

THE CIVIL SOCIETY'S ROLE IN THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS: AN ANALYSIS OF BRAZILIAN POLITICAL IDENTITY AND ITS BEHAVIOR TOWARDS SUPPORTING A GLOBAL AGENDA

O PAPEL DA SOCIEDADE CIVIL NOS OBJETIVOS DE DESENVOLVIMENTO SUSTENTÁVEL: UMA ANÁLISE DA IDENTIDADE POLÍTICA BRASILEIRA E SEU COMPORTAMENTO NO APOIO DE UMA AGENDA GLOBAL

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ABSTRACT

The Sustainable Development Goals, signed in 2015 by all UN member states, are based on the protection of human rights, the reduction of inequalities, the fight against poverty, and the protection of the environment. These goals are a non-legally binding agreement, thus there are no international laws obliging states to comply. Therefore, the pathway that the UN suggests is that the goals should be implemented through joint action with various actors, including non-state actors. The importance of non-state actors is to monitor, hold states accountable, promote transparency in the process, and ensure that the goals are implemented. Thus, the lack of support from the states themselves for civil society endangers the implementation of the global agenda. In this article, I argue using constructivism's theory that the state support for civil society is directly linked to the identity of the high-ranking government. To this purpose, the Brazilian case that went through elections that shifted its political identity after the signing of the agreement will be presented and how each government, with its political identities, behaved regarding supporting civil society in carrying out the SDG 2030.

Keywords: global agenda, constructivism, civil society, SDGs, Brazil

RESUMO

Os Objetivos de Desenvolvimento Sustentável, assinados em 2015 por todos os Estados-membros da ONU, baseiam-se na proteção dos direitos humanos, na redução das desigualdades, no combate à pobreza e na proteção do meio ambiente. Esses objetivos são um acordo não juridicamente vinculativo, assim, não existem leis internacionais obrigando os Estados a cumprir - portanto, o caminho sugerido pela ONU é que os objetivos sejam implementados por meio de ações conjuntas com vários atores, inclusive atores não estatais. A importância dos atores não estatais é monitorar, responsabilizar os estados, promover a transparência no processo e garantir que as metas sejam implementadas. Assim, a falta de apoio dos próprios Estados à sociedade civil põe em risco a implementação da agenda global. Neste artigo, argumento com a teoria construtivista que o apoio do Estado à sociedade civil está diretamente ligado à identidade do governo de alto escalão. Para isso, será apresentado o caso brasileiro que passou por eleições que mudaram sua identidade política após a assinatura do acordo e como se comportou cada governo, com suas identidades políticas, em relação ao apoio à sociedade civil na realização do ODS 2030.

Palavras-chave: agenda global, construtivismo, sociedade civil, ODS, Brasil

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TOPIC OVERVIEW

In the face of several modernity challenges, in 2015, the 195 UN Member States signed a global agenda that promotes sustainable development. The agenda so-called The 2030 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), aims to guide countries to fight poverty, ensure human rights and care for the environment. The idea is that all countries, developed and developing, will be working together to prosper globally for the next fifteen years since the signing, which followed the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Altogether, there are ambitious and large-scale seventeen goals signed by national governments. However, it is important to recognize that, also as the MDGs, the SDGs are only benchmarks to guide the process towards sustainable development, and are not, in themselves, an action plan (Fukuda-Parr *et al*, 2013).

According to the final UN document "Transforming Our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development", the goals are intended to establish actions in important areas for global development, namely: people, that includes ending poverty and hunger to ensure that all human beings have dignity and equality; planet, that includes protecting the environment from degradation and be aware about the climate change; prosperity, that have the purpose to have a society with economic, social and technological process occurring in harmony; peace, which aims to free citizens from fear and violence and, last but not least, partnership, that aims to implement the Agenda 2030 with the participation of all countries and all stakeholders (UN, 2015, p: 2). These areas have become more concrete goals and each signatory country has the responsibility to create an action plan to implement them. (UN, 2018).

Taking into account the importance of the SDG 2030 for global development, the arbitrariness that the signatory countries have in creating their own plan of action and the UN's recognition of the importance of participation in the implementation of the agenda, this article will focus on discussing the importance of partnerships for achieving the 2030 goals and how governments behave in the face of the need for inclusion and support from non-state actors. The UN final document demonstrates the main idea of considering partnerships as an important aspect of the agenda:

Partnership

We are determined to mobilize the means required to implement this Agenda through a revitalised Global Partnership for Sustainable Development, based on a spirit of strengthened global solidarity, focussed in particular on the needs of the poorest and most vulnerable and with the participation of all countries, all stakeholders and all people. The interlinkages and integrated nature of the Sustainable Development Goals are of crucial importance in ensuring that the purpose of the new Agenda is realised. If we realize our ambitions across the full extent of the Agenda, the lives of all will be profoundly improved and our world will be transformed for the better. (UN, 2015, p:2)

Hence, although this agenda has been adopted by national governments, there is a presence of non-state actors for its pursuit. For the UN partnerships between state and non-state actors are considered an effective and innovative instrument for realizing objectives in sustainable development policy (Beishem, 2012). The stakeholders' diversity can be considered as local governments, civil society and the private sector, but, related to this paper, it will be focusing on the civil society's engagement.

The definition used in this work of civil society is based on the vision of the World Economic Forum (2013), which states that civil society is people outside the family, the market and the state, with different purposes, structures, geographical coverage and others. Within this broad spectrum are NGOs, online groups, social identity movements, religious communities, cooperatives, etc. The presence of this diversity of actors when implementing public policy, whether domestic or global, is extremely relevant for a consolidated and legitimized program. Still, based on the World Economic Forum's vision, the civil society is important because has the role of observing governments (watchdogs) and holding them accountable, promoting transparency and accountability, advocating for better policies and the necessary social changes, they have experiences in social areas and projects, are important for representativeness, are close to the citizens, they also defining moral and ethical criteria and provide services to the population.

Therefore, Andreas Schweikert (2017) in his master's thesis, studies and focuses on partnerships to achieve sustainable development goals, claiming that governance structures

are important for achieving the SDGs, since the agenda is a non-legally binding agreement, that is, there are no legal penalties if the goals are not achieved and the country representatives are responsible for its implementation. Notwithstanding, according to his thesis, the author declared that (p: 6): "Based on existing governance literature, I outline the four principles that are considered to be crucial for the implementation of sustainable development: long-term, participation, integration and reflexivity", showing that the participation and, therefore, the non-state actors' performance working together with the state is crucial for the implementation of SDGs. And for this participation to be effective, Pisano *et al* (2014, p: 24) claims that the stakeholders' presence in the policy-making and decision-making process is fundamental.

In addition to the contributions of Pisano *et al* (2015) and Schweikert (2017), which highlight the need for participation and, therefore, civil society for the SDG 2030, it is possible to find in the UN documents themselves the relevance of non-state actors as an "important means of implementation", recognized by all Member States (Beishem; Ellersiek, 2017). However, even if the UN defends the presence of civil society as essential, the SDGs are a top-down policy, built on a global agreement, leaving each country and its peculiarities to define how it will be implemented and, therefore, who will implement - remembering that, as previously presented, the goals are not an action plan, but rather benchmarks that guide progress towards sustainable development. Thus, the presence of civil society becomes even more important in this policy-making process, since the goals are not a homogeneous action plan for all countries, but the domestic characteristics must be taken into account when considering their implementation.

Based on what has been presented it is noticed non-state actors' relevance, especially civil society, in the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals and the persistence of the UN for countries to include other players in the policy-making process. However, each country has a specific relationship with organized civil society, since not all UN member states are countries with a democratic bias and claim social participation in their government programs and public policies. Democratic participation is related to the history, culture, and the vision that current leaders have about their countries and their role in the global system. Thus, it is necessary to understand which aspects encourage governments to pursue sustainable goals and whether they support civil society in

implementing this global agenda as suggested by the UN. In this article, I argue that the main aspect of supporting the global agenda and civil society is symbolic and part of the government's views, beliefs, and perspectives on politics for the country. For that, the constructivist theory of International Relations will be mobilized and Brazil's case study will be presented.

In 2018, Brazil went through elections that radically changed the country's political vision: during the years 2002-2016, the country was under the command of former presidents Lula da Silva and Dilma Rousseff, both from the Workers' Party, with a left-wing perspective. However, in 2016, President Dilma Rousseff suffered an impeachment that led her vice-president, Michel Temer, to power, with an identity focused more on the center and liberalism. In 2018, after new elections, Brazil elects Jair Bolsonaro, a candidate from a party with an extreme right-wing and conservative view. This political transition resulted in the construction of a basic identity duality: on the one hand, we have the identity of the left, and on the other, the identity of the right.

As the Sustainable Development Goals are not a legal agreement between countries, the success of their implementation depends on the political identification of the country's leadership with sustainable development, generating political action and the inclusion of other actors on the agenda. Therefore, in this article, based on statements by Dilma Rousseff and Jair Bolsonaro, it will be demonstrated how political identity is related to the role of presidents in supporting civil society in implementing the Sustainable Development Goals.

EMPIRICAL PUZZLE AND METHODOLOGY

The object of study of this article is to present the position of Brazilian government officials with different political views regarding support civil society in the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals or simply "Why do Brazilian governments support or not civil society in implementing SDGs?". This research question is relevant because, as shown previously, the inclusion of non-state actors means greater chances of the goals being implemented, greater transparency about the process, better communication with the population on public policies for sustainable development and better evaluation and

monitoring of the goals being implemented. Furthermore, the inclusion of civil society in building a more prosperous and more humane world may mean that the population is being heard and that governments are responding to their demands, advancing in democratic processes. The 2030 Agenda is also the object of advocacy by governments and civil society, placing them at a specific point in the new global order.

The Brazilian case was chosen, mainly, because it shows an emerging country perspective that does not have its position in the international system defined. The emerging countries are, according to Jordaan (2013, p: 165), semi peripheral, materially inegalitarian and recently democratised states, with regional influence and self-association. These are countries that have neither a strong nor a weak power position in the international arena and, therefore, generally behave more like reformists and do not seek radical global change, they only seek influence, regional strengthening or among the emerging and stability of the world system.

To analyze this case and answer the research question, constructivist theory in the area of critical theories of International Relations will be used. Constructivist theory is based on empirical analysis, moving towards human discourses and practices beyond the narrow confines of international relations theory (Adler, 1999; Wendt, 2003; 2004; Onuf, 2013) . The constructivist theory core is that systems of shared ideas, beliefs and values are structural features that exert a powerful influence on political action - thus, ideas are always present in shaping the preferences and interests of decision-makers (Onuf, 2013; Mendes, 2018). Also, for constructivists, structures can shape the social and political behavior of the actors, whether they are individual or the State itself, making the norms or ideational structures as important as the material structures (Smit, 2005).

For the analysis of the research question proposed in this work using the constructivist theory, we used, first, the dependent variable (DV): the support or not to civil society by the Brazilian government in the implementation of the SDGs. The dependent variable represents the property whose result depends on how the independent variable is handled. Thus, the independent variables (IV) used in this work will be: the political position based on top governmental beliefs and ideologies in relation to social participation and the achievement of sustainable development through an approach of several stakeholders, as

well as the vision strategic that the high-level government has in relation to the country's position in the international system, that is, whether it supports multilateralism or bilateralism. The importance of analyzing the government's view of multilateralism or bilateralism, in this case, refers to the Sustainable Development Goals as a global agenda that allows countries to seek influence in the international arena if they support the UN and multilateralism.

From the perspective of constructivist theory, these variables are relevant because they demonstrate how beliefs, values and political ideology influence political actions. As stated earlier, these beliefs, values and ideology can be from individuals or from the state structure itself (Onuf, 2013). In this article, it is used the view that the fundamental agents in foreign policy are the decision makers, individuals who act in a determined social context: national government; national and international society and international institutions (Mendes, 2018). Thus, to show how Brazilian governments support or not support civil society in relation to the SDGs, this paper will look at statements and normatives by President Dilma Rousseff in 2015, when the agreement was signed, as well as President Jair Bolsonaro in 2019, in the first year of his term. The statements will explore the presidents' political identities, their position regarding SDGs, as well as the position of the country in the global order (whether or not they agree with multilateralism). Statements will demonstrate beliefs and values, and norms will demonstrate how these ideas are structured materially.

After analyzing the variables with the constructivism perspective, the hypothesis to be tested in this work can be summarized in: If the states have a political identity based social participation and sustainable development achievement or strong multilateralism in the international system, then they support civil society organization in the process of implementing the SDGs.

As already stated, constructivism defines that political actions are guided by identity and beliefs, which are very abstract concepts. Therefore, we are going to create some qualitative indicators using the concept of dependent variable and independent variable. The dependent variable will be analyzed with some comment or legislation that shows support (or not) by the states regarding non-state actors in the global agenda and the

independent variables will be analyzed by the political identity of former president Dilma and president Jair Bolsonaro, from the party in which they were elected and the support to sustainable development, the priority to SDGs in 2015 and 2019, the views regarding participation in 2015 and 2019 and position of the states in the international arena in 2015 and 2019 (if they support bilateralism or multilateralism). The independent variable will be analyzed according to governmental high-level statements and with normative such as decrees.

CASE STUDY: BRAZIL

DILMA ROUSSEFF (2015): SUPPORT TO THE CIVIL SOCIETY REGARDING THE SDGS

According to records, Dilma Rousseff wanted Brazil to make a major contribution to the creation of the Sustainable Development Goals and to establish itself as an important actor. As one of the representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the time, Raphael Azaredo stated, "She [Dilma] will not present the entire [SDG] document but will give the main aspects of the Brazilian contribution. The document that Brazil will present was built with extensive consultations to the organized civil society and economic actors [to draft the text]" (Campos, 2015).

With this statement, it is possible to see that in addition to President Dilma's desire to Brazil being a bigger player in the goal's decision-making process, she wanted and encouraged the presence of civil society in the goal's construction, thus demonstrating her support to them. After signing the 2030 Agenda, Dilma also created a working group to develop and study the SDGs in Brazil, being possible, as well, to perceive a support in the civil society's participation in the implementation processes of the SDGs.

SUPPORT FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT RELATED TO PARTY IDENTITY

The support given by president Dilma Rousseff is now going to be observed in conjunction with the president's party identity to observe if the political identity is related to the belief in global development. Dilma Rousseff was first elected in Brazil in 2010 in a leftist party

called the Workers Party. In 2015, she secured reelection. When Dilma took office in 2015, the party's own website (PT, 2019) already put in their section "Our History": "With Dilma's reappointment to the Presidency, the successful formula that combines economic growth, social inclusion and *sustainable development* is guaranteed. The country is moving towards expanding population access to education to definitely become the 'Educating Nation'". Thus, demonstrating the party's support for the sustainable development agenda.

The Workers Party Statute claims that its political identity is center-left and social-democratic (PT, 2015). Hence, support for the sustainable development agenda is related to the center-left wing and democratic identity, given the emphasis on the agenda on the party's website. So, according to constructivism, political ideas explain the actions of the State and decision-makers – that is, ex-president Dilma was elected from a center-left party, whose core is prosperity through a democratic bias, what leads to support actions such as the sustainable development agenda.

SUPPORTING CIVIL SOCIETY

The second independent variable seeks to demonstrate whether President Dilma, has a political view more linked to the left and supports sustainable development and social participation in a broader spectrum. This variable is relevant because support for social participation in general can mean a more democratic view of decision-making processes in public policies.

Back in 2014, during her first term, Dilma gave a positive nod to civil society, publishing a decree (n° 8.243/2014) that created nine instances of social participation in what was called the "National Policy for Social Participation", a regulation that demonstrates the president's support for civil society (Mello, 2014). Constructivism emphasizes the importance of the regulations within the countries that are created from identities. As previously presented, constructivism asserts that political actions are based on ideas and values, both from the state and from individuals in a position of power. Norms in this sense are important, because individuals can impose their ideas and interests through legislation, which ends up constituting the identity of the State (Mendes, 2018). Therefore, it can be said that

President Dilma's left-leaning identity may have contributed to the regulation that supports civil society.

PRIORITY TO SDGS

The third independent variable assumes that, if there is support for and belief in the SDGs in general, there is a greater chance of successful implementation with a diversity of actors, given that the successful implementation of the domestic action plan depends on the political identification of the decision-makers with the goals.

Between 24 and 27 September 2015, UN member states signed the global plan for sustainable development; on September 27, Dilma addressed the UN Summit stating that Brazil was committed to the SDG 2030 (UN, 2015). In her speech, she emphasizes the importance and priority of the 2030 SDG: “The 2030 Agenda draws the future we want. The 17 Sustainable Development Goals reaffirm the Rio + 20 precept that it is possible to grow, include, conserve and protect. They set clear, truly universal goals; they highlight the need for cooperation between people and show a common path for humanity. This groundbreaking agenda calls for global solidarity, the determination of each of us and a commitment to addressing climate change, overcoming poverty and building opportunities for all”. After that speech, she demonstrated commitment and a belief that the pathway to a country's development also goes through sustainable development.

SUPPORT TO THE MULTILATERALISM

Support for multilateralism, as previously discussed, refers to greater participation in international institutions and a search for influence in global decisions. The government's inclination to support multilateralism demonstrates a greater commitment to carrying out the 2030 agenda signed by all countries, as well as a vision that it is possible to work with several actors at the same time, including non-state actors.

The fact that Brazil is still an emerging country, with no defined position in the international arena, opens a space for decision makers to build their foreign policy according to their interests and their view of the world political order. The movement to

place Brazil as an important actor on the global agenda arises with the haughty and active foreign policy, who sought to highlight the country in a multipolar world.

This foreign policy designed by former President Lula, also elected by the Workers Party, and in the future by former President Dilma, sought Brazil's participation in international affairs. This policy can be proved by looking at some normative movements of Brazil in recent years: strong union with emerging countries through the G3, G4, BRICS, prominent action in the Doha Round and the WTO and campaign for reform of the United Nations Security Council (Bravo, 2016).

According to constructivism, the construction of States' foreign policy is always the result of a complex interactive process, where the role of identity, ideas and norms decisively influence the actors' conception of their interests and preferences and, consequently, the decisions they have to make in foreign policy. This means that ideas gain importance, being able to explain the behavior of the actors (Mendes, 2018; Barros, 2017).

In addition to normatives, support for multilateralism at different levels (human rights, trade, environment) is reinforced through declarations. After the Rio+20 conference, one of the key conferences for the 2030 SDGs, Dilma speaks in her closing speech: "Ladies and gentlemen, they said that multilateralism was agonizing. Rio+20 has shown that multilateralism is an irreplaceable instrument of global expression of democracy. We reaffirm that this is a legitimate way to build solutions to the problems that affect all humanity." (Otávio, 2012). At the 68th UN General Assembly, Dilma claims in her speech "Abandoning multilateralism is a prelude to war." (Viel, 2013).

Thus, through declarations and regulations during the years of President Dilma Rousseff's two terms in office, we can see a strong support for civil society, the 2030 SDGs and multilateralism. Constructivist theory says that these political actions are based on identity, ideas and values. Hence, these actions are linked to the political identity of President Dilma Rousseff, who was elected through a program of a center-left party with democratic social principles.

JAIR BOLSONARO (2019)

SUPPORT TO THE CIVIL SOCIETY REGARDING THE SDGS

Unlike Dilma Rousseff, in his first year in office, Bolsonaro did not offer any support to civil society in relation to the 2030 SDGs, quite the contrary: he dismantled structures that existed to implement the objectives. In 2017, the National Commission for the SDGs (CNODS) was created, a decree issued by then President Michel Temer following the impeachment of President Dilma. In the first months of President Bolsonaro's term, he extinguished this committee, as well as other arenas for social participation.

According to the hypothesis presented in this paper, the lack of support for civil society in relation to the SDGs is related to the beliefs and political identity of President Jair Bolsonaro. Thus, the independent variables will now be analyzed in order to understand the contrast with the position taken by former President Dilma Rousseff.

SUPPORT FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT RELATED TO PARTY IDENTITY

Bolsonaro was elected in 2018 by the Liberal Social Party; a party that, on its website, states that it believes in conservatism, in a limited government that prioritizes not allying with "conjugations and coalitions with Bolivarian left parties, such as PT, PSol, PCdoB, PSTU, PCO, PCB, and any others that support authoritarian regimes installed in other countries", distancing themselves from the left and claiming to be the only current conservative right-wing party in Brazil (Siqueira, 2019). Therefore, according to constructivist theory, President Jair Bolsonaro's political actions will be linked to the identity, values and beliefs of the conservative right - the opposite of President Dilma.

No statements or norms were found to demonstrate exactly what President Jair Bolsonaro or his party thinks about the concept of sustainable development - but it will be possible to have an idea from the next variables analyzed.

SUPPORTING THE CIVIL SOCIETY

In its fourth month in office, it was already possible to observe the lack of support to civil society. Within 100 days of his term, Bolsonaro extinguished more than 50 social councils and colleges created by President Dilma in 2015 with the "National Policy for Social Participation". In his social networks, Bolsonaro said the cuts could generate considerable saving of monetary resources and that civil society entities are "politically equipped using beautiful names to enforce their wills, ignoring the law and purposely disrupting Brazil's development, not caring about its real needs of the population". In protest, 39 entities signed a manifesto against the measure. In a comment, they stated that the government's attitude goes against democratic development (Faria, 2019; Uribe, 2019).

Once more, constructivism claims that political actions come in part from the identities of the actors. Thus, President Jair Bolsonaro's lack of support for civil society is directly linked to his political position in the conservative right, in a spectrum opposite to President Dilma's, which justifies two different actions on the same subject.

PRIORITY TO SDGS

Regarding the 2030 ODS, Bolsonaro and Dilma also have different views. While president Dilma made a point of placing Brazil as an important actor on the global agenda and reaffirmed through speeches Brazil's commitment to sustainable development, Bolsonaro's party, through a deputy named Victório Galli, during Bolsonaro's post-election, suggests a bill intended to withdraw Brazil of global agenda, saying it "hurts the sovereignty, autonomy and independence" (BRA, 2018). The bill did not go forward, but disagreement regarding the global agenda continued. In his fifth month in office, Bolsonaro's government has decided not to submit Voluntary National Reports (VNR) about the SDGs at the High Level Political Forum on Sustainable Development (HLPF) (GGN, 2019), a voluntary report that expose the country's progress towards the SDGs.

On the last day of 2019, Bolsonaro criticizes the UN agenda. By social networks, commenting on his veto on the passage from the Union's Multiannual Plan (PPA) bill for the period 2020-2023, which set as one of the document's guidelines the pursuit of the

SDG targets, the president quoted the word "goals" and complained that the document defended themes such as abortion and gender ideology, which he called "nefarious". The veto to the text that linked the Sustainable Development Goals to the Brazilian national planning was justified by the fact that a global agenda would hurt Brazilian sovereignty (Fernandes, 2020). This was a political action similar to the bill submitted by the same party parliamentarian, suggesting again that the action was defined by the political identity of the president's party.

SUPPORT TO THE MULTILATERALISM

Regarding Jair Bolsonaro's political identity, in his foreign policy he aligned himself with President Donald Trump, known for being critical of multilateralism. In addition, government officials are critical of "globalism" and multilateral institutions. Before elections, chancellor Ernesto Araújo announced that Brazil will exit the UN Global Migration Pact, and Bolsonaro stated that if elected, Brazil would leave the UN: "[The UN] is no good, it is a meeting place for communists." (BBC, 2019).

Once elected, he continued with the same understanding. In his speech at the UN General Assembly in 2019, he said: "(...) President Donald Trump, who well summarized the spirit that must prevail among UN countries: respect for the freedom and sovereignty of each of us.", resuming the strong alignment with the United States and moving away from multilateralism. At the end of the speech, he declares again: "We are not here to erase nationalities and sovereignties in the name of an abstract global interest. This is not the Organization of Global Interest! It is the United Nations. It must remain so!" (Cerioni, 2019). This position in relation to multilateralism shows that the president does not want to be a major player in the international system together with other emerging countries, but rather to align himself with the United States and focus on bilateral agreements.

CONCLUSION

To achieve the Sustainable Development Goals by 2030, it is extremely important to include non-state actors so that they can hold national governments accountable. However, political identities that do not agree with global agendas and multilateralism because they

think it harms the country's sovereignty, tend to decrease its support for civil society through regulations, as a way of not being responsible for the agenda.

In the Brazilian case, it is possible to verify that the support to non-state actors in the scope of SDG 2030 is related to the identity position of the presidents during their terms. Dilma, with an identity center-left and democrat gave priority to the global agenda with the support of civil society as a way to put Brazil as an important actor in the international arena, which is also directly linked to the belief that the pathway to the new global order is multilateralism.

Bolsonaro, on the other hand, offered no support to civil society, criticizing the global agenda and multilateralism and strengthening ties with specific partners such as the United States, which is directly linked to conservative right-wing political identity. Observing these different positions within an emerging country that does not yet have a defined role in the international arena is important for understanding how states' political identities behave and act through global policies, such as the inclusion of non-state actors in the 2030 SDGs.

Therefore, support for non-state actors in the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals, as constructivism puts it, is directly linked to the political identity of the actors and their views and beliefs about the world order, which generate specific political actions regarding their foreign policies, confirming the hypothesis of this paper.

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