

Volume 38
issue 2 / 2019

Contracampo e-ISSN 2238-2577
Niterói (RJ), 38 (2)
aug/2019-nov/2019

Contracampo – Brazilian Journal of Communication is a quarterly publication of the Graduate Programme in Communication Studies (PPGCOM) at Fluminense Federal University (UFF). It aims to contribute to critical reflection within the field of Media Studies, being a space for dissemination of research and scientific thought.

THEORY OF RECOGNITION AND DAILY INTERACTIONS: the case of the quilombola fights of Pará

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TO REFERENCE THIS ARTICLE, PLEASE USE THE FOLLOWING CITATION:

Bargas, Janine; Maia, Rousiley. (2019). Theory of Recognition and Daily Interactions – the case of the quilombola fights of Pará. *Contracampo - Brazilian Journal of Communication* Niterói, v. 38, n.2, p. XXX-YYY, aug./nov.

Submitted on: 12/04/2019 / Accepted on: 07/12/2019

DOI – <http://dx.doi.org/10.22409/contracampo.v38i2.28515>

Abstract

This article explores the theory of recognition in order to demonstrate the relevance of this approach to investigate processes of subjectivation and politicization of social groups. By focusing on the case of the Quilombola communities of Pará, the analysis seeks to advance the view that the intersubjectivity aspect emerges as central mechanism to convert individual and collective harms into social struggles. We believe that the links built through daily interactions allow that feelings of injustice become shared among a group of individuals as to foster a common interpretation about the damages suffered. This process is important to overcome otherwise a diffused and dispersed perception of suffering that underlies the social life of the subjects. The articulation of forms of resistance and related agendas are tied to these interpretations.

Keywords

Recognition; Quilombolas; Daily interactions.

Introduction

This article explores the theory of recognition (Honneth, 2003) to demonstrate the relevance of this approach for investigating subjectivation and politicization processes of social groups. We focus our attention on the struggles of traditional populations, in particular the case of the quilombola communities of Pará. This analysis seeks to relate Honneth's recognition theory and historical experiences of disrespect of these groups. The aim is to verify, in a situated way, how the aspect of intersubjectivity emerges as central mechanism for converting individual and collective harms into social struggles.

The case of the so-called remnant quilombo communities, or, according to official terms, “ethnic-racial groups, according to self-attribution criteria, with their own historical trajectory, endowed with specific territorial relations, with presumption of black ancestry related to resistance to oppression history” (Brazil, Decree 4.887/2003). Following the theory of recognition, we consider that controversial policies related to the rights of peoples and traditional communities in Brazil offers a good example that allows us to explore some nuances in the constitution of collective identity through daily interactions – that have not yet been observed in studies based on the aforementioned groups, in the field of Sociology, Anthropology or History (Almeida, 2011; Arruti, 2008; Leite, 2008; Marin & Castro, 1999). This study focus, therefore, on the so-called “latent state” of the quilombola social movement, referring to the plan of intersubjective elaboration of political actions.

In this article, we present some important aspects of the complexities related to the quilombola's stories, territories that underly the struggles at stake, From the perspective of the recognition theory of Axel Honneth (2003), we seek to outline some considerations, based on daily interaction practices, on how the scope of intersubjectivity, in the diffuse and complex environment of customary social relations, has the potential to generate, ultimately, collective actions of existence and resistance of damage suffered in the environment.

This article is organized in the following sections: in the first section, we outline a discussion of the relevance of the theoretical basis provided by Axel Honneth and a literature review regarding controversies among different conceptualizations of recognition, from the standpoint of political philosophy (Dahl, Stoltz, & Willig, 2004; Deranty, 2016; Deranty & Dunstall, 2017; Fraser, 2006; Galeotti, 2002; Markell, 2006; Tully, 2000, 2004). We also locate our studies in relation to other research in the field of communication (Cal, 2014; Maia, 2018; Maia, 2014; Mendonça, 2009; Vimieiro, 2010) that explore everyday communicative practices as intersubjective processes that nourish the constitution of struggles. In the second section, we discuss the experiences of quilombola communities, with the purpose of pointing out the disrespect suffered by these groups and the projection of damage in the spheres of recognition (Honneth, 2003). In the third section, we discuss the social and historical constitution of the quilombola communities in Pará, as their relations with natural resources, their religiosities and cosmologies, to highlight the formation of a shared common ground about the ways of life of these groups, their history and their rights. In the fourth section, we briefly describe central issues in the current situation of quilombola conflicts and struggles in Pará. And finally, in the fifth section and in the final considerations, we discuss the relationship between everyday interactions and the constitution of political struggles, evincing some useful aspects of the theory of to assist other studies that digs into the still mysterious terrain of intersubjective relations.

Perspectives of Recognition, Communication Studies and Honneth's Theory

Since Honneth's initial writings in the early 1990s, the recognition theory has become one of the key theoretical references in the field of political philosophy, law and sociology. It has also unleashed intense debate. Charles Taylor's early formulations at his conference at the Princeton University Center for

Human Values (1990) on the power of the idea of intersubjectivity for multiculturalism sets an important scenario for developing the concept recognition – a concept would become a paradigmatic framework.

Two years later (1992), the German Axel Honneth from the Institute of Social Research at the University of Frankfurt¹, published his thesis entitled *Kampf an Anerkennung* (Struggle for Recognition) - translated into Brazil in 2003²- proposing a connection between ideas produced in the young phase of the German philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831) and the social psychology of the American Georg Herbert Mead (1863-1931). Honneth offers an interpretation of the moral aspects of social conflict, understanding harms as the drivers of struggles and social change. The author followed the Hegelian conceptual model of “struggle for recognition” stressing a moral perspective of conflict, and associated Mead's approach, to build an empirical inflection, with aspects of human intersubjectivity, establishing what he called patterns of intersubjective recognition (Honneth, 2003).

Since then, a large number of scholarly work have advanced the discussion about recognition in diverse fields, such as studies on democracy, social movements, identities, differences, as well as on socialization and sociability issues of stigmatized groups. Within this scope, several researchers from particular disciplines have attempted to provide theoretical and empirical density to the theory of recognition. From the publication of the Taylor conference, in a work edited by political scientist Amy Gutmann, philosophers such as Jürgen Habermas and Kwame Anthony Appiah began to analyze and spark further debate. In 1995, American feminist philosopher Nancy Fraser entered the debate proposing a conceptual combination of recognition and redistribution. And this has so far been one of the most fruitful debates in recognition theory.

For Fraser, Honneth's approach of recognition would be inscribed within culturalism, disregarding the economic and structural asymmetries caused by capitalism (Fraser, 2006). She first elaborates the concept of redistribution to address the possible gap left by the German author. Subsequently, being criticized by other feminist theorists, such as Iris Young, for advocating a dichotomous solution to the problem of misrecognition, Fraser presents a third “r”, that of representation (Dahl et al., 2004), thus formulating a theoretical framework seen as “more realistic” and apt to deal with contemporary perspectives on the struggles for recognition.

Thus, in the 2000s, the theory of recognition become more diversified, encompassing developments and increments promoted by various contributions. In addition to Fraser, James Tully (Tully, 2000, 2004), for example, draws attention to a debate about group struggles as the target of analyses that do not recognize or distribute in isolation, but rather. as parts of agonistic struggles against domination fundamental to democracies. Tully also discusses the constitution of a hybrid field of research that touches both politics and law “in relative independence from the parallel field of deliberative and agonistic democracy” (Tully, 2004, p. 5). Anna Galeotti (2002) puts tolerance and recognition in relation to a review of liberal theories and proposes that the perspective of recognition, through the establishment of equal respect and freedom for all individuals. She argues that this addition can help to resolve issues of (in)tolerance in contemporary societies. Patchen Markell (Markell, 2000, 2006), in revisiting philosophy classics like Sophocles and Aristotle, goes in the opposite direction and questions egalitarian recognition as the only possibility of justice.

¹ This Institute, derived from Marxist thought, and its followers and debaters located in it and in various parts of the world, has been called the Frankfurt School. Resulting from this tradition, but composing a broader theoretical field, the so-called Critical Theory is characterized by its normative character - to which I make several mentions throughout this work - that is, to the understanding and analysis of the social world and the consequent prescription for it. its transformation and emancipation from domination. Honneth, director of the Institute since 2001, is appointed as the exponent of the third generation in Frankfurt, which began in the 1930s, succeeding Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer (first generation) and their advisor, Jürgen Habermas (second generation).

² The work was translated by Editora 34, with the title “Fight for recognition. The moral grammar of social conflicts”.

According to Markell, recognizing each other would make us allegedly transparent to new forms of subordination. Jean-Philippe Derranty has explored the issue of work as a crucial element of recognition in the sphere of social esteem. More recently, this scholar has drawn on Jaques Ranciére's contributions to the theory of recognition and, more broadly, to a theory of social justice (Deranty, 2016). Here problems of historicism for the constitution of a theory of justice is brought to the forefront (Deranty & Dunstall, 2017). At the theoretical level, one could argue that a false contradiction was created between the ways to achieve self-realization: either only through recognition or only through redistribution (Bressiani, 2011). Following this scholar, we believe in the need to conceive realization of justice based on the inseparability between recognition and redistribution, as proposed by the original terms of struggle for recognition, according to Honneth (2003; Fraser, 2006; Fraser & Honneth, 2003).

In Brazil, Jessé Souza (2000) argues that the idea of recognition helps carrying out more refined analyses of multiple identities in complex societies and peripheral countries. In Souza's words, the "differential assimilation by social groups and classes of the Western heritage and, therefore, the interesting issue of selective assimilation of valuing and institutional aspects" (Souza, 2000, p. 240). Lopes (2000) proposes to explain how human rights and impunity are related in the Brazilian context. Santos (2012), in a descriptive analysis, discusses the historical constitution of the discourses on quilombola rights in Brazil.

In the field of communication, the studies of Marques (2003) analyzed the representation of stigmatized sexuality groups in soap operas. Mendonça (2009) established a dialogued between deliberative theory and recognition theory to advance the analysis of the struggles of people with leprosy in different interactional contexts, to better understand the mobilization of identities to overcome situations of disrespect. Vimieiro (2010) analyzed the framing of widely circulated Brazilian print newspapers, over almost five decades, on the theme of disability, pointing to a possible moral evolution in the media approach to the subject. Cal (2014) investigated power relations and ideological recognition in cases of domestic child labor in Pará. Maia (2014; 2018) brought together, in partnership with other researchers, a set of theoretical and empirical discussions based on recognition theory for investigations. This body of studies examined diverse types of struggles for recognition and interfaces with both mass media and digital media. The cases included: representations of slum dwellers in TV series, the public demands and justifications of the deaf movement in Brazil, the conflicts involving racism and homophobia on social networking sites, among others.

With this brief overview – we can see that a considerable number of researches have already operationalized the theory for recognition for developing empirical analysis. Following this trend, we also adopt the theoretical basis provided by Axel Honneth (2003). To our purposes, we focus on the relevance of this theory to promote a link between "the constitution of individual identity and its well-being to the social responsiveness of others" (Maia, 2014, p. 103), allowing the conjunction of processes of individuation and subjectivation and broader social and legal processes. In this article, we draw on Honneth's theory to built some analytical links between the history of damage from a slavery past and the current configuration of communities and the quilombola movement in Pará. In this sense, it is particularly relevant to highlight the relationship between disrespectful experiences and patterns of broadly desired acknowledgments, as we discuss below.

As stated earlier, Honneth found in the connection between Hegel and Mead the tools to build a moral grammar of social conflict. He did so by actualizing Hegel's intersubjective recognition experience trough insights derived from Mead's work. Different stages of moral development could now be tacked from a empirical perspective: "theoretical equivalents [...] for the conceptual distinction of various stages of recognition, and even for the affirmation. reach a struggle that mediates these stages" (Honneth, 2003, p. 155).

The starting point is the idea that social life can only happen when there is reciprocal recognition

between the subjects that satisfies their claims and establishes the construction of a positive practical self-relationship, that is, their full relationship with the social world. To this point, Honneth adds a dynamizing element that "operates as a normative coercion, forcing individuals to gradually limit the content of reciprocal recognition" (Honneth, 2003, p. 156), i.e., social transformations, or, more broadly speaking, minimum operations of reproduction of social life from expectations and detachments, locations and ethical and moral displacements.

Honneth's theoretical operation is developed through a typology that describes the recognition patterns linked to the subjects' practical self-relations stages. Thus, the three forms of reciprocal recognition emerge, according to which the degree of positive relationship between oneself and oneself with the world (practical self-relations) intensifies in sequence: that of love, linked to the most intimate and affective relationships; legal, related to the field of law; and that of solidary, linked to social esteem.

The author's intention is to situate these stages of intersubjective recognition as "empirically controllable" elements (Honneth, 2003, p. 156), or, in other words, to transform these elements into categories of analysis anchored in the historical process. In this context, it is noteworthy that the author emphasizes the importance of overcoming metaphysical thinking as an explanation of the social world, stating that his insights are usable only when talking about modern or post-conventional societies. In this sense, in addition to providing the tripod of recognition, Honneth suggests thinking of its negative equivalents from this historical point of view, that is, what would be denied recognition or forms of disrespect.

Types of disrespect and the case of quilombolas

Honneth (2003) states that it is possible to distinguish among the forms of disrespect according to the injury or damage caused on a person's level of self-relationship. Regarding the forms of disrespect, it refers to abuse or physical violation (which causes damage to self-confidence), deprivation of rights and social exclusion (which prevents self-respect) and degradation and offense (which undermines self-esteem). which correspond respectively to the sphere of love, that of law and that of esteem. Following the historical perspective proposed by the author, it is not difficult to identify the different forms of disrespect in the historical period that marked the compulsory arrival of Africans to Brazil and their permanence and that of their descendants. As "slaves"³, these subjects were, from the removal of their native territory, through the transatlantic traffic until their arrival in Brazil, devoid of any and all integrity. It is estimated that about 15 million Africans were brought to the Americas, and Brazil accounted for approximately 40% of their compulsory exploitation (Reis & Gomes, 1996).

The most distinct injuries imputed to Africans and their descendants in Brazil had the function of not only removing them from all or any shadow of justice, but, above all, of sublimating the positive view by these subjects in an intersubjective manner about themselves. Honneth (2003) calls this the "internal interweaving of individualization and recognition" in its negative form, which results in disrespect. For the author, "since the normative image of each human being [...] depends on the possibility of constant reinsurance in the other, it goes hand in hand with the experience of disrespecting the danger of an injury, capable of crumbling the identity of the person" (Honneth, 2003, p. 214).

Honneth's first form of disrespect, related to the subject's emotional aspect, primary relationships, and self-confidence, is physical violence or mistreatment. As is well known from the vast Brazilian historiography, the scourging, imprisonment, captivity, sexual abuse, and a wide range of creative

³ In order to denaturalize the use of the word slave directly related to Africans brought in the Brazilian colonial and imperial period, I put the term in quotation marks in this paper. To refer literally to the condition of slavery imputed to these people, I refer to the use of the word enslaved / enslaved, emphasizing the imposition of compulsory labor and the sublimation of individual and collective rights and identities through which they passed.

punishments experienced by enslaved blacks in Brazil, at the same time fulfilled a disciplining and exalting role of authorities. official and oligarchic (Costa, 1998; Fernandes & Marin, 2008; Gomes, 2015; Reis & Gomes, 1996). Even those most prone to the abolition of slavery saw in physical violence the only possibility of maintaining the productive economic cycles of the time. They recognized, in the words of Costa (1998), “the need for continuous vigilance and the application of corporal punishment so that labor income does not fall and recommended, when necessary, the punishment: a maximum of fifty lashes, which can be repeated. one week apart” (Costa, 1998, p. 337).

Nowadays, however, even after a century of the abolition of slavery, the so-called “slave-like labor” are not uncommon (Brazil, Article 149 of the Penal Code). From 1995 to 2015, 49,816 people were rescued by agents from the Ministry of Labor (MT), the Public Prosecutor's Office (MPT), Federal Police (PF) or Federal Highway Police (PRF⁴); in addition, complaints from various black movement actors about the extermination of black youth⁵ are frequent; Quilombola murder also has alarming figures: in 2017 alone, according to data from the National Coordination of Quilombola Rural Black Communities (Conaq), from January to September, 14 leaders were victims in Brazil. Data that reveal, therefore, a historical continuity in the forms of attack on the physical integrity of blacks in Brazil, suffered by the descendants of Africans who recognize themselves as quilombolas or not.

The complete absence of rights, highlighted by Honneth as a breach of moral imputability (Honneth, 2003, p. 211), was also pressing in the slave past. Enslaved people did not even have the status of human beings or subjects of law. On the contrary, they were considered in the Brazilian legal order from 1530 to 1888 as objects of law (Prudente, 1988, p. 135), that is, as a “useful object of purchase and sale, subject to the mortgage [...]. The slaves belonged to the movable class, alongside the movers. With the movers, they were included in land contracts as ancillary goods to real estate” (Prudente, 1988, p. 135).

Like physical violence, this form of disrespect expressed in the sphere of law remains today, but in a more complex way. This is because, although there is a robust set of international treaties - to which Brazil is a signatory -, constitutional norms and laws that indicate certain rights to the black and quilombola population in the country, their mere existence, which counteracts their absence in the pre-legal system -1988, does not guarantee its moral imputability in its plenary where, in other words, a deficit of recognition is placed between the norms that deal with the current rights of quilombolas and the actions of legal contestation, which I call counter-norms (Bargas, 2016). As I will point out later, the sphere of law has become one of the main battlegrounds of the quilombolas, from which various and distinct current struggles emanate and reverberate.

Finally, as the form of disrespect that hurts the subjects' self-esteem and violates their dignity, Honneth (2003) points to degradation and offense. Situated in the sphere of social esteem, this type of injury is often symbolically located at the collective level of the construction of the community of values. The denial of the social value of individuals or groups, the forms of depreciation arising from discursive constructions and practices that aim at the demotion of the other lead to moral injury.

In the case of enslaved blacks and their descendants, in the past, the use of the trunk in the public square for the application of exemplary punishments, the attribution of object value, the humiliations and inferiorities almost constituted by definition the enslavement. After abolition, social and institutional racism, the myth of racial democracy, the exoticization and eroticization of black bodies as part of a nation idea continued to fulfill the function of degradation and offense (Prudente, 1988).

⁴ The data were systematized by the media vehicle “Repórter Brasil”. Retrieved July 20, 2019 from: <http://reporterbrasil.org.br/dados/trabalhoescravo/>.

⁵ Entities such as Geledés and Amnesty International produce periodic reports with data on homicides in Brazil. According to Amnesty 2017 data, of the approximately 56,000 homicides that occur annually in the country, more than 50% are among young people. Among the victims, 77% are black. Retrieved Jul 20, 2019 from: <https://anistia.org.br/imprensa/na-midia/exterminio-da-juventude-negra/>.

The marks of Brazil's colonization remained historically present. In this way, the quilombola subjects were the target of ideological constructions, that is, formulated through almost unconscious categories that permeate the social life - the Brazilian society - that even today inferiorized them and placed them on the social margins. In other words, the dominant ideology operated by the strength of its economic system and by representations that held quilombola subjects as inferior, by silencing strategies such as precarious access to education, health policies, social assistance, vulnerability in situations of violence etc. One of the effects of colonialism certainly resides in the quilombola subject's attachment to a no longer existent slave past, thus considering such a subject as illegitimate or even unreal.

Only in 1988, a century after the official abolition of slavery in Brazil, with the Federal Constitution, did the descendant communities of enslaved subjects in Brazil, who secularly reproduce their religiosities, their relations with the territory, and whose ancestry are marked ticked. Article 68 of the Transitional Constitutional Provisions Act (ADCT) states: "The remnants of the quilombo communities occupying their lands are recognized as having definitive property, and the State shall issue them with the respective titles" (Brazil, Art. 68, 1988).

Investigating the case of quilombolas, in terms of Honneth's (2003) theory of recognition, implies thinking about feelings of injustice as the driving forces of political action. In this sense, from the moral damages that historically caused damages to the "practical self-relation" (Honneth, 2003, p. 214) of these subjects, individuals began to delineate what would become a collective political project (Leite, 2008).

The quilombolas, the communities in Pará and the current conjuncture

It was from the memory of many of the insurgent subjects of the slave era that hundreds of studies were conducted in the twentieth century on what were called black lands, holy lands or rural black communities before 1988, and on so-called communities remnants of quilombos, after the Federal Constitution. The 1930s were marked by the fundamental studies of Nina Rodrigues, Arthur Ramos and Edison Carneiro, who inaugurated the culturalist bias in the approach of these groups.

In the second half of the twentieth century, studies began to unite the culturalist and Marxist paradigms, also joining efforts of historiography and social anthropology, in a careful development of research techniques based on rigorous documentary analysis and oral sources. Such studies are practically unanimous regarding the aspects of quilombola resistance: with the formation and consolidation of quilombos in Brazil, they also constituted bonds of solidarity, a specific relationship with the physical space and feelings of belonging to a collective/identity. These factors allowed to share the feelings of injustice suffered, that is, they provided, in turn, a framework of intersubjective interpretation (Honneth, 2003) about injustices, disrespects or injuries imposed on them.

In Pará, the numbers on the quilombos reveal a strong black presence in the Brazilian Amazon. According to Nunes Pereira (1944), enslaved blacks were systematically brought to the region about 160 years after being introduced to the mills in the interior of the state of São Paulo. Thus, dates from the late seventeenth century the arrival of Africans in this portion of the Amazon. According to Salles (2004), blacks directed to the then province of Grão-Pará and Maranhão were especially concerned with crops and livestock. Amid the tortuous process of adaptation between the local forests, the intertwining of knowledge and other cultural aspects, such as religious and healing practices, blacks and indigenous people established relationships, sometimes conflicting, but also networks of solidarity.

Currently, according to a survey by the Coordination of the Remnant Communities of Quilombos do Pará (Malungu), there are around 420 self-identifying groups as quilombolas; an underreporting,

considering the figures from the Palmares Cultural Foundation⁶, which counts 259 certified communities⁷.

Beyond the past time, and according to the data mentioned above, the disrespect for quilombola communities has been updated over time and can be translated and perceived in the precarious social and economic conditions in which they live today, in the incipience of effective public policies, in the obstruction their access to political decision-making centers, among other factors.

Quilombola communities are currently facing various conflicts. In territorial terms, in general, the quilombolas of Pará have acted against the slowness of the titling processes that are underway with the regional superintendence of the National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform (INCRA) in the state, and with the Pará Land Institute (ITERPA). The delay in the titling process, justified, according to these agencies, by the budgetary and structural limitation, intensifies the conflicts over areas of agriculture, fishing, extraction and mining.

In several regions of Pará, the fishing activity and consumption of acai⁸ by the quilombola communities have also been impacted by the actions of farmers, who lease⁹ areas that they claim belong to entrepreneurs or small traders of native acai for export, which has made it very difficult the life of the communities. In constant pressure from local elites, coupled with the current advance of capital and agribusiness on land in Pará, attempts are made to deterritorialize (Almeida, 2011). In this adverse context, situations of death threats or even murders of leaders are related by quilombolas to conflicts with farmers.

In the legal sphere, quilombola rights were threatened by the Direct Action of Unconstitutionality 3239 (ADI 3239), filed in 2004 by the then Liberal Front Party (PFL, now Democrats (DEM), against the validity of Decree 4.887/2003, regulating the titling of quilombola territories. ADI 3239 argued, among other factors, that designating permanent title to quilombo remnants in accordance with self-allocation and the designation of territorial boundaries suggested by the remnants would be a way of neglecting the right to land criteria, which would be subject to strictly subjective criteria, such as self-attribution. According to ADI: "In addition, it is important to subject the delimitation of the area to the criteria indicated by the remaining (interested) of the quilombos communities [...], which is not it is a proper, moral and legitimate definition procedure" (PFL, 2004, p. 11). Action, in these terms, ignored the intrinsic and fundamental link between the quilombolas and their territories, and considers the titling as laid down under the law to be illegitimate.

Finally, after being postponed three times, the Federal Supreme Court (STF) ministers met on February 18, 2018, and upheld Decree 4,887 / 2003, also departing from the timeframe. This decision was considered by the quilombola movement as a historical victory, the result of political articulation and organization with various actors involved, such as universities and academic associations, state organs, between the movement itself and public opinion.

Other struggles also follow the agenda of the quilombolas of Pará: in the case of women, the main actions related to them are the fight against domestic violence and the implementation of public policies in the area of health and education, such as the implementation of Law 10.639/2003, which establishes rules on the teaching of African and Afro-Brazilian culture and history in elementary schools; the full achievement of higher education through university vacancies and the fight against racism, be it

⁶ Public entity responsible for issuing a certificate to quilombola communities, in accordance with paragraph 4 of Article 3 of Decree No. 4,887 of November 20, 2003.

⁷ Data updated until Ordinance No. 88/2019, of May 13, 2019. Retrieved July 20, 2019 from: http://www.palmares.gov.br/?page_id=37551.

⁸ Fish and acai are, together with cassava flour, the main food sources of quilombolas. There is a daily consumption of these foods, as well as extractive and fishing activities maintained by the communities themselves for their subsistence.

⁹ Leasing here means a kind of lease on a piece of land from the farm where the tenant can take advantage of the resources of this land sample, as a landlord, paying the landlord farmer with cash or part of the resources extracted from the site.

institutional or in daily relations.

These injuries, still present, are the subject of political discussions and daily populate the realities in the quilombola territories and in the more formal spaces of political movement of the movement. In this scenario, the distinct spaces of everyday interaction are also loci where this sharing of injuries occurs and where perceptions are readjusted.

In this sense, to understand the moral damages and the struggles to overcome them, it is necessary to look at the current recognition patterns. From a historical perspective, the Quilombola case provides an important point of view on damage-related struggles that have hurt both the individual practical self-relation of many subjects and their collective identity.

Intersubjectivity, interaction and struggles for recognition

Conceptually, Honneth's (2003) main concerns regarding the conflicting process of shifting the self to an intersubjective understanding of recognition can be summarized from three main perspectives: a) "every future organization of society inevitably depends on a sphere of production. and market-mediated distribution of goods, in which subjects cannot be included except by the negative freedom of formal law" (Honneth, 2003, p. 38); b) "the customs and uses communicatively exercised within a collectively [are] as the social medium in which the integration of general and individual freedom must be effected" (Honneth, 2003, p. 41) and c) inclusion in the organization the institutional ethics of the absolute ethics of a specific sphere which he defines 'as' a system of property and law'; to this is linked the claim to show that market-mediated activities and the interests of particular individuals [...] would be a really negative but still constitutive 'ethical' zone" (Honneth, 2003, pp. 41- 42).

In this article, we focus on the analysis of the second perspective, according to which daily practices, constituted, reproduced or modified collectively constitute the basis of ethical formation and the link to the sharing of injustices and moral horizons.

The issue of interaction, which is central to Honneth's formulation of the struggles for recognition, is noteworthy here. No wonder Honneth recognized in the interactional model developed by Mead an important substratum for understanding the relationship between self and other - beyond the individual-society dichotomy - and thus the elements that substantiate the individual. and the social (in terms of the tripod "I", "mind" and "society"), and the issues of practical self-realization and recognition on broader planes. In this sense, communication appears as the crucial ground of interaction (France, 2008).

Mead (1934) helps to reinforce the argument that social interactions are the true constituents of the simultaneous formation of identities and societies, from cognitive and social operations between the "me with myself", "the social self" and the society. It is therefore from the mutual construction of meanings in the interactions of everyday life that reciprocal recognition is possible.

Thinking about the case of quilombola communities, as a collective identity, has to do with taking into account this relational aspect, that is, giving relevance to this permanent interdependence between social actors. It is a conception of the formation of individual and collective identities that is built through "self-knowledge and recognition (or non-recognition) by others" (Maia, 2000, p. 57).

Despite the moral damage and forms of disrespect imputed to the quilombolas throughout history, the prominence of their ties of group solidarity, as well as their current capacity for political articulation in the form of social movement, lead us to highlight the importance of daily interactions as intersubjective links.

It is within these interactions that self-expression, discussion, political activism, and mobilization originate, conform, and become possible. This is because it is in this seemingly unregulated and diffuse intersubjective realm that the development of capacities and skills fundamental to political practices occurs (Conover & Searing, 2005; Maia, 2012; Mansbridge, 2009).

In this sense, everyday interactions - regardless of their nature, positive or negative - make clear the relevance of reciprocal relations, focused on each other for the construction of a content useful for political actions in the broader context, in terms of a collective semantics (Honneth, 2003). From this perspective, it is possible to affirm the favouring of everyday interactions for the intersubjective construction of what is justice or the common good or its opposites.

Moreover, the intersubjective framework of interpretation (Honneth, 2003), as a substratum of collective actions, depends on this internal adjustment in which feelings of injustice and meanings of justice are permanently constituted and shared. We highlight here the importance of the complex communicational plot that keeps interactions in a complex web of appropriations and practices of different media in their communities and in the social context.

These interplays play, in particular, the role of promoting a shared perception of damage between individual experiences and the collective plan, promoting and/or strengthening identifications, refutations, sensitizations and mobilizations around the lived situation. From these cognitive gains processes it becomes possible, according to Honneth (2003), to deconstruct historical forms of disrespect, build new moral codes and institutionalize them.

Thus, intersubjectivity occupies a central place in this analysis. Both the constituted hegemonic morality, which led to the various forms of disrespect against the quilombolas, as well as the feelings of injustice / justice and the political actions of these subjects originated in socially shared perceptions.

Precisely the daily interactions among quilombola people led to the formation and consolidation of a highly politicized collective identity, especially since its institutionalization in 1988 (when the Federal Constitution was promulgated) - the denomination remaining communities of quilombos was named by the Brazilian State.

Closely observing everyday interaction helps shedding light on how random encounters and conversations, at first unstructured and spontaneous, have the potential to promote and enhance cognitive gains, skills, and political capacities for collective action. Such gains may focus on broader and more formalized political processes. From this type of interaction, moments such as assemblies, meetings and meetings are generated, and the subjects are more articulate and cohesive.

The relevance of recognition theory and daily interactions

For the quilombola communities of Pará, the shared framework of interpretation that allowed the transformation of the subjective injury of disrespect into collective resistance resides in the common origins, based on the past of exploitation, the forms of collective existence and the relationship with natural resources, among others. Specific aspects, such as the legal-political framework that establishes their rights and the joint action with other social actors.

The struggle for recognition, that is, the socially constructed interpretation that there have been situations of disrespect, organized in the form of political action, in the case of quilombolas, is not just a struggle that seeks, in a future perspective, recognition later. The condition of demotion also arises not only in the past of slavery that dishonoured the ancestors, but in the current lack of public policies aimed at solving the problems of the communities and ensuring the fulfilment of their rights.

Honneth's theory thus allows us to observe within social groups how the sharing of injustices and collective interpretations transformed into actions occur, in other words, the articulation of forms of resistance and agendas concerning are bound to these interpretations. The advantages of this perspective are:

- 1) To highlight the scope of everyday interactions in the analysis of subjectivation and politicization of social groups: the disrespectful experience lived in the past and current experiences and their respective interpretations and reinterpretations indicate that the search for recognition is not located at the level of

abstraction or mere interest, but in concrete situations that permanently confront the subjects in their daily lives.

2) Radically value plurality as a way of promoting emancipation through collective struggles: if in the intersubjective interpretation of a group its notions of well-being and achievement are constituted, the interrelationship between the various social groups tends to provide, according to Honneth (2003), the broader content of recognition. The results of the various struggles return to the individual, in this sense, as references about the possible ways for their self-realization and self-determination.

3) Advancing the multidisciplinary perspective on recognition to address collective struggles: by bringing distinct spheres of recognition as inseparable parts of subjectivation processes, Honneth points to the value of multidimensional approaches to political struggles in which aspects of law are implicated, that is the individual and collective psychology levels.

In the case addressed in this article, considering that in order to have a qualitative political leap in the perspective of recognition, it is necessary not only the injury itself, but also its intersubjective sharing and is crucial the existence or construction of favorable social and political conditions.

By making clear the relevance of these daily interactions, linked to the theoretical background on intersubjectivity, we believe that enhances the understanding of internal aspects of the struggle, in accordance to the prerogatives of struggles for recognition. The links that are constructed through such dynamics make it possible, on the one hand, to share feelings of injustice and to promote a common interpretation of the damage suffered, which is often diffuse and scattered in the subjects', and, on the other, to articulate forms of resistance and agendas. If, on the one hand, the injuries that obstruct the self-realization of individual and collective subjects were generated in and within the social unfilled spaces, the struggles arising from these injuries, also built intersubjectivity in daily interactions, can in turn promote the construction of new moral standards regarding the dignity, needs, values and of disadvantaged groups or collectivities.

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