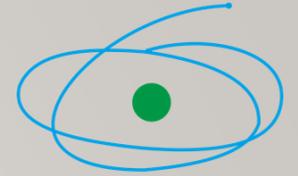




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OVERCOMING HETEROGENEITY: THE MAKING OF DEMOCRATIC FRONTS IN BRAZILIAN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS TO ASSURE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

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INTRODUCTION

- The current scenario of setbacks and threats to sustainable development
- Formation of Heterogeneous Fronts: *Frente Brasil Popular* and *Frente Povo Sem Medo*
- A critical perspective of Heterogeneity - Annalise Moser's critics
- Possibilities to overcome heterogeneity: the role of solidarity

II. THREATS AND SETBACKS - MICHEL TEMER'S GOVERNMENT AND JAIR BOLSONARO'S ELECTION.

- Constitutional Amendment 95 (EC – 95) -freezes for 20 years the ceiling of public spending on health and education
- Reform of secondary education that predicts that for a year the students will pass through a “common formational base”
- Labor Reform
- Public pension reform.
- Against the demarcation of indigenous and quilombola's lands
- Bolsonaro's proposal for the departure of the Paris Agreement



BRIEF HISTORY OF *FRENTE BRASIL POPULAR* AND *FRENTE POVO SEM MEDO*.

- Frente Brasil Popular was created on September 5th, 2015
 - Frente Povo sem medo was created on October, 8, 2015
 - More than 100 institutions/social movements.
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- 2015 and 2016 – Campaigns against Dilma impeachment
 - 2017 - 2017 Actions against Constitutional Amendment 95, at the time, Constitutional Amendment Project 55 (PEC 55) and the Social Security and Labor Reforms.
 - 2017 May – Defense of Direct elections. “General Strike”.
 - 2018 – Anti - Bolsonaro
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THE CHALLENGE OF HETEROGENEITY

- Annalise Moser – the myth of heterogeneity merely masks conflicts of power and privilege embedded in relations between poor women and the grassroots level and middle class women in the NGOs.
- Some actors have more voice, visibility and influence than others.
- Socioeconomic differences may coexist, but the issue of non-balancing power and agency is in no way easily overcoming by heterogeneity.

DEVELOPMENT, SOLIDARITY OR "HOW TO MOBILIZE MULTITUDES"

- Despite the large mobilizations, they were not able to challenge crowds, nor did they articulate and put enough pressure on the government to stop the reforms, such as labor, EC 95 and the reform of secondary education.
 - The guidelines that have been raised are not enough to mobilize groups and people who do not identify with them previously.
 - Bolsonaro's Campaigning: development as economic growth and growth as jobs.
- “the worker will have to choose between more rights or less employment”
- Amartya Sen
 - Paulo Freire affirms that “It is a farce to affirm that men are people and that as people they should be free, and not do anything tangible to make this affirmation a reality”
 - Development as a way to promote Solidarity

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- The challenge to the left and for these fronts here is how to prevent this heterogeneity from becoming demobilizing
 - How to have an agenda that in the process pays attention to these diverse interests and also can mobilize permanently multitudes?
 - Solidarity must be a strategy of overcoming itself and not merely an instrument for fighting oppression. It must overcome empathy (which is vulnerable and politically limited). Solidarity introduces the subjectivity of recognition and of multiple experiences, becoming important for breaking the dichotomies "we vs. they", "oppressed vs. oppressors", showing that we can occupy different positions at the same time in relation to others.

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- There is a political purpose behind solidarity that can contribute to overcome the logic of oppression. More than just a symbol, solidarity must contribute to ruptures in praxis in the individuals involved, being them oppressed or oppressive. Thus, solidarity inside the Fronts might have a paramount importance in overcoming the challenge of heterogeneity.
 - Development as a way to promote Solidarity