many problems as it has potential avenues for development. Rather than building upon the complexities illustrated in readings of hegemony from other academic fields (Morley and Chen, 1996; Mouffe, 1979), or indeed looking at some of the more authentic accounts that have appeared in political theory (Ives, 2005; Thomas, 2010), the general trend has been to understand hegemony as an elaborate extension of the state/class leadership, building upon previous more conservative usages of the term (W. I. Robinson, 2005).

This article aims to look at an area that has often been neglected in such studies and that is the area of religion, in which Gramsci placed significant interest when understanding

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