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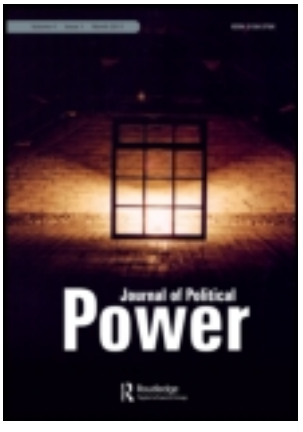

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Recognition and ideology: assessing justice and injustice in the case of child domestic labor

Rousiley C.M. Maia[a] & Danila Cal[b]

[a] Department of Social Communication, Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG), Brazil

[b] Department of Social Communication, University of Amazonia (Unama), Brazil

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Recognition and ideology: assessing justice and injustice in the case of child domestic labor

Rousiley C.M. Maia[a]* and Danila Cal[b]

[a]*Department of Social Communication, Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG), Brazil;* [b]*Department of Social Communication, University of Amazonia (Unama), Brazil*

This article aims to add a new layer to the debate on ideology, work and recognition. It argues that Honneth's concept of 'ideological form of recognition' has great theoretical strength to explain oppression, in a way that avoids adding subjugation to disadvantaged individuals. Still, Honneth's account needs clarification to explain how oppressed individuals can overcome ideological recognition. To address these issues, this study draws on data from (i) news articles on child domestic labor (CDL), in Belém, Brazil, and (ii) focus groups with women who were housemaids in their childhood. Findings show contradictory logics in the spheres of love and work in CDL and advance understanding of the role played by justice advocators to overcome ideological forms of recognition.

Keywords: recognition; Honneth; ideology; work; child domestic labor

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Some cases of injustice are hardly perceived as such by individuals who experience them, even when there are established legal frameworks, public policies and social mobilization to combat a particular situation of injustice. This article, based on Axel Honneth's theory of recognition, examines one of these situations, namely child domestic labor (CDL), a deep-rooted sociocultural practice found in many parts of the world. Our study focuses on CDL in Belém, state capital of Pará, in Northern Brazil, where the International Labor Organization (ILO) has implanted a pilot program combating child work.

This article aims at adding a new layer to the current debate on work, recognition and ideology. While paradoxes of recognition in post-Fordist work have been the subject of several studies (Honneth 2004, Hartmann and Honneth 2006, Smith 2012, Smith and Deranty 2012), problems of recognition in domestic and informal work involving children remain poorly understood. To examine what disadvantaged subjects identify as injustice in the light of public discourses, as well as their personal experiences, we organized our study along two main lines: (i) an analysis of how the topic CDL is presented in mainstream newspapers in the state of Para from January 2000 to December 2004 – the first five years of the program against CDL in the state of Para (PETID); and (ii) an analysis of conversations about media discourses on CDL gathered in focus groups of women living in poor suburbs of Belém who themselves had been domestic workers in their childhood. The focus groups took place on July and August 2006. Findings show that media professionals acted as agents of advocacy defending the needs and rights of

*Corresponding author. Email: rousiley@fafich.ufmg.br

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children and adolescents and clearly condemned CDL because it involves exploitation, domination and marginalization. For their part, women who had been domestic workers in their childhood contested media discourses and qualified CDL as a good or useful opportunity to gain autonomy and to integrate more positively with society.

Our study, by focusing on social agents' perception of justice and injustice in everyday life, can complement scholarship on recognition, work and the social bonds in two ways. First, we argue that Honneth's approach has great theoretical and critical strength for dealing with the problem of ideology, without falling prey to social relativism and subjectivism alike. The distinction he makes between 'ideological' and 'justified' forms of recognition enables us to explain why oppressed individuals may more or less fully accept the hierarchy of prestige linked to other power asymmetries, without adding incapacity to the incapacitated (Honneth 2007). We contend that Honneth's account, however, needs clarification and extension in cases in which oppressed individuals transit from expectations in different spheres of recognition that generate contradictory oppressive effects. Our study, by evincing the interweaving of logics across the spheres of love and work, can contribute to advance understanding of conditions that undermine critical reflection, when long-standing cultural framework underscores class-based oppression.

Second, insofar as Honneth's theory provided guidance to our study at various levels of analysis, we are left with no explanation of how subjugated individuals can overcome domination in cases of ideological recognition. His account fails to take full measure of the role played by justice advocators in struggles for recognition. Thus, our study, by reappraising the link between the perspective of subordinate groups as well as that of moral entrepreneurs in processes of emancipation, can help fill this gap. We outline an argument that explains how moral entrepreneurs' critique of ideology can exert an emancipatory function in struggles for recognition. We argue that this is necessary for building both socially effective critique and sociological models aiming at advancing social justice.

This article is divided into six sections. The first section presents critiques of the recognition theory with respect to issues of power and ideology. Next, we briefly contextualize our case study, describing regulations pertaining to CDL and pointing to some of the public policies and programs created by civic associations aimed at combating this type of work in Brazil, and specifically in Para state. In the third section, we describe the methodology used in this study. The fourth section presents the main discourses about CDL in the local media, within the selected time frame. Then, we examine the results of focus groups in the fifth and sixth sections and in the sequence we discuss the relation between vulnerability, ideology-critique and agency. We conclude with a summary of empirical results and possible normative implications for further studies on the issue of ideology and relations of recognition.

Recognition and ideology

Honneth's theory of recognition underlines the nexus between individuals' development and social practices of humiliation and disrespect that prevent individuals from establishing a positive practical self-relation (Honneth 1996). The central idea is that if denial of recognition or distorted recognition on the one hand undermines the essential condition for development of human autonomy, on the other hand it

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provides the moral motivation that sets in motion struggles for recognition. Although 'recognition' is usually understood as the opposite of disrespect, denegation of rights and subjugation, it has recently also been seen an ideological form of consciousness with regulative power. Within different traditions – neo-Marxian, post-Hegelian and feminist studies, a number of scholars (Bader 2007, Rössler 2007, Young 2007, Rogers 2009) have pointed out that recognition in some cases may legitimate value hierarchies in the social order and justify the subordination of certain groups to others in daily-life routines; hence recognition would evoke a self-understanding that molds subjects to their expected social roles in society.

The notion of ideology is at the kernel of these criticisms. Although the concept of ideology has obviously a complex history, with varied debates in different traditions of sociological and political thought,[1] a number of scholars draw our attention to the fact that a form of social consciousness is ideological because of certain properties (Guess 1981, Shelby 2003, Rostbøll 2008). At an *epistemic* level, critics claim that an ideological system of beliefs (or a world view widely shared by members of a given group and known to be so), through which individuals make sense of themselves and their own social situations, has some kind of cognitive defect, such as lack of empirical support, consistency, logical validity and so forth. At a *functional* level, critics highlight that the wide acceptance of this network of beliefs helps to establish and sustain relations of power that are systematically asymmetrical, or further the interests of a hegemonic group. At a *genetic* level, scholars pay attention to the negative features of the history or the origin of such a worldview that obstruct or curtail it in some way.

Our concern here is with the relation of recognition and ideological forms of consciousness. Increasingly sophisticated studies have shown that recognition can operate as a form of social cognition that coordinates actions across relations of domination. In this context, recognition facilitates social integration because these beliefs go unrecognized and usual observations of everyday life seem often to confirm them. In the field of philosophy and sociology of work, Emmanuel Renault, Nicholas H. Smith and Jean-Phillipe Deranty claim that the post-Fordist organizations and the new neoliberal management in complex and pluralist societies provide a typical example: the recognition of increased autonomy, creativity and flexibility for workers often results in more precarious working conditions and a lower negotiating scope (Smith 2009, 2012; Renault 2010, p. 245, Deranty 2012). Increased opportunity for individual self-realization is converted into a relentless pressure for re-invention of oneself in order to keep the job or maintain the career, which in turn brings anxiety, illness and oppression. Broader possibilities for individual self-expression impinge on employees' responsibilities for things beyond their control. On the expansion of the recent capitalist labor market, Honneth himself acknowledges that the alleged recognition may turn paradoxically into an agent of oppression (Honneth 2004, 2010). Taking into account practical conversion of normative intentions, Hartmann and Honneth (2006, p. 47) claim that 'a contradiction is paradoxical when, precisely through the attempt to realize such an intention, the probability of realizing it is decreased'.

Differently from post-Fordist work, forms of power imbedded in the informal economy of domestic labor, childcare and care work flow across the spheres of social esteem and love. Both Rössler (2007) and Young (2007) lucidly argue that the theory of recognition, although attentive to the implications of division of labor in families and the struggle of women for esteem, does not adequately address

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forms of power across spheres of love and of social esteem that contribute to reproducing predominant gender-based division of labor. By approaching different rationalities in family work (including childcare) and paid work, Rössler (2007) seeks to show that the principle of esteem based on economically remunerative labor may hide issues of well-being that may count as recognition in domestic work. Young (2007) claims that the theory of recognition neglects peculiar expectations about care for the physical and emotional needs of others, which cannot be equated with gainful employment. In Young's perspective, care work implies a distinct retribution compared to regulated work in the market; this retribution expresses itself as gratitude for meeting an individual's specific needs in an intimate or particular manner. The gain in recognition may thus operate against gender equality.

By observing nurses at work, Pascale Molinier (2012) surveys three important reasons for the invisibility of care work. First, care work involves not only technical know-how and highly sophisticated skills but also, and perhaps more importantly, the ability to conceal the technical-based aspects of such a work. Since the affective and skill-based dimensions are profoundly linked in care work, the performance of tasks to be effective cannot appear 'just as a job' – otherwise it would no longer count as 'care'. Second, because care is mostly considered as a woman's activity because of their alleged feminine abilities (or the feminine side in a man), the achieved capacity for effectively performing this work is regarded not as a competence, but rather as a sort of female quality or attribute. Third, since care workers deal with bodily needs, intimacy, vulnerabilities and many embarrassing aspects in everyone, the most difficult aspects of the job can hardly be publicly discussed and socially recognized.

Our study focus is on domestic child labor which, in addition to involving domestic labor and care tensions, also has specific vulnerabilities. This activity is carried out by children – who are under a peculiar condition of emotional, social and physical development, which adds more complexity to the problem. The ambiguity of belonging or not belonging to their employer's family is more deeply felt than in the case of adult domestic workers, inasmuch as whoever employs children often also raises them. In order to enter domestic labor, many children and adolescents lose family and community bonds in order to be employed in a third party's home in urban nuclei (Blagbrough 2008, International Labor Organization 2013). As we will discuss later, drawing attention to these complicated and sometimes contradictory logics in the sphere of love and work entrenched in CDL helps us to explain how domination can become obscure across differences of class and gender.

The difficulty of oppressed subjects to discern what counts as recognition under specific circumstances is brought to its clearest expression in Honneth's recent distinction between forms of 'ideological recognition' and 'justified recognition' (Honneth 2007). This distinction is meant to emphasize two things. First, to refute the idea that recognition would be a mere instrument of voluntary servitude or be intrinsically oppressive from the start, Honneth argues that there is no clear distinction between 'correct' and 'false' judgments if people do not experience practices as repressive, restrictive or based on stereotypes (Honneth 2007, p. 327). Second, this distinction seeks to provide a normative ground for ideology critique, in addition to sociological and political ones.

While conventional analysis explains domination by focusing on concepts such as 'false consciousness' or 'false representations', or through 'internalization' of

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societal value hierarchies or 'identification with the oppressor', Honneth argues that people, who experience practices that do not employ methods of repression, cannot straightforwardly assess their experiences as oppressive (Honneth 2007, p. 327). Only from a morally advanced perspective or from a historical retrospective evaluation such practices can be reconstructed as domination. Honneth's intention is not to deny that some network of beliefs expressed as recognition can indeed sustain relations of domination, but rather to clarify the specific social conditions under which this occurs.

Honneth (2007, p. 337–340) sets down three criteria for a system of beliefs to be effective as an ideology. The system of beliefs should: (i) provide a positive expression of value to people or members of a group so as to establish a positive self-image; and thus not be perceived as discriminatory, diminishing or damaging; (ii) be 'credible' for those to whom it is addressed – perceived as something that realistically reinforces one's own feelings of self-value and autonomy; and (iii) allow the creation of a new value for themselves or future achievements, compared to the past or to previous situations. Such conditions could motivate individuals to attain certain goals and to carry out social functions without resistance. In the ideological form of recognition, however, the promises of recognition, including material fulfillment, are not truly met. Indeed, it motivates a compliant behavior that contributes to establishing or stabilizing relations of domination.

In contrast, justified forms of recognition effectively expand the individuality and autonomy of subjects as well as their inclusion in society, as Honneth discusses in detail in his *The Struggle for Recognition* and subsequent essays. In such cases, the gains in recognition 'allow a consistent realization of these new values' (Honneth 2007, p. 346). In other words, recognition in form of love implies a coherent conduct based on the continuity of affective ties; legal recognition of citizens based on equal juridical treatment consists in effective opportunities to participate in a political community on equal terms with others; and recognition in terms of solidarity results in a perfected social appreciation of specific qualities or contributions of the individuals to society. In justified forms of recognition, the moral obligation to meet the other in an appreciative way is not only well founded and comprehensible, but also concretely applied in both institutional arrangements and the way subjects treat each other.

We find that Honneth's distinction has great theoretical and critical strength for dealing with the problem of ideology without victimizing the subjects more than they actually are. The aforementioned criteria enable him to contend that affected subjects have evidence with enough persuasive power for them to reasonably explain their own choices and actions as positive for them. This line of argumentation avoids victimizing the subjects more than they actually are.

Axel Honneth's distinction between 'ideological recognition' and 'justified recognition', which entails a normative perspective, seems to offer a concrete analytic way to investigate Lukes (2005)'s third dimension of power. This dimension contemplates power relations based on latent conflicts, which are hard to observe, especially by subjects under domination. According to Lukes, 'What one may have here is a latent conflict, which consists in a contradiction between the interests of those exercising power and the real interests of those they exclude' (Lukes 2005, p. 28). For an analysis of latent power relations, Lukes proposes confronting whatever happens to the dominated subjects and what their real

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interests would be. However, how to define the 'real interests' meets theoretical and methodological challenges.

In the second edition of his influential 'Power: a radical view', Lukes (2005) acknowledges this difficulty, yet reaffirms the theory's explicative power to observe concrete phenomena. 'I conclude, then, that, in general, evidence can be adduced (though by nature of the case, such evidence will never be conclusive) which supports the relevant counterfactuals implicit in identifying exercises of power of the three-dimensional type. One can take steps to find out what it is that people would have done otherwise' (Lukes 2005, p. 52).Yet the difficulty still remains to analyze a potential phenomenon, something that did not occur but might have (Haugaard 2010, p. 425).

In Honneth's theoretical framework, the principles of recognition (in the spheres of love, right and social esteem) represent the normative perspective from which social agents can imaginatively project how recognition should be given in certain specific ways. As he explicitly places 'norms' in the centre of his social theory, he gives us good or 'thick' reasons for being suspicious or sceptical about certain forms of consciousness that sustain relations of domination. Such a horizon of normative expectations is not to be seen as 'an ahistorical given' (Honneth 2002, p. 511, see also Honneth 2012, p. 115, Maia and Vimieiro, 2013), nor as a result of a hypothetical social contract nor even as an abstract cognitive rationality, but as the outcome of historical struggles for emancipation. This horizon of normative expectation – based on ethical knowledge that is acquired through socialization – opens ways of innovative interpretations and allows one to identify pathologies in social arrangements. In Honneth's words 'it is a reference to which subjects can reasonably argue that existing forms of recognition are inadequate or insufficient and need to be expanded' (Honneth 2003, p. 143). Since this point of reference is never completely or finally determinate, it must constantly be actualized in public expressions of recognition or practical attempts to overcome de facto practices of injustice.

Our study, by analyzing public discourses on CDL displayed in the news media and using data from discussion groups with affected individuals, examines this problem from an empirical perspective. In Honneth's theoretical framework, critical perception of injustice is located within individuals' negative experiences of disrespect or humiliation that violate their 'moral' expectations. We argue that in many cases of domination, moral entrepreneurs and justice advocates (academics, intellectuals, artists, voluntary associations and media agents) are those who name injustice, defend values, and represent and act on behalf of subjugated individuals. Disadvantaged subjects, such as poor children in our study case, may be exposed to extreme poverty, oppression and lack of freedom; and they may not be *able* to clearly perceive their own situation of injustice (Sen 1999, Souza 2006, 2009, Bohman 2007, Ikäheimo 2009, Maia 2012b). While this is an important issue, it has not been systematically taken up by Honneth himself.

We should make the caveat that moral entrepreneurs and advocacy agents, no matter how well-intentioned and informed, are always subject to a 'democratically illegitimate paternalism' (Bader 2007, p. 226, see also Rubenstein 2007, p. 629), because demands made in the name of others are always partial and may be deceitful or become new sources of oppression (Alcoff 1991–1992, Kompridis 2007, Maia 2012b, Maia and Garcêz 2013). In response to this caveat, we follow scholars who contend that in any democracy defensible on an ethical basis, individuals should be regarded not as 'recipients of justice', but, instead as 'agents of justice'

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(Forst 2007, p. 300, see also Bader 2007, Rubenstein 2007, Maia 2012b). In keeping with Habermas (1996) and Honneth (1996), we argue that it is essential to preserve the autonomy and freedom of subjects to think for themselves, to speak out about their own immediacies regarding their identities, aspirations and needs.

Thus, advocacy agents should take measures to empower oppressed subjects and trigger self-reflection processes; and should aid in structuring communication venues for them to speak with their own voices. However, it is up to these subjects to define what needs to be perceived and recognized in a given context; and this includes contesting and correcting the discourses of those who speak on their behalf. From this point of view, women's questioning of public discourses of institutional and legal recognition in our case study has far-reaching consequences for recognition theory as social research. The manner of re-conciliating activist moral entrepreneurs' judgments and the validity of child workers' sense of harm requires nuanced examination.

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Legislation, public policies and advocacy regarding CDL in Brazil

Following international conventions, there are in Brazil several laws and initiatives to combat child labor.[2] Brazil has signed Convention 138, which took effect in 1976, establishing a minimum employment age, with adequate to basic schooling time. In 1990, the Brazilian government signed the ILO Convention 182 and Recommendation 190, which ban child labor and demand immediate action to eliminate the worst forms of child labor. Even stronger since 1990 is ECA (Child and Adolescent Statute), which regards boys and girls as bearers of rights and duties, makes families, government and society share responsibility for their protection, and spells out the principle of absolute priority for childhood and adolescence in public policies. Child labor is forbidden for boys and girls aged under 16 years except in a context of learning activities from age 14 years. Since 2008, CDL has been seen by the Brazilian government as one of the worst forms of child labor, a type of work to be engaged in only after one reaches 18 years of age following the ILO Convention 182. These moves in the legal sphere as well as growth in awareness over the state's protective duty towards children have motivated several governmental programs for combating child labor in the country. Some examples are the Program for Eradicating Child Labor (PETI) in 1996; and School-grant (Bolsa-escola), in 2001, which implement preventive welfare measures and transfer income to poor and extremely poor families. It should be stressed that several programs for combating CDL in Brazil result from the initiative of civic actors, and local, nationwide and transnational entities through various types of partnerships with the government.

In the state of Pará, a local civic organization (República de Emáus, by means of the Cedeca-Emaú) in partnership with UNICEF, Save the Children and other local entities focused specifically on CDL through PETID (Program for Eradicating Child Domestic). This program, lasting from 2000 to 2010, developed several actions aiming at (i) developing the critical abilities of adolescents and parents sending their children into domestic labor, and training them so that they might find alternative sources of income; (ii) promoting conferences in different Brazilian cities and nationwide awareness campaigns against CDL; (iii) exerting influence on local media organizations, by means of debates and educational workshops to enhance journalists' abilities to deal more appropriately with the CDL topic in their reporting. We argue that this is a typical case of advocacy – in which individuals, groups and associations make demands in the name of interests and values that

should be safeguarded, in order to protect 'vulnerable subjects', to prevent harm, or in the form of a 'special responsibility' (Goodin 1985, see also Rubenstein 2007).

Although the norms of childhood are based on the international human rights system, one cannot disregard that the conception of rights is inherently connected with cultural values, the political system and attitudes to law in any given society (Boyden 1997, p. 199). Furthermore, childhood is a social construct, which appears in a variety of forms related to different understandings of competencies and incapacities (Prout and James 1997, Earls 2011). In the state of Pará, CDL work has deep historical and cultural roots, which goes back to the period of slavery. As will be discussed in this study, since the definition of 'work' and 'right" stems from such a local historical and cultural background, the means of protecting and nurturing childhood in practical terms can become highly controversial; assessment of policies aimed at operating in the best interests of the child may be contested among the affected subjects themselves.

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Methodology

The dual aim of our study is to investigate publicly articulated discourses on CDL as well as perceptions of disadvantaged subjects who engaged in this type of work during their childhood or adolescence in Belem. Local news articles allow us to analyze opinions, discourses and definitions of problems and solutions regarding CDL that publicly circulated in this society (Gamson 1992, Peters 2008, Maia 2012a). In contrast, informal discussion among study participants allows us to tap into affected subjects' self-understanding, in the light of interpretations of CDL expressed in the media as well as their own life experiences. Our investigation is structured along two lines:

(1) analysis of the coverage of the topic CDL in the major daily printed newspapers in the state of Pará – *O Liberal* and *Diário do Pará*, during the first five years of PETID, from 1 January 2000 to 31 December 2004. We did not include nationwide vehicles as this study had a local scope. A total of 55 news articles were analyzed (32 in *O Liberal* and 23 in the *Diário do Pará*). Each news piece was examined based on a codebook to identify: a) the speakers (sources) in the articles; b) the frames and discourses about CDL made by each speaker; and c) stated references to PETID.

(2) analysis of informal conversation in focus groups carried out with women who had been domestic workers in their childhood – three groups were recruited from poor neighborhoods in Belém (Bengui, Tapanã and Telégrafo). Each group consisted of five participants, which may be considered an adequate number for exploring how participants' experiences, opinions and concerns are expressed, complemented or contested within the group (Morgan 1997, Barbour and Kitzinger 2001). We chose the focus group technique because it allows participants to interact and talk about specific issues, with relative freedom to generate their own questions and frames, and to pursue understanding with others on their own terms and vocabularies (Duchesne and Haegel 2010, Cal and Maia 2012). The focus groups took place during July and August 2006 and the women invited were indicated by neighborhood associations and/or community leaders.

Altogether 15 women took part in the experiment and the groups had a heterogeneous age composition. Four participants were 20–30 years old; five were 31–40; four were 41–50 and two were over 51. As for their current occupation, they identified themselves as domestic workers (7), housewives (2), seamstresses (3), washerwomen (1), saleswomen (1) and school janitors (1). None of them is still working for the same domestic labor employer. However, most of the participants have not been able to change their occupations since 66.7% of them continue to work in domestic service. With regard to their monthly household income, most of these women (60%) said that it was under U$160.00 and others (40%) said it ranged between U$160.00 and U$320.00.

Each group meeting took two hours and a half. Participants were allowed to express divergent opinions and were stimulated to participate. Two of the meetings were organized at participants' homes (Tapanã and Telégrafo) and one in a neighborhood association (Bengui), where some of the women frequently work. To encourage discussion, we used the 'funnel strategy' (Morgan 1997). This method consists of starting the group meeting with a free discussion and, then, moving toward a more structured discussion on specific questions. Therefore, initially the women freely talked about topics such as gender, domestic work and roles in household – issues which easily engaged participants in conversation. Next, the CDL issue was gradually introduced as well as discussion about previously mentioned selected news media articles. We followed Gamson's study and used a wide range of frames and voices available in the media material as 'conversational resources' (Gamson 1992, Maia 2012a). The main goal was to encourage the participants to share their opinions and engage in dialogue.

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Media and advocacy: public expression of new forms of recognition

In a previous study, we examined the news media coverage on CDL in Pará within the stipulated period (Cal and Maia 2012). We found that the main speakers in the media were civic actors associated with the struggle against CDL, namely the Cedeca-Emaús/MovimentoRepública de Emaús, and agents of PETID and its partners, which comprised 58% of all speeches in the selected period. There was little diversity of sources in this set of news articles; government agents rarely expressed themselves on this topic.

The significant presence of voices of civic speakers in our case study is particularly surprising, as journalism in Latin America is strongly connected with the State and the market, but connects poorly with civil society (Waisbord 2009, Maia 2012a). In general, news about social development issues, such as poverty, hunger, health and education are presented from an official perspective (Agência de Notícias dos Direitos da Infância 2003).

The prevalence of voices of civic actors and moral entrepreneurs in our case study can be explained first by the social credibility that the Movimento República de Emaús and the Cedeca-Emaús enjoy in local society, given their traditional engagement in a variety of programs aiming at assuring the rights of children. Secondly, the Cedeca-Emaús had two journalists in its team to help formulate and carry out communication strategies for the Program, including its relationships with different types of media.

It should be stressed that traditional discourses in local society, which legitimatize CDL, did not gain visibility in the media within the study period. We noticed

that public discourse on the topic was expressed through two main frames: *the invisibility of CDL* and *the injustice of CDL*.

Media commentators drew public attention to the fact that CDL is barely noticed and they explained this invisibility by three main reasons: a) CDL is carried out mostly by girls, who 'naturally' are in charge of domestic tasks and childcare; this practice follows hegemonic concepts of labor division based on gender and thus it raises no questions; b) CDL has deep cultural roots, it is perceived as 'proper' for poor women rather than a 'problem' to be dealt with and solved; and c) CDL occurs in the intimacy of households, a supposedly welcoming environment, it raises little public attention, as opposed to child labor in hostile environments such as plantations or coal mines (Table 1).

Our analysis show that news stories disseminated ideas congruent with transnational entities' diagnosis that children involved in CDL are 'the most hidden, invisible and inaccessible of all child workers' (Black 2002, p. 2). The interpretation also followed feminist critique that challenge genre naturalism and claim that domestic work is not 'valued' as a 'productive contribution' (Lamarão *et al*. 2000, Hoyos 2000). Furthermore, news stories are based on criticism that cultural notions originating in the colonial past support CDL. Since domestic chores require a lot of effort but need little training they are often characterized as being 'specific' to poor women (Carneiro and Rocha 2009).

The second frame seen in Table 2 refers to *injustices in CDL,* which includes discourses that define this practice as exploitation, domination/oppression and exclusion. To begin with, speakers in the media argue that CDL is exploitation because children and adolescents are unpaid or poorly paid; and their families often administer the money. It is 'unregulated' exploitation since the working terms and conditions – working hours, tasks and payment – are obviously not prescribed in contracts. Secondly, several news stories point out that CDL is domination or oppression because girls are exposed to the potential risks of work and abuse, and to punishment and violence, including sexual abuse from bosses. Right from the beginning, children and adolescents have no

Table 1. Media frame on CDL's invisibility.

Examples of discourses presented in the media
'Unfortunately, it is considered something positive in Brazilian culture for a poor girl to work as a housemaid'. (Armand Pereira, director of the ILO Brazil). IBGE wants more details about child work -*Diário do Pará*, p. B4, 5/01/2000
'We have reached the point where child labor is often considered natural; that is where things, in fact, become complicated. The cultural connotation of this tragedy needs to be eliminated'. (Simão Jatene, governor of the state of Pará) Pará in the struggle against child work. *Diário do Pará*, p. A4, 10/01/204
'The cultural "determinism" about the female gender is at the root of the problem of child domestic labor, but, in current society, other factors are determinant, such as social and economic exclusion' – A 'disguised' crime robs children of their rights, *O Liberal*, Social Responsibility page, 12/02/2004
'ILO project coordinator, Renato Mendes, reminds us that the work of minors in households does not raise the same revulsion as child labor in rubbish dumps or coal mines, or news about sexual exploitation'. – Child labor also makes victims in Pará. *O Liberal*, 20/03/2002

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Table 2. Media frame about different injustices in CDL.

Examples of discourses presented in the media
'"To exploit child domestic labor is to disrespect the fundamental right of children to play and to study"; this is a statement by the communications advisor of Cedeca, Luciano Miranda'. – Cedeca launches a campaign for raising awareness and denouncing such situations, O Liberal, Social Responsibility page, 18/03/2004.
'Child workers comprise boys and girls that are forced to work as slaves in domestic work, generally in private family households; they are subject to all sorts of humiliation and exploitation, provide free labor, and do not enjoy the right of health and education. In this setting, children and teenagers are subjected to long working hours, which robs them of the opportunity for going to school; they have no medical care and no leisure. Those receiving payment or benefits are few. Unfortunately, girls may be victims of sexual abuse, which causes lasting psychological and physical harm'. A social stain, editorial, O Liberal, 18/06/2004
'Experts state that the problem feeds a poverty cycle, because children doing domestic work will be employed as domestic maids when adults' A 'disguised' crime robs children of their rights, *O Liberal*, Social Responsibility page, 12/02/2004.

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authority and no negotiating power, and are therefore at the mercy of the employing family. Thirdly, speakers in the media highlight that CDL is a form of exclusion or marginalization because child rights are violated, including the right of enjoying childhood, education, citizenship and dignity. This type of work hinders any development of the abilities and competencies that children and adolescents require to find a place in the labor market in the future by means of qualified work, thereby reproducing the poverty cycle.

In the Pará newspapers, the general interpretation about CDL largely followed humanitarian rights discourse. Because of the types of injustice found in CDL, several speakers in the news articles – including an editorial – associated this practice with 'slavery', an analogy frequently used in studies on CDL in different countries (Black 2002). From the perspective of recognition, Ikäheimo refers to the status of slave as being 'without freedom, without love, and without gratitude': 'Slavery instantiates all of these three harms: (1) the activities that fill the life of a slave are not free; (2) his well-being has ideally only instrumental value for the master; and (3) because his work is unfree, it does not count as genuine cooperation and does not produce the satisfaction and fulfilment that someone working freely and altruistically may receive in the form of gratitude from others' (Ikäheimo 2009, p. 40).

To summarize, the local media in our case disseminated ideas about CDL based on a general interpretation that invoke the principles of recognition, which, in Honneth's terms, 'compel us to widen our perception value horizon and thus to intensify or amplify recognition' (Honneth 2007, p. 341). From a broad ethical horizon related to human and children rights, feminist critique and post-colonialism, speakers in the media presented 'thick' or 'good' reasons for rejecting CDL. Journalists and critical speakers attempted to show that there were cognitive failings in understanding CDL as an oppressive practice, and sought to lead members of the local society to acknowledge that they were implicated in relations of domination and exploitation. However, this does not mean that these discourses are 'shared' by the members of the public, in terms of being commonly accepted.

As we will discuss in the next section, women who were housemaids in their childhood did not endorse media advocate arguments and some even contested them in our focus groups.

CDL: the intersecting logics of love and work

When exposed to media discourses in our focus group, many women who worked as domestic servants in the past, and who also send their daughters to work in family households, perceive CDL mainly through a positive perspective. However, they are also aware of several types of harm involved in this practice. They report that they were and still continue to be exploited ('we are exploited, especially if we [earn] a domestic salary'). They report emotional insecurity, mistreatment and disrespect ('I could never get used to the houses at 12 years of age, but then I slowly became used to it'). How can we explain the fact that these women, even though they name experiences of mistreatment and identify disrespect in their lives, do not articulate a clearer perception of *injustice* in this situation? Honneth's three requirements to define ideological recognition appear to be met in our study case.

Expectations and contradictions in the sphere of love

The women in the focus group seem convinced that the promise of a better life through CDL is an opportunity for personal development. Because of multiple and severe deprivation in their homes of origin, they perceive CDL as a way to escape poverty or avoid entrance into prostitution. Participants brought up several beliefs that cannot be merely considered as irrational, but are supported by reasons with 'power to convince' (Honneth 2007).

Since CDL is associated with the cultural idea of 'taking the child to raise' or 'taking care of the child for her mother' – including material needs and care (psychological care, rest and leisure), and resources for self-development (study and other opportunities) – the first requirement for an ideological form of recognition seems to be present here. Differently from ideologies that have an exclusionary character, such as racism, xenophobia and homophobia, CDL causes no harm to the self-image of girls and allows them to relate positively to themselves in a new 'home'. When referring to the people they work for, the women use terms such as 'godmother' and 'aunt', rather than employer, which ambiguously suggests that children would be protected by people who care for their personal well-being (Lamarão 2008, Cal and Maia 2012).

> Amanda: I think that it is better, because back there [in the hinterland] parents are unable to give, to do things for their children, to provide education for their kids; I think that this is better.
>
> Joana: As Vera said, I am thankful that my daughter moved over here with her godmother; she was thirteen, and did not want to study any more over there. To this day I am happy that my daughter is here […] with her godmother, thank God. (Tapanã group).

The second requirement for ideological recognition seems also to be present in this situation: the advantages of CDL are at least partially perceived as positive and credible. The women value it mostly as an opportunity to gain

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education so as to become 'somebody in life'. Statements by these women show that, in their role as mothers, they expect more for the lives of their children and teenagers than merely domestic work. It should be noted that in Brazil, as opposed to Andean countries, Central America or Haiti, there is an expectation that employers will send these children and adolescents to school and many of them actually do (Black 2002). As opposed to countries such as Bangladesh, India or Nepal, where girls serve their employers any time of the day or night and rarely leave the house (Black 2002), the expectation in Brazil is that CDL should not be restrictive, but should open the door to opportunities for socialization in middle and higher classes.

Deusa: I brought over my nieces, three nieces from Marajó, to work here; but thank God they worked, studied, right, *they moved well forward at school, they really had good employers*; but there were girls that came from the hinterland and their employers would not let them study; to this day they are adults that don't know even how to write their names, because their employers never put them in school, never let them study.

Carla: I agree with her, there are good employers, there are bad employers, some that want to be cruel with teenagers, as we watch on television, the case of the girl [participants were referring to the case of 11-year-old Marielma who was murdered by her employers; the case became notorious in newspapers in 2005]. (Telégrafo group, our italics)

At this point it is important to acknowledge that class relations are reproduced, not only through economic relations but also by means of cultural and symbolic forms that sustain unequal distribution of distinction and privilege, as Thompson (1989) and Bourdieu (1977, 1984) have made clear. In this sense, participants in our focus groups expect that CDL would provide opportunities for the girls to surpass their own 'social class culture' and acquire what Bourdieu terms 'cultural capital' – the possession of certain intellectual or educational goods – motivations, dispositions, tastes and preferences.

Vera: I think it is an opportunity. There are places we wish to go but for which we don't have the means; but [we do] when going with our employer. She takes the girls. The *girls develop, become interested by watching those people that say they are different and take part in better things. [This] gives us influence*; for those that want it, there is a good future, I think it is very good

Amanda: I also think it leads to a better future; it is very good […]. We want to go to a beach that we have never seen in life, and don't have the means to go there, and then they take us […] it is the only opportunity I have.

Focus group participants show awareness that 'girls can progress' under certain conditions – personal effort, and being lucky to 'have a good employer'. In a previous study, we noticed that these beliefs are widely shared by mothers, who are concerned to find 'good' persons to entrust their child to, and also by employers, who conceive of themselves as alleviating the child's destitution (Cal 2007, Cal and Maia 2012). Indeed, most of the employers' showed indignation at 'harsh' cases of maltreatment and abusive workloads. They claimed that what the girls do in their home was 'just light work' or 'just help', and never acknowledged that they were implicated in relations of oppression (Cal 2007, Cal and Maia 2012).

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Once CDL is regarded as providing conditions, resources and capacities for the girls to 'prepare themselves for something better' they can nourish the 'dream' 'to become somebody in life', which would be unimaginable in a condition of extreme deprivation. The women shared the view that CDL provides a 'good future' compared to life on the farm fields; and it is an alternative to idleness and prostitution as well as a source of income. Thus, Honneth's third requirement for ideological recognition to be effective – the contrast between a specific situation perceived as positive compared to the past or to a previous condition appears to operate in our case.

However, the promises of CDL are permeated by many contradictions, which have oppressive consequences. First, although CDL is often mistaken for the obligation to care for and meet the other's needs, there is a twisted expectation that working girls should meet the immediate needs of the family to which they are attached in exchange for food, medical care, housing, access to education, etc. This 'exchange' does not entail duties in the normative sense of the principle of love, in which 'godmothers' or 'aunts' would perceive the girls needs and thereby become more sensitive and able to care for their well-being (Rössler 2007, Young 2007). For many employers, the labor of girls and adolescents often has only an 'instrumental value', as Ikäheimo (2009) says; by carrying out routine domestic tasks, which have no social value, this labor force allows employers to take on more pleasurable and useful activities.

Second, domestic workers – especially children and adolescents – rather than receiving retribution in the form of gratitude, as Young (2007) discusses, frequently become the target of aggression or humiliation. Working girls and adolescents are asked to care for children and babies, tasks for which they are not adequately trained or are unable to carry out. The women in our focus groups reported disrespectful experiences, aggression and cruelty, which were described as unbearable: 'their children [of the employers] like to shout'; 'a [boy] once hit me in the face'; 'I had my face hit with a plate, then I left so that he would not mistreat me anymore'. Again, the ambiguous status mobilized by the care relation (Molinier 2012), on the one hand, and their submission to the person benefiting from care, on the other, do not enable the girls to express and negotiate with their employers the disgust and hate that CDL sometimes causes.

Third, 'poor children and young workers' when treated as the property of employers are supposed not only to carry out domestic chores or assist the other in their needs, but also fulfill erotic and sexual desires. The girls thus become de-humanized; being regarded not as a subject but as a physical body, the men in the house can 'do as they please' with them:

Maria:	I once worked in a house of these folks, […] there was a birthday party I don't know whose it was, I sat there on the chair, and we could not go to bed until the party was over; then the son of my employers came over trying to touch my breast, then I protested and went to tell her, then she said: 'What's the problem? He is a man and is the son of your employer, and your boss can also do what he feels like doing with you'.
Moderator:	The employer said that?
Maria:	Yes, then I took all my clothes and hid in the yard, and then when they were distracted, I went away, and lost my way home, and ended up at the house of a woman, and only the next morning did I find out where I was.

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Moderator: How old were you?
Maria: About 16. (Telégrafo group)

In several situations, participants in our focus group were angry and resentful about 'bad employers' and their 'mistreatment' or 'abuse'. Nevertheless, they recurrently make a distinction between 'good' and 'bad' employers ('there are some that treat us well; there are some that do not'). These women identify the injury caused by CDL as occurring in contingent or specific cases, because of bad luck or lack of personal effort.

Expectations and contradictions in the sphere of work

To explore the expectations held by these women in the sphere of work, we need to return to a number of aspects introduced in our discussion about the symbolic universe of love. The distinction between these two spheres is hard to make because girls and adolescents in CDL are still in stages of emotional, social and physical development and thus work and caring flow together.

Concerning the first requirement for ideological form of recognition, study participants project for girls in CDL a work with meaningful content in the future. By going to school, the girls could acquire 'socially useful skills', which could enable them to pursue prestigious careers; this would change their place in social hierarchy and include them the context of productive contributions to society (Rössler 2007). Tied to the expectation of qualified work is the assumption that the employers would care for them to acquire those abilities and talents.

Vera: What I think is, that for those without the means, we can't do much in this case […] folks from the hinterland; they become farm workers, who don't have a future. In a family house, if the person knows it and wants to, in the future they may become doctors, graduate to be good lawyers […], in other words, something good. Because a domestic servant is paid a salary, the girls live a fairly good day-to-day life, take part in the same things as their employers; with all of this we are becoming prepared for something better.

Letícia: I would rather work as a domestic servant than sit at home doing nothing and not earning my salary; […] the salary helps us to buy clothes, to go out, and without this money we cannot do many things, right?

Moreover, the prospect of social inclusion is seen as credible to the participants because many employers demonstrate commitment to education and are benevolent with their child workers; and thus set them on a path towards possible upward mobility. Personal attachments and bonds of gratitude to good employers further obscure the asymmetries in power in this relation and the subordinate place occupied by these girls in a class society.

Amanda: I enjoy life, […] because my employer, […] says like this, 'Oh Amanda, you work here'; they treat me as if I belonged to the family, 'ah, you work here, but I want you to become another person, I want you to study, to conclude your studies, to become somebody in life'; and, for her, I would have concluded my schooling, but I never managed, because sometimes I arrived tired from work and then had to go to school, and then I was tired; but for her I would be studying. (Tapanã group).

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Although social interactions proceed as if 'norms of recognition' were in place, children and adolescent in CDL do not enjoy the same status of other children in the family. The housework carried out by the girls is usually not regarded as 'work' but just as 'help'; and when these children and adolescents are sent to school, they usually go to public schools – mainly in evening classes. Because they do not have adequate time for resting and studying, they are prone to fail (Lamarão *et al*. 2000, Lamarão 2008, Carneiro and Rocha 2009). Like Amanda, many girls are encouraged to relate to themselves as autonomous and active agents, and thus they tend to assume personal responsibility for their own failure. Since lack of success is more easily explained at the individual level, study participants do not criticize CDL as conductive to personal underdevelopment in terms of systematic exclusion and exploitation. Thus, they seem not able to foster a common ethos to challenge the social order.

Our focus here is on particular strain of responses that could uncover power relations in these women's experiences. As social scientists or observers, we could expect different outcomes and alternative reasons for these women to engage in CDL. First, study participants could have emphasized their agency in choosing to take up domestic labor as children, but at the same time acknowledge the institution's role in the oppression and subjugation of children. Second, critical opinions and judgments circulating in the media arena could have provided a language and counter-hegemonic framings about CDL for these women to move away from the predominant value hierarchy. Third, study participants do not have to defend the institution of CDL to shore up their sense of self-worth.

Furthermore, one could regard these women' statements as rationalizations. Although domestic workers in Brazil have achieved several rights in the past few decades, such as regulated working conditions and improved wages, they still cannot find a place in 'good society' (Carneiro and Rocha 2009) and suffer the moral pain of social devaluation (Souza 2009). As we have emphasized, study participants are very aware that they are engaged in low-wage, low-status work and do not receive social recognition ('if we don't have advanced study we are nothing'; 'there are people over there that ignore and do not speak to domestic servants').

In this context, we find that Honneth's account of ideological forms of recognition is valuable for explaining these women's self-conception and their network of beliefs as based on arguments with convincing power, and not as illusions irrationally held. Honneth's account allows us to see that there are other structures – such as desire for emancipation, autonomy and social esteem – that can be mobilized to reinforce, paradoxically, relations of oppression. In the idealizations the women construct about themselves, they conceive CDL as a practical possibility to increase their own autonomy and overcome social divides. Thus, there are good grounds for thinking that they regard CDL as 'a choice' and 'an opportunity', rather than a lack of alternatives due to extreme destitution, because they cannot imagine that things 'should' or 'could' be different.

The rationale of ideological forms of recognition has a significant impact on coordinating these subjects' action and thus stabilizing relations of domination and exploitation. However, how can subjugated individuals, like the women in our study, contest the promises of ideological recognition that is part of the cultural heritage and imagine alternatives for themselves? Focusing on the

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women's understanding of harm and their sense of agency, we now go on to examine processes that help cultural and normative interpretative frameworks to rebound.

Vulnerability, agency and ideology-critique

We started this article with the premise that moral entrepreneurs can play a critical role in naming injustice, facing collective action problems and seeking to advance specific policy goals – such as measures for eliminating CDL. Our findings show some difficulties in reconciling justice advocates' judgments and the validity of affected persons' sense of harm. Speakers in the media attempted to disclose ideological forms of recognition, which invited oppressed subjects to cognitively understand and affectively accept their own subjugation to others in daily-life routines. In contrast, the women strove to assert that they are not 'those to be pitied' or looked down upon. By seeing themselves as capable of agency as well as forming a life plan, these women assert that they can resist their status as subaltern actors.

To develop our argument on how it is possible to reconcile conflicting evaluative perspectives, when discourses of justice do not resonate with the habitus of subjugated subjects, it is helpful to further inquire into: (i) the women's sense of agency and (ii) the requirements that make the justice advocates' ideology-critique to serve emancipatory purposes.

While it seems correct to say that the interplay of expectations of recognition in different spheres obstructs the women's critical reflection, how one should interpret these women's sense of agency is far less clear. It seems misleading to describe their sense of agency to choose and act to change their life practices in a substantial way as a mere effect of subjugation. They report that since childhood ('as young girls') they worked in the family house, motivated by the desire to widen their horizons, to attain some independence in their lives, and to learn, pursue a career and advance socially. They strive to 'follow their own thinking' and persist in dealing with adversity to gain even minimal autonomy and the dignity to live from one's gainful employment. They take on duties at their own home to create or attain resources to care for the needs and well-being of their children even if they themselves have been deprived of care in their own childhood.

> Joana: […] in the hinterland it is not like here […]. We struggle there on the farm, fighting, working […]. Not here, here we can work and earn money.
>
> Deusa: […] I was 12 when I married; I have never followed the counsel of any man, I have always depended on myself, on my thinking, on my own counsel, that is why I work as a domestic servant; I work there because I have a little girl like this. [I tell her] […] look Ranna, I am working, I work a lot as a domestic servant, because what my mother and father could not give me I want to give you. I don't want you to stay on the streets, running around, getting dirty. No, I want to give you what I did not have […].

While the types of struggle described by the women do not cause any change in the existing distribution of material and symbolic resources within society, they do not show feelings of helplessness, fatality, dependency or lack of control, but rather conceive of themselves as agents. It would be premature to think that these

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women can actually and effectively change adverse situations and their sense of autonomy is likely to be quite overstated. On the basis of similar concerns, Ruth Gomberg-Muñoz (2010)'s ethnographic study with Mexican undocumented immigrants in the US shows that this group's willingness to work with integrity and bravery results, paradoxically, in a vulnerability to exploitation (Gomberg-Muñoz 2010, p. 302). Gomberg-Munõz's key argument is that undocumented immigrants, in need of recognition, cultivate a social identity as 'hard workers', as a means to confront stigma and convert socially degraded work into a source of self-esteem. While this process has the advantage of sequestering low-wage job opportunities for them and their social networks, it has the negative effect of reproducing exploitation and categorical inequalities.

Tackling the problem in our case only from the perspective of agency can gloss too easily over structural factors and social obstacles to emancipation. It can be argued that the women's self-conception as 'strong' and able to get ahead despite adversity helps to perpetuate oppression and inequality, by emphasizing their agency at the expense of the context of dominating structural constraints. However, from the theoretical standpoint of recognition, these women's desire to achieve and transform their lives cannot be overlooked. Their effort to constantly 'find what is best', when properly articulated with a critique of ideology, is important for them to conceive of themselves as capable of overcoming obstacles in order to pursue a meaningful sense of self-realization.

At this point, we need to clarify how ideology-critique can serve an emancipatory function. Because unraveling this issue requires consideration of sociological models and political normativity, we can only indicate lines of thinking here in a context of a more thorough discussion. In brief, while we understand that ideologies will not disappear until the power structures that uphold them are transformed, we support the argument that a critique of ideology must *begin* with critical discussion (Bohman 2000, Rostbøll 2008). The issue here is not the idealistic assumption that ideology can be overcome merely by critically discussing it. Rather, we contend that social critics have the potential to initiate acts of reflection on obstacles or repressive forces that restrict other people's lives in an arbitrary or unjustifiable way. If we understand the problem of ideological form of recognition as a problem of worldview that makes or implies validity claims (Guess 1981, Shelby 2003), then these claims are open to critical scrutiny.

Second, we do not assume that some group – intellectuals, the ruling elite, disadvantaged groups or any other group – have special access to truth about the social world or an objective standpoint to evaluate the others' statements or forms of reasoning (Shelby 2003, Rostbøll 2008). Thus, even if some claims may be well grounded in human rights and other substantial rights designed to safeguard individual autonomy, we regard ideology critique as a dynamic process of diagnosing oppression, and claim-making and claim-contesting, which takes place irrespective of such normative foundations. Thus, mutual understanding among justice advocates and disadvantaged people's judgment is uncertain; and exactly when counterfactual evidence is met will often be difficult to determine.

Third, we understand that getting people to recognize ideological constructions is not enough to prompt these people to significantly change their social relations. If social advocates really want to subvert the structures of hegemonic power, various measures – including empowerment of disadvantaged subjects; engagement in deliberation in the public sphere; political representation, exercise of pressure on

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formal collective decisions and demands of accountability – are necessary, and that will of course depend on a number of factors in each concrete situation.

We assume that the diagnosis of injustice and the struggle for recognition is never quite finished, but open to permanent contestation. Even if specific procedures to deal with injustice are achieved and institutionalized, they are always partial and may even promote new relations of domination. Ideological forms of consciousness can shift in response to changes in social circumstances. Thus, as long as the diagnosis of injustice and just policies require the support of those to whom they are supposed to apply, critique of unquestioned assumptions, norms, principles and forms of power points towards a clear understanding of how social arrangements *should be*.

Conclusion

Our study exemplifies cases where patterns of recognition are conveyed in legal rules and institutions as well as in actions of certain social agents – notably advocacy agents – before they find expression in practices of a given lifeworld. In our case study, media professionals acted as agents of advocacy, following discourses vocalized by NGOs and local social movements, nationwide, and transnational entities that speak for and act in the name of children and adolescents. Media speakers disseminated ideas about CDL based on a general interpretation of the principles of recognition; their discourses were located on the horizon of human and children's rights, the feminist critique of gender domination and post-colonialism to challenge domination. Discourses circulating in the media attempted to politicize what is seen as natural, and turn harm into an object of collective reflection. Our findings suggest that while value hierarchies do not go unchallenged in public domains, assessment of justice and injustice is based upon the complex logic of the social agents. Because the legitimacy of discourses (and measures) designed to overcome injustice must be accepted as proper by those to whom they are meant to apply, definition of injustice is always a tentative, conflict-ridden process.

Our study presents some limitations. A full-scale assessment of the women's perception of CDL, following awareness campaigns conducted by advocacy groups and governmental programs, would require a larger experiment. A broader sample and detailed investigation of the effects of PETID in the long run would be needed. In addition, this study would have to be complemented by research focusing on structural conditions that affect child and adolescent engagement in CDL and constrain their opportunities. Still, we expect that our study can contribute, if only modestly, in advancing an explanation of ideological relations in work and social bonds in two specific ways.

First, the focus on CDL has proven useful for advancing a fuller and more nuanced understanding of the difficulty that oppressed individuals have to discern what counts as recognition, under specific conditions. Differently from paradoxes of recognition in post-Fordist work, our study shows the complexities of different logics of recognition in both spheres of love and work at play in CDL; and the alternative ways ideological forms of recognition can establish and stabilize relations of domination. We argued that Honneth's distinction between 'ideological' and 'morally justified' forms of recognition is productive in analyzing how women in our study define their situation, without assuming a cognitive or a moral incapacitation of the powerless. While we argued that the women's motivation to create

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and achieve self-realization paradoxically leads to the reproduction of domination, we suggested that their 'interest in emancipation' cannot be conceptualized as mere subjugation. We also suggested that such a motivation for transformative agency, when properly incorporated into a critique of ideology, can drive struggles for recognition forward.

The second conclusion that arises from our analysis regards the conflictive assessment of justice and injustice. To outline a way around this difficulty, we argued that multiplying concrete opportunities for dialogue and negotiation among disadvantaged subjects and justice advocates, across formal and informal settings, helps to clarify what is to be taken into account and recognized in each and every situation. This procedure cannot eliminate domination, but it contributes to reducing domination's ideological properties. The more frequently subordinate actors engage in contestation of injustice and innovative diagnosis, the more likely they are to question 'the natural order of things'. Similarly, the more frequently social advocates attentively engage with disadvantaged people's claims and contestations, the more likely they are to become aware of limitations in their own claims and of oppressive aspects in their diagnosis and policies. Conceived in this way, critique of ideology can encourage social actors to learn from their mistakes and also to learn from each other in order to define the conditions that have to be met if a justified form of recognition is to be given.

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Notes

1. The original meaning of ideology in Marx as a 'false consciousness' of class-specific conditions of domination has been modified, corrected and altered by several scholars. The concept of ideology has varied connotations that involve debates in politics and economics, as well as in other sociological traditions, such as the Weberian, Durkheimian and structuralist sociologies. Karl Mannheim's sociology of knowledge, Louis Althusser's concept of the State's ideological apparatus and Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony are important developments.
2. A PNAD (national home sampling survey) 2011 Survey, made public by IBGE (Brazilian Geography and Statistics Institute) in 2012, revealed that 257,691 children and adolescents are domestic workers in Brazil. However, it is quite possible that this number is underestimated, given the survey's nature (by sampling) and the difficulty in defining just what 'labour' is.

Notes on contributors

Rousiley C. M. Maia is Associate Professor in the Social Communication Department at the Federal University of Minas Gerais, Brazil. She is the author of *Deliberation, the media and Political Talk* (Hampton Press, 2012), *Media e deliberação* (FGV, 2008), *Comunicação e Democracia* (with Wilson Gomes, Paulus, 2008) and *Recognition and the Media* (Palgrave McMillan, forthcoming). She is an associate editor of The International Encyclopedia of Political Communication (ICA/Wiley-Blackwell).

Danila Cal is Assistant Professor at the University of Amazonia (Brazil). Her MPhil thesis developed at the Federal University of Minas Gerais was awarded the first place as the best

MPhil thesis about media and childhood between 1990 and 2007 in the competition sponsored by the Brazilian News Agency for Children's Rights.

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