

RPPI

Revista Brasileira de
Políticas Públicas e Internacionais

ISSN 2525 - 5584
VOL. 6 / N° 2 / 2021

UF Editora
UFPB





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The Brazilian Journal of Public and International Policies would like to express their appreciation and deep gratitude to colleagues who served as peer reviewers in the third issue of 2020, as listed below.

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Revista Brasileira de Políticas Públicas e Internacionais (RPPI)
Centro de Ciências Sociais Aplicada CCSA - Campus Universitário
CEP.: 58051-900 - (83) 3216-7200 - João Pessoa - Paraíba
Contato: rppi.ufpb@gmail.com / Tel: (83) 3216-7200

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EDITORIAL

Dear Editorial Board Members, editing assistants, readers, authors, reviewers, and users, we are pleased to present the Brazilian Journal of Public and International Policies (RPPI) first issue of 2021 (vol.6, n.2, 2021). We are happy for being able to make public one more volume despite the challenges posed by the pandemic in the years 2020 and 2021. We had to deal with operational problems that affected our work, from our article receipt system, to find reviewers able and willing to the activity (unpaid and in times of work overload) to delays (understandable and justified) in returning opinions. Therefore, presenting the second volume of 2021 can be considered a victory in the face of so many challenges.

Keeping the proposal of an academic-scientific dissemination medium with an interdisciplinary profile, the RPPI brings to the academic community, researchers, students and other interested parties, a contemporary debate on subjects associated to and integrated with public policies and international cooperation.

The issues of 2021 has articles published in two languages, Portuguese and one version in a second language (Spanish or English), chosen by the authors. In the same direction, the new journal system allows access in three languages (Portuguese, English, and Spanish). Thus, we now meet the criteria of internationalization, accessibility, and international dissemination to authors and readers of scientific work published in the RPPI. With these improvements, we hope to increase the reach of our publications and comply with of the indexing bases of national and international academic and scientific productions (Web of Science, Scopus, Scimago, index h, among others). The improvements on our system also aim to expand our collection of international publications, as well as to contribute to the dissemination of the public policy debate at the domestic and international levels.

Given the accessibility, security, and trust requirements of the documents published in the RPPI, all are available in PDF/A, as informed in the editorials of the year 2019.

We, the editors and editing assistants, wish you a good reading.



Editor-Chefe da Revista Brasileira de Políticas Públicas e Internacionais

Sustainable development and Sustainable Development Goals: distinct processes and convergent interests

*Desenvolvimento sustentável e Objetivos do Desenvolvimento Sustentável:
Processos distintos e interesses convergentes*

Niemeyer Almeida Filho¹ 
Aléxia Santos Sander Lauer² 

DOI: 10.22478/ufpb.2525-5584.2021v6n2.57533

Recebido em: 03/02/2021
Aprovado em: 27/03/2021

Resumo: O artigo trata da criação, incorporação e disseminação do conceito de desenvolvimento sustentável no âmbito das relações internacionais. Ao contrário da literatura dominante de RI, considera que o conceito é ambíguo, o que favorece a reprodução da hierarquia dos estados nacionais, numa aparente concessão a um processo de transformação civilizatória e incluyente. O enfoque é de economia política, de modo que há uma parte importante do texto voltada para discussões teóricas de desenvolvimento econômico. Neste sentido, a imbricação das discussões teóricas com aquelas específicas da política internacional no âmbito da ONU, sintetizadas nos objetivos de Desenvolvimento Sustentável, mostra apropriação da ideia de desenvolvimento sustentável como legitimadora de uma visão de futuro improvável.

Palavras-chave: Desenvolvimento sustentável; Objetivos de desenvolvimento sustentável; Concepção de desenvolvimento da ONU

Abstract: The article deals with the creation, incorporation and dissemination of the concept of sustainable development in the context of international relations. Unlike the dominant IR literature, it considers that the concept is ambiguous, which favors the reproduction of the hierarchy of national states, in an apparent concession to a process of civilizing and inclusive transformation. The focus is on political economy, so there is an important part of the text focused on theoretical discussions of economic development. In this sense, the imbrication of theoretical discussions with those specific to international policy within the UN, synthesized in the Sustainable Development objectives, shows

¹ Professor of the Graduate Program of the Institute of Economics and International Relations of the Federal University of Uberlândia (IERI-UFU). E-mail: nafilho@ufu.br

² Master's student of IERI-UFU Graduate Program. E-mail: alexiaslauer@gmail.com

appropriation of the idea of sustainable development as legitimizing an unlikely vision of the future.

Keywords: Sustainable Development; Sustainable Development Goals; UN Development Design

1. Introduction

The concept of Sustainable Development has been a mandatory reference for all organs under the United Nations institutionality (UN). This reference was consolidated by the creation of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in September 2015. From then on, the signatory countries of the SDGs voluntarily incorporated this concept into their internal policies or began to use it as the most up-to-date representation of social development for development policy purposes. There is also a strong broader impact, reaching private companies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). An updated analysis of the whole process can be found in Menezes (2019).

This identification of the SDGs to the concept of sustainable development is an imbrication of the processes of theoretical and political discussion since both occurred within the UN. However, the process by which the idea of sustainable development reached a position of hegemony in the social debate on development was independent of the process of building the SDGs. This theme is related to the discussion of institutional filtering of supranational agreements concerning internal jurisdiction. There is specialized literature on this, although it does not deal specifically with the theme of environmental conservation policies, and it is focused on the SDGs (ENAP, 2018).

The concept of sustainable development emerged from a normative political discussion of the pertinence and support of economic development that had been taking place since the postwar period until the Stockholm conference, held in Sweden in 1972. The period roughly coincides with what is known as "the glorious thirty years of capitalism" (Fourastié, 1979). After that, there was academic and political discussion about the new development concept (Bonente & Almeida Filho, 2011). At the level of the UN and its organs, the process culminated in creating the World Commission on Environment and Development, 1983, which produced a report called *Our Common Future*, published in 1987, in which the concept of sustainable development was first disseminated.

On the other hand, the MDGs resulted from a historical conjuncture of globalization and global inequality of income and wealth at various levels of aggregation

of the world economy: developed economies and peripheral economies, distribution of income and national wealth, distribution of income in subnational spaces, etc. This deepening of differences in living levels resulted in a summit meeting held in New York in September 2000. Leaders from 189 countries approved the Millennium Declaration, a commitment to work together to build a safer, more prosperous, and fairer world. The Declaration contained eight targets to be achieved by 2015. The SDGs are an extension of these eight targets to seventeen others, incorporating the concept of sustainable development there. However, the process of defining the 17 objectives and 169 goals was distinct from the MDGs.

There is extensive literature on the SDGs in the field of International Relations. A review of the internal positions to the theme can be found in Galvão (2020). The theoretical perspective of this article is not among these positions. The best denomination for it is that it is a political economy approach that conceives the global economy as a hierarchical, unequal organic whole, which tends to reproduce. At the level at which the discussion of the SDGs is established, an interstate system is formulated, also hierarchical, but with relative autonomy to the private sphere (molecular movement of capital) in terms of Harvey (2004). The literature of political economy, in general, does not deal with the institutionality of the UN because it understands that no regulation corresponds to the function of national states. An alternative that was not used in this article is presented by neogramscianos, who understand supranational regulation as indispensable to the expansion of capitalism in the Second World War (Murphy, 1994; 2005).

Another relevant aspect of this approach is that it does not part with the "scientific" debate from the politician, different from what supports Alves & Fernandes (2020). Societies are understood as classes and the State as the central political power, from which there is the primary process of social regulation (exercise of jurisdiction), complemented by other regulation systems (Hirsch, 2010). For this reason, the State is the focus of social dispute, so the international representation, diplomacy, and paradiplomacy do not automatically and directly determine internal policies. Still, it is possible to deal with the theoretical debate on development (economic, human, social, environmental, etc.) by Milonakis & Fine (2009).

The article follows Nobre's thesis (1999) that the formulation of sustainable development is deliberately ambiguous to make the economic, social, and environmental

spheres compatible. According to him, this is a strategy of UNEP (United Nations Environment Programme) to institutionalize the environmental theme within the UN. It disguises a hierarchy of dimensions, objectives, and goals, with evident privilege for the economy. Moreover, the focus given to the economy is neoclassical, as Josephsen (2017: 15) maintains, and therefore assumes a harmonious behavior of agents, incompatible with the complexity of International Relations. This set of elements leads to questioning the possibilities of success of the SDGs as a civilizing process.

The article is organized into three sections. In the first, we describe the process of formulating and consolidating the concept of sustainable development. In the second, we describe the process that culminated in the MDGs. In the third section, we describe creating the SDGs, incorporating the concept of sustainable development, and raising reasons for their unification to constitute guidelines of great international reception. Finally, we have summarized some conclusions.

2. The origin and consolidation of the concept of sustainable development within the UN

The thirty glorious years of capitalism, an expression coined by Jacques Fourastié (1979), reflect an active phase of development and growth of the world economy, which includes productive expansion and a new corporate arrangement with institutionalization and international regulation. In this arrangement, the "world of work" was contemplated with what became known as the Welfare State, with health, education, and social security policies (Judt, 2007). This process of the historical development of capitalism lost strength in the 1960s and ended in the 1970s for several reasons, but in what concerns the stand article by the evidence that the excessive expansion of capitalism had perverse environmental and social consequences. The main phenomena of this period seemed to be the acceleration of the use of non-renewable wealth reserves and the intensification of social inequality that was produced in the world, either in terms of national economies or in terms of the portions of national populations that had access to the benefits that capitalism could offer.

One of the most important historical documents to mark this change in social status in the world economy was a study commissioned by the Club of Rome from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT, USA) and called Limits of Growth, or

Meadows's report³³. This study showed in scientific terms that continuing the growth trajectory of the world economy that could be observed from the post-war to the mid-1960s, non-renewable resources would be exhausted in the next hundred years. The MIT study gained vast repercussions and was translated into several languages. International backlash peaked at the Stockholm Conference in Sweden in 1972. The Conference was a recognition by the UN that the theme had global relevance, as it was the first world conference related to the environment. What was mainly under discussion, among several other topics, as a result of the Limits of Growth study, was a possible limitation to the use of non-renewable resources, a proposal known then as "zero growth".

Due to the characteristic of UN's events of being a representation of national governments, the discussion presented contours of a geopolitical debate of the world economy. In parallel to the Conference, there were discussions with organized social movements. There was important criticism of the specific form of life centered on exacerbated consumerism, represented by the American standard of living. There was a reaction from the countries then considered peripheral or underdeveloped, which understood the meaning of the possible freezing, decrease or zeroing of the growth of the world economy as an obstacle to their processes of catching-up development, in terms of Rostow (1961).

The position of zero growth was supported by developed countries, especially those smaller in northern Europe. This Scandinavia region considered it necessary to adopt a development policy alternative to that represented by the USA. There was a standoff with heated positions of peripheral countries. From the theoretical and political point of view, a relevant part of the debate was portrayed by Ecodevelopment's proposition (Strong, 1973). This consisted in the definition of a style of development adapted to the rural areas of the Third World, based on the judicious use of local resources,

³³ The Limits to Growth is a book written in 1972 that modeled the consequences of the rapid growth of the world population considering limited natural resources, commissioned by the Club of Rome. Its authors were Donella H. Meadows, Dennis L. Meadows, Jørgen Randers, and William W. Behrens III. The research used a computer system (World3) to simulate the consequences of the interaction between the systems of the planet Earth and the human systems. Five variables were examined in the original model, assuming that exponential growth accurately describes its growth patterns: world population, industrialization, pollution, food production and depletion of resources. In 2008, Graham Turner of the Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organization (CSIRO) in Australia, published an article entitled "A comparison of 'The Limits to Growth' with thirty years of reality". It examined the last thirty years of reality with the predictions made in 1972 and found that changes in industrialization, food production and pollution are all consistent with the book's predictions of an economic and social collapse in the 21st century. https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Os_Limites_do_Crescimento

without compromising the exhaustion of nature, because in these places there was still the possibility that such societies would not engage in the illusion of mimetic growth, that is, the reproduction of the American standard of living in the periphery.

This type of proposition had anticapitalism content by altering/mitigating the consumerist impulse inherent in capitalism. Capitalism only stabilizes itself in growth. It is through the expectations of increased profits that production expands. And this expansion depends on the continuous incorporation of new products into the social standard of living, thus exceeding the organic limits of individual consumption. In a scenario of zero growth or deficient growth, this possibility would not exist. Ecodevelopment was not welcomed adequately by the political forces that hegemonized (and still hegemonize) the world economy.

Later, Ignacy Sachs (1980) appropriates the concept, improving its definition, creating a framework for Ecodevelopment strategies⁴. Part of the model's premise was based on three pillars: economic efficiency, social justice, and ecological prudence. This reformulation softened the anticapitalism content of Ecodevelopment but maintained the importance of environmental concerns in defining new social consumption patterns. Maybe that's why it had less repercussion than it deserved.

Also, as a result of the Stockholm Conference, the UN General Assembly created the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) in December 1972 to coordinate environmental activities within the UN. However, his priorities focused on technical issues. Even today, its mission is to address the ecological aspects of disasters and

⁴ Reference to Ignacy Sachs' book as a landmark is common in the literature. However, the author himself, in the introduction to the book, says that the "review" of Maurice Strong's proposals was the result of a discussion process that would have started as early as 1974, with the Declaration of Cocoyoc, Mexico: "A little later, in 1974, the Cocoyoc Declaration formulated a more general [than Strong's] and richer interpretation of the concept of Ecodevelopment" (SACHS, 1980: 12). The declaration is the end point of a seminar organized by UNEP and UNCTAD in favor of development and human-centered needs. After an introduction as a theoretical reflection, the document redefines theoretical elements such as the Purpose of Development, the Diversity of Development and Self-reliance, to end with Suggestions for Action and an epilogue. The Cocoyoc Declaration reveals the difficulty of meeting human needs in an environment under great pressure. It starts with a summary of the lack of progress on issues such as poverty, hunger, illiteracy, health and homelessness, to which it adds problems of resource degradation. Then, it indicates what the development objectives should be (meet basic needs) and recommends actions according to a global economic management based on a new international economic order and on the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States (retrieved from <https://sites.google.com/site/historiaeducacionambiental/decada-de-los-70/1974>, accessed on 05/25/2020).

conflicts, ecosystem management, environmental governance, harmful substances, and resource efficiency, and climate change.

In 1983, the UN Secretary-General invited the physician Gro Harlem Brundtland, a Master of Public Health and former Prime Minister of Norway, to establish and chair the World Commission on Environment and Development. In April 1987, the Brundtland Commission, as it became known, published an innovative report, "Our Common Future", which brings the concept of sustainable development to public discourse. The idea of sustainable development contemplated the dominant interests in the world economy while also contemplating the concerns of environmental preservation. The concept was consolidated at the second world conference on the environment held in 1992, Rio 92, in which this proposition was consecrated. From then on, sustainable development became an international reference for UN actions on the environment.

Apart from Ecodevelopment, sustainable development has ambiguity and its virtue and the main reason for acceptance (Nobre & Amazonas, 2002; Layrargues, 1997; Baroni, 1992). The most plausible conclusion in this comparison between the two concepts is that sustainable development results from the pressure of the new ecological reality and the need for market forces to assume a new posture, under new clothing, without modifying its operating structure. The process of capital accumulation whose operation is dependent on market logic has not even been shaken, or rather, has even been strengthened. Sustainable development assumes the posture of a neoliberal ecological project, which under the sign of reform produces the illusion of living a time of change, in the apparent certainty that it is a gradual process that will lead to socio-environmental sustainability.

It turns out that the proposal for a "new style of development", translated by sustainable development, which could mean a change, of course, remains in the same way as always. There is recognition of this nature by the actors of the process themselves. In the Brundtland Report text, "most of the technological research done by commercial organizations is dedicated to creating and processing innovations that have market value" (Layrargues, 2016). This paradoxically means that there is no commitment to producing goods that meet the most impoverished societies' needs.

3. The Millennium Development Goals: confrontation of internal positions to UN agencies and agencies

The successive international conferences that marked the 1990s laid the groundwork for building a new global development agenda. By identifying development as an expansion of human capacities, Amartya Sen (1991; 1993) leads to the consolidation of human development. International debates began to favor a broader conception of development based on human life quality, surpassing simplistic interpretations of economic growth.

This process of building a new global development agenda has relevant historical backgrounds. Like the environmental issue, global poverty reduction became a central theme in international relations in the 1970s. Previously, the United Nations summits and the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) portrayed joint efforts to achieve the established but ineffective purpose. The UN has become the target of numerous criticisms that claimed a weak structure focused on developmentalism. The rise of Ronald Reagan's conservative governments in the United States and Margaret Thatcher in the United Kingdom marked the advance of neoliberal ideology. The central structure of the UN, in this scenario, loses ground in development decisions, enabling international financial institutions (IFIs), especially the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), to take on the burden of directing global priorities (Chopra & Mason, 2014; Hulme, 2007).

The overthrow of socialism, emblematically marked by the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, consolidated Neoliberalism as the only ideology of reference for most governments in the world. The advance of macroeconomic stabilization on the other dimensions of national public policies imposed the contingency of social spending and reduced the role of the State. This agenda imposed "reforms" that became known in Latin America as the Washington Consensus (Williamson, 2004). However, this development model proved insufficient to promote the improvement of the social conditions of the most impoverished layers (Chopra & Mason, 2014). In 1990, the World Bank published the "World Development Report: Poverty". It recognizes the persistent challenges across the globe and the need to pay greater attention to social policies, together with ongoing economic reforms. Thus, rethinking the international agenda became imperative at the beginning of the new Century (Hulme, 2007).

Also, in the previous context, during the 1980s, the socio-economic indices of Latin American and sub-Saharan African countries declined to put poverty reduction back as a top priority for international agents. The World Bank (1990) has given industrialized countries the mission of providing resources and assistance to developing countries, especially those on the African continent. The Report advocates the implementation of public policies that provide social protection to the poorest. In exchange for their commitment to fiscal discipline, the globe's peripheral nations would receive international assistance from developed countries (World Bank, 1990).

In 1990, the first UNDP Human Development Report (United Nations Development Programme) was disseminated, and, with it, the conception of human development gained notoriety (UNDP, 1990). Another significant milestone was holding the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in 1992 in Rio de Janeiro, already mentioned in the previous section. With the establishment of Agenda 21, the Conference represented significant advances in the perspectives that link the environment to development. However, sustainable development has been more associated with environmental sustainability over the decade and away from other development dimensions (ECOSOC, 2015).

On the other hand, the end of the Cold War led to a decline in Official Development Assistance (ODA). Therefore, international aid agencies have suffered a fall in their budgets. Given this, the European Union has set up a Reflection Group to articulate new guidelines. It was decided that the Development Assistance Committee (DAC)⁵ would be responsible for drawing up a set of targets focused on poverty reduction but to stress the importance of economic growth. In May 1996, the DAC released "Shaping the 21st Century: The Contribution of Development Co-operation", a document that deliberated the seven International Development Goals (HULME, 2007). They are played on Table 1.

Table 1: International Development Objectives

Objectives	description
Goal 1	The proportion of people living in extreme poverty in developing countries should be reduced by at least one-half by 2015.

⁵ Committee of OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development).

Goal 2	Universal primary education in all countries by 2015.
Goal 3	Elimination of gender disparity in primary and secondary education by 2005.
Goal 4	The death rate for infants and children under the age of five years should be reduced in each developing country by two-thirds the 1990 level by 2015.
Goal 5	The rate of maternal mortality should be reduced by three-fourths during the period 1990 to 2015.
Goal 6	Access should be available through the primary health-care system to reproductive health services for all individuals of appropriate ages, including safe and reliable family planning methods by 2015.
Goal 7	There should be a current national strategy for sustainable development, in the process of implementation, in every country by 2005, so as to ensure that current trends in the loss of environmental resources _ forests, fisheries, fresh water, climate, soils, biodiversity, stratospheric ozone, the accumulation of hazardous substances and other major indicators _ are effectively reversed at both global and national levels by 2015.

SOURCE: DAC, 1996. Own elaboration.

If, on the one hand, there was a focus on measurable objectives in the IDGs, on the other hand, there was a need for the UN to stress more general agendas to ensure consensus among its various actors. Thus, on April 3, 2000, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan released the report "We, the Peoples: the role of the United Nations in the 21st century". In June of the same year, to boost support for the coordination of multilateral efforts in poverty reduction, the document "A Better World for All" was prepared, a joint initiative of the United Nations, OECD, World Bank, and IMF (Hulme, 2007).

Between 6 and 8 September 2000, at the General Assembly, Resolution 55/2, entitled Millennium Declaration, was adopted. The Declaration represented the convergence of interests of 191 nations and 147 Heads of State and Government in recognizing and overcoming the challenges to be faced in that millennium. It defined interconnected objectives related to peace, security, and development, in the environmental, human rights, and governance dimensions, in addition to highlighting special attention to the African continent (UN Development Group, 2001). The Millennium Declaration points to several key objectives agreed by the Member States, reproduced in Table 2.

Table 2: Millennium Declaration

Key objectives	description
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Peace, security and disarmament.	It supports the need to overcome wars and strengthen the United Nations in its role of conflict prevention and resolution. It emphasizes the importance of adhering to international treaties and support in combating weapons of mass destruction.
Development and eradication of poverty.	It highlights the importance of aid from developed countries to developing countries that are committed to implementing efforts to reduce poverty. Targets are set to increase access to drinking water, primary education, gender equality and reducing maternal and child mortality, as well as combating serious diseases, in particular HIV/AIDS.
Protection of our common environment.	It promotes sustainable development in order to enable the preservation of natural resources for future generations.
Human rights, democracy and good governance.	It affirms efforts to promote democracy and strengthen the rule of law. To this end, it aims to boost democratic practices and promote respect for human rights, in particular the rights of minorities, in order to combat violence against women, racism and xenophobia. Moreover, it values popular participation in politics and the freedom of the media.
Protection of vulnerable groups.	It encompasses populations in humanitarian emergencies. With greater concern for children, it decides to protect and guarantee assistance to civilians immersed in the context of armed conflict, natural disasters and genocides. The condition of migrants is emphasized, as support and collaboration is recommended for countries receiving refugees.
Respond to Africa's special needs.	It corroborates the established values of providing socioeconomic assistance to less developed nations. It emphasizes the importance of implementing policies aimed at sustainable development, peacebuilding and poverty eradication, in accordance with the obstacles experienced by the African continent.
Strengthen the United Nations.	It encourages states to commit themselves to strengthening the UN and the effective performance of the Secretariat and deliberative bodies. It fosters cooperation between the United Nations and other multilateral bodies, national parliaments, the private sector, non-governmental organizations and civil society.

SOURCE: UN General Assembly, 2000. Own elaboration.

The lack of measurable goals in the Millennium Declaration maintained the need for more specific purposes, which later became the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Even after the Assembly, further revisions on the objectives were made until the formal definition of the MDGs. The agreement was chosen between the OECD's Proposals, represented by DAC, IFIs, defined by the World Bank and IMF, and the UN, represented by UNDP⁶. This group follows the writing of the objectives, and each participant required their political preferences. The MDGs were signed in the document "Road map towards the implementation of the United Nations Millennium Declaration"

⁶ UNDP actively participated in the processes of formulating and monitoring the projected targets, in monitoring results in countries and producing reports on the MDG panorama in the world. It became secretary of the Millennium Project and incorporated the Millennium Campaign, both instituted in 2002 by the UN, in order, respectively, to build a concrete action plan and propagate the MDGs (UNDP, 2016a).

on September 6, 2001, by the UN General Assembly (Barcellos & Carvalho, 2015; Hulme, 2007; Hulme, 2009).

The MDGs brought together eight main objectives, 21 targets, and 60 indicators. Concerning 1990, the objectives should be achieved by 2015, taking place over 25 years. The enumeration of these objectives was through a pact between developed and developing countries in order to establish the national and international priorities that would guide states in the period (UNDP, 2016a; UN Development Group, 2001). The MDGs are shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Millennium Development Goals

Goal 1	Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger
Goal 2	Achieve universal primary education
Goal 3	Promote gender equality and empower women
Goal 4	Reduce child mortality
Goal 5	Improve maternal health
Goal 6	Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases
Goal 7	Ensure environmental sustainability
Goal 8	Global partnership for development

SOURCE: UN, 2020a. Own elaboration.

While objectives 1 to 7 target developing countries, Objective 8 designates targets for developed countries to commit to granting financial and trade aid to developing countries to achieve the other seven defined objectives (UN Development Group, 2001; UNDP, 2016a).

Fukuda-Parr and Greenstein (2010) argue that the approach used in evaluating progress in the absorption of the MDGs, systematized by quantified targets and restricted by a deadline, is inconsistent with its purpose of creation⁷. UNDP and World Bank report focused too much on achieving or not achieving targets without examining trends in the improvements observed (Fukuda-Parr & Greenstein, 2010). By removing the idea of human rights and expanding human capacities, the MDGs go back to a simplistic narrative based on a practical understanding of development, that is, merely associated with material acquisition (Fukuda-Parr, 2013).

⁷ For the authors, the MDGs were planned from a different perspective, as global political commitments to establish normative priorities (Fukuda-Parr & Greenstein, 2010).

After the publication of the first reports on the MDGs situation in the world, it became clear that the objectives took on an overly global character that made it difficult for low-income countries, especially sub-Saharan Africa, to achieve the targets. Moreover, with the global financial crisis of 2008 and the recession in 2009 centered on developed countries, the situation for ODA was not favorable. With this, states began to direct economic aid only to the world's most vulnerable countries (UNDP, 2016a).

There was a firm intention at the United Nations to direct some vigor to the results of the MDGs. According to the 2016 UNDP report, "From the MDGs to Sustainable Development for All," the scenario was poverty reduction and improved social indices. However, the economic growth of certain nations tended to conceal local gains as if they were collective. Nevertheless, the document recognizes Chinese competence in much of the progress and reveals that many countries have not been prosperous in achieving the targets (UNDP, 2016b). Examining the countries' domestic plan also raised questions about completing the targets. The criticism points to the absence of analyses concerning inequalities within countries. Proposing a reduction of poverty indicators without considering internal disparities made room for governments to concentrate their efforts on the wealthiest classes, indicating illegitimate advances (Ohchr, 2008).

The MDGs has also become the target of criticism regarding the fact that the goals are too generalizing and disregard each State's specificities. Besides, because they were quantitative targets, they ignored the quality of what was done to reach the target numbers. Another issue referred to the absence of a comprehensive approach to the policies and strategies needed to achieve the objectives (Barcellos & Carvalho, 2015).

The MDGs were shaped under an orthodox logic of development and based on technical solutions. Thus, traditional political and financial dynamics were maintained, and power relations were ignored in actual support of global poverty (Fukuda-Parr, 2013; Hulme, 2009; Ohchr, 2008). Ha-Joon Chang (2010) argues that the MDGs started from the perception that developing countries could eradicate poverty with the help of rich countries. This idea is expressed by objective 8 of "developing a global partnership for development", whose goals relate to increasing loans and reducing agricultural and textile tariffs under exports from developing countries. There was, therefore, an incentive to open trade in rich countries so that developing nations could expand their direct sales without creating possibilities for the production of higher added value goods (Chang, 2010).

In 2016, UNDP and the World Bank jointly produced a report on the transition from the MDGs to the SDGs, with the UN Chief Executives Board for Coordination (CEB)⁸, responsible for carrying out analyses of the objectives at the national level. The Report examines the MDGs situation in selected countries, participating in the diagnosis and committed to the goals (UNDP & WBG, 2016). It should be recorded that, except Colombia and El Salvador, no other Latin American country appears in the Report, which points to a region's departure concerning this agenda.

In September 2013, the then UN Secretary-General, Ban Ki-moon, proposes greater agility in work aimed at achieving the MDGs. Then, presents the report "A Life of Dignity for All" (UN, 2020a), in which

... calls on countries and the international community to 1) do everything possible to achieve the MDGs, 2) adopt a post-2015 agenda that is universal and based on sustainable development, 3) embrace a more coherent and effective response to support this new agenda, and 4) provide clarity on the roadmap to 2015 (UN, 2013b, p. 2).

In the final document, states reaffirm their engagement with the MDGs and decide to hold a Summit in September 2015 to establish a new set of goals, based on the MDGs, to build a post-2015 agenda (UN, 2020a).

4. The SDGs as a normative recommendation of development policy and its limitations

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) were established in September 2015 through Resolution 70/1, adopted within the United Nations General Assembly framework. The resolution was based on the proposal to create the SDGs made by the UN Open Working Group (OWG), presented in September 2014 (Kroll, 2015).

The SDGs show a decades-long commitment from countries worldwide and the United Nations to achieve a normative reference for civilizing development, although they are formally unfolding the MDGs. From contemporary records, the first international

⁸The CEB (Chief Executives Board for Coordination) carried out a series of reviews (MDG Reviews) on the progress of the MDGs at the domestic level of each country, which will be the basis for the content exposed in "Transitioning from the MDGs to the SDGs". The report conducts an examination of the status of the MDGs in selected countries, who should be interested in participating in the diagnosis and committed to the objectives. They were: Colombia; Niger; Tanzania; Burkina Faso; Laos; Yemen; Pakistan; El Salvador; Ghana; Indonesia; Kyrgyzstan; Philippines; Bangladesh; Congo; Pacific Islands; Benin; and Nepal (UNDP & WBG, 2016).

conference on financing for development, held in Monterrey, Mexico, in 2002, at the initiative of the then Mexican President, Vicente Fox, appears at the origin of the First International Conference on Financing for Development. The UN member states attending the event recognized the importance of seeking poverty eradication and sustainable development (ECOSOC, 2015; Hulme, 2007; UNDP, 2016a).

In 2002, the World Summit on Sustainable Development (Rio+10) took place in Johannesburg, South Africa. The concept of sustainable development is now understood by integrating three objectives: poverty eradication, change in consumption and production patterns, management of natural resources. At the 2005 World Summit, commitments to the Millennium Development Goals' full realization (ECOSOC, 2015) were reaffirmed.

The United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development (Rio + 20) in Rio de Janeiro in June 2012 approved the document "The Future We Want", which established the United Nations High-Level Political Forum on Sustainable Development. Rio+20 decided to set up the 30-member Open Working Group (OWG) to develop a set of objectives for sustainable development. The OWG was created in 2013 at the General Assembly and prepared a document following the recommendations drawn from the Conference. Thus, sustainable development returns to the center of global policies (ECOSOC, 2015; Kroll, 2015; UN, 2020a).

Based on the OWG proposal, the Heads of State and Government and Senior Representatives of the UN General Assembly, from 25 to September 27 2015, ratified the resolution "Transforming our World: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development". According to the different national realities and internal priorities, the document highlights all nations' commitment, developed and developing, to adapt to the defined objectives. Poverty began to be understood in its multidimensionality, and its eradication is understood as a fundamental requirement for sustainable development. We sought to balance and integrate the economic, social, and environmental dimensions of global challenges, analyzed together to promote sustainable economic growth (OWG, 2014; UN General Assembly, 2015).

The resolution listed the 17 objectives and 169 goals to be part of the new UN development agenda, which based on 2015 should be achieved by 2030 (Table 4).

Table 4: Sustainable Development Goals

Goal 1	End poverty in all its forms everywhere
Goal 2	End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture
Goal 3	Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages
Goal 4	Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all
Goal 5	Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls
Goal 6	Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all
Goal 7	Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all
Goal 8	Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all
Goal 9	Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization and foster innovation
Goal 10	Reduce inequality within and among countries
Goal 11	Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable
Goal 12	Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns
Goal 13	Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts
Goal 14	Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development
Goal 15	Protect, restore and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss
Goal 16	Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels
Goal 17	Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the global partnership for sustainable development

SOURCE: United Nations, 2015. Own elaboration.

The OWG participation guaranteed the process of formulating the SDGs greater representativeness by favoring the more active participation of all nations of the globe, especially those often left on the sidelines. If, on the one hand, the MDGs were signed under the interference of financial agencies such as the World Bank and IMF and developed countries, in particular the OECD, on the other hand, the SDGs showed at their origin a greater engagement of the various nations of the globe. The OWG represented an innovative system for the UN General Assembly, as, to provide a diversity of perspectives, groups of countries shared the majority of seats (Körösi, 2015).

According to Tancrede Voituriez (2019), the Sustainable Development Goals are not merely a logical follow-up to the Millennium Development Goals. There is a chronological evolution, but they differ profoundly. While development agencies proposed the MDGs through a vision from the North on how development should occur in the South, the SDGs was discussed between different North and South countries. Voituriez argues that the proposal to create the SDGs is part of some Latin American nations, which correspond to middle-income countries previously neglected by the MDGs. While not reaching the development of rich countries, these countries also lacked access to economic aid for developing countries. Thus, they demanded a plan to strengthen their presence in international relations and defend their interests.

The most evident change in the SDGs with the MDGs refers to their universal character. That is, it broadens the focus to all developing and developed countries. As Kroll (2015, p. 13) illustrates, "if the MDGs were the telescope through which rich countries viewed the developing world, the SDGs are the mirror in which they see their own policies and performance reflected". The SDGs requires central countries to grant funds to developing countries and act to foster political changes in their territories and weigh on how they produce and consumption they experience. Achieving sustainable development becomes a key concern for developed countries (Kroll, 2015).

The distinction between the MDGs and the SDGs is also in the continuous participation of civil society in formulating the latter (Chasek et al., 2016). Other actors besides states and agencies have gained relevance in formulating the goals. This participation was made possible by the OWG, the result of Rio+20 decisions; by UNDP, which disseminated relevant information on the subject and provided several consultations on the incorporation of objectives to shape interstate negotiations; and the UN Secretary-General, who led initiatives for public participation (Honniball & Spijkers, 2014).

The form of public participation was changed from the "Major Groups"⁹ to create new formal tools for direct involvement, mainly through the Internet, to promote greater

⁹ Major Groups were created from the Earth Summit (Eco-92), under the notion that the participation of different sectors of society would be an essential condition for sustainable development. Thus, Agenda 21, adopted by the conference, identified nine categories, whose participation would be boosted by the United Nations: women; children and youth; Indian people; NGOs; local authorities; workers and unions; business and industry; scientific and technological community; farmers (UN, 2020b). However, the Major Groups meant only a continuation of negotiations focused on developed countries. The enumeration of categories proved to be quite reductionist (Sémit, 2015).

transparency and inclusion (Sémit, 2015). The UN held a series of thematic consultations, including the online survey "My World", which included more than seven million participants (Kroll, 2015).

Although the MDGs inspired them, the SDGs have overcome the imposition of binding treaties understates. They were configured as aspirations to be followed by governments, which are granted the freedom to institute their national targets (Largentaye, 2015). The resolution made by the OWG confirms that the SDGs should be understood as guidelines for action, according to the capacities of each country and following sustainable development (OWG, 2014).

The High-Level Panel of Eminent Persons on the Post-2015 Development Agenda (2013) strives to state that the SDGs are based on a different perspective from the one that created the MDGs. The Report indicates that the post-2015 agenda has a universal scope, comprising five main pillars. The first, "leave no one behind", means that the goals are shared and must be accepted by all. The second pillar, "put sustainable development at the core", is the necessary change in consumption and production patterns to enable global prosperity in the future. The third, "transform economies for jobs and inclusive growth", implies the diversification of economies sustainably and inclusively, focusing on young people and women. The fourth, "build peace and effective, open and accountable institutions for all", concerns the guarantee of peace, justice, and freedom throughout the world. Finally, the fifth pillar, "forge a new global partnership", demands a new spirit of solidarity and cooperation, based on understanding the mutual benefits involved in achieving the objectives (UN, 2013a).

Themes previously neglected by the MDGs, such as social protection, climate change, governance, human rights, gender equality, and women's empowerment, are now systematically incorporated into the development agenda. The view is widespread that tackling the social problems of the globe is a requirement for promoting sustainable development. The SDGs present the goals aimed at essential services, such as water, energy, education and health, economic elements such as production, industrialization and job creation, and environmental preservation (Largentaye, 2015; UN General Assembly, 2015).

The SDGs brings the idea that shared goals are inseparable. Thus, all major global issues must be understood together, not in isolation. The idea that all states, governments, agencies, and all civil society and private sectors should be held accountable for the

effective overcoming of the problems faced across the globe. Thus, sustainability takes on the task of mobilizing all actors in efforts to achieve the goals. The mission given to developed countries to become a leader in the fight for the restoration of the environment stands out. With this, the new agenda established emphasizes the commitments to the implementation of the Paris Agreement and the need to prioritize the transition in the domestic field to renewable energies. Also, it encourages support mechanisms for developing countries to gain access to technology and funding to move towards sustainability (UNDP, 2016b).

Therefore, the formation of the SDGs is revealed as a result of global demands for the establishment of a new development agenda that understands global problems in an interconnected and sustainability-based way. The process that gives rise to the SDGs is committed to the principle of universality in seeking to bring together the perspectives of the nations of the North and The South and establish the agendas of civil society groups. The environmental issue is of vital importance, mainly because it gives developed countries the task of moving resources for change in their territories towards sustainable development. In comparing the SDGs with the MDGs, one can see the reasons that led both to opposite developments. The SDGs were better succeeded in including larger agendas and actors and, therefore, seem to fulfill the mission of "leaving no one behind".

4.1 Ambiguities persist

The fact that the SDGs are more comprehensive and have gone through a much broader discussion process than the MDGs does not remove from them the content of ambiguity that emerges from the very concept of Sustainable Development. The issue that the SDGs regulations do not propose to address is the possibility of achieving a set of objectives that seems to us contradictory. There is already established literature on the intrinsically unequal character of capitalist development (Chesnais, 1998; Chang, 2003; Osorio, 2009; Harvey, 2016; 2004; Reinert, 2016). There is also literature based on empirical studies on the evolution of inequality at the global (between national), national (among individuals, groups, and social classes), and subnational (between regions internal to national economies).

From these studies, Thomas Piketty (*The Capital in the 21st Century*, 2013) gained prominence, which had enormous social and political repercussions in the world. Work empirically configures the historical thesis of the economy's critical field that sees capitalism as a social system that generates inequality, engendering concentration of

income and wealth. The novelty is to show empirical evidence for a set of economies developed in long temporality. Besides, in an innovative way, the study shows that inequality reproduces and deepens trendily since the 1990s. This is about the capital-work perspective of social classes and the income and wealth (wealth) of individuals.

It seems to us that the political repercussion of Piketty's book has much to do with a myth created by the post-World War II development debate, especially from the 1950s, that identifies economic development with progress. This identification was subjected to intense criticism in the 1960s and 1970s, in different aspects of economics and politics, but survived by its ideological nature. Part of this criticism was translated by Ecodesenvolvimento (Strong, 1973; Sachs, 1980); and somewhat incorporated in the concept of sustainable development without theoretical and empirical support, only a normative environmental and social reference. The formulation of the UN development objectives (the MDGs and SDGs) was approved without addressing this fundamental aspect. A more detailed discussion of this point would require a piece of an article.

5. Conclusions

In this article, we argue that the identification of the SDGs to the concept of sustainable development is a political evolution of the theme of development that would have overcome the shortcomings of the 1950s, a period in which there was reductionism in focusing only on the conditions of growth of the economy (national and global). We show that the process by which the concept of Sustainable Development achieved a position of hegemony in the social debate on development was independent of the process of building the SDGs, which appear as an unfolding of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), established by the UN General Assembly in 2000.

This conclusion's importance lies in drawing attention to the lack of theoretical and political support that global objectives may be of interest to all the countries of the world, at least in this historical court of dominance and almost total hegemony of capitalism. We understand that the historical process of development of capitalism in the post-World War II period shows contradictions of global goals, since capitalism is constituted as an organic system on a world scale in which the development of a group of countries makes use of the underdevelopment of others. The idea that groups are immutable is not implicit in this statement, only that they reproduce as such, allowing mobility on the margin. The rise of China and South Korea has shown this kind of

mobility since the 1990s, just as Japan ascended in the 1960s/1970s. However, cases are rare and dependent on unforeseeable circumstances.

Contradictions show that setting unique global goals, even with flexible goals, can act as an ideological curtain to the deeper determinants of the global economy's development. After all, history has corroborated the idea that capitalism produces and reproduces inequalities!

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El Parlamento del Mercosur y un regionalismo de los pueblos

O Parlamento do Mercosul e um regionalismo dos povos

The Mercosur Parliament and a regionalism of the peoples

Edson dos Santos Junior¹ 

DOI: [10.22478/ufpb.2525-5584.2021v6n2.58168]

Recibido en: 16/03/2021

Aprobado en: 08/06/2021

Resumen: Este artículo revisa una literatura pertinente a los principales proyectos de integración regional de América Latina y el Caribe, con miras a discutir el regionalismo en las primeras décadas del siglo XXI, subrayando las palabras del embajador y exministro de Estado brasileño, Celso Amorim (2010), sobre el “Mercosur de los pueblos”. En este sentido, evaluamos la formación y mantenimiento de bloques de integración regional en vista de la movilización de los pueblos guaraníes por el derecho a la tierra, en defensa de la biodiversidad y sociodiversidad en el respeto de su cultura. Además del relevamiento bibliográfico, utilizamos algunos documentos finales de las Asambleas Continentales de la Nación Guaraní para el estudio, análisis y comprensión de un proceso político y económico que afecta a las tierras indígenas a lo largo de la historia. Utilizando una metodología cualitativa de análisis del discurso, según Mikhail Bakhtin (1981), pasamos de un breve examen del regionalismo latinoamericano y caribeño contemporáneo a un análisis igualmente breve del Parlamento del Mercosur. Las consideraciones aquí recogidas observan algunas cuestiones en torno a la conformación del Consejo Continental de la Nación Guaraní, considerado como un actor no estatal en las relaciones internacionales en América Latina.

Palabras claves: Guaraní; Mercosur; Parlasur; Regionalismo; Territorio.

¹ Universidade Federal da Integração Latino-Americana – E-mail: edson.santos.junior@hotmail.com

1. La formación de un regionalismo de los pueblos

Consideramos los procesos de integración regional en América Latina y el Caribe, entre la última década del siglo XX y las dos primeras del siglo XXI, y la composición del Consejo Continental de la Nación Guaraní, CCNAGUA, como parte de un marco más amplio. y un proceso más histórico de muy larga duración (Braudel, 1978), en el que se da la formación de un movimiento indígena autoorganizado, capaz de abordar el problema de las desigualdades sociales en nuestra región. En este sentido, la implementación del Parlamento del Mercado Común del Sur, Parlasur, también será ligeramente analizada desde una perspectiva histórica.

Buscando garantizar los derechos guaraníes en los territorios actualmente comprendidos por los Estados de Argentina, Bolivia, Brasil, Paraguay y Uruguay, la formación del CCNAGUA es sustancialmente diferente a la formación de una importante institución integracionista regional, relacionada con estos países, el Parlamento de la Mercado Común del Sur (Parlasur). Colocándose por encima de los intercambios comerciales, en defensa de la vida, el territorio, la biodiversidad y la sociodiversidad, los pueblos guaraníes cuestionan la colonialidad del poder (Quijano, 2020) en Mercosur.

Ciro Flamarion Cardoso y Héctor Pérez Brignoli (1977, p. 59) escribieron que “para el historiador, estructura y movimiento son inseparables”, lo que implica consideraciones sobre cambios sociales y algunas permanencias que se verifican en el caso de América Latina y el Caribe. Sin embargo, el investigador necesita darse cuenta de que su forma de pensar no puede volverse dependiente de modelos construidos a partir de una realidad fuera de la que estudió (Cardoso, 1977, p. 62). A la hora de considerar los flujos culturales entre el movimiento guaraní e instituciones como el Parlamento del Mercosur, con miras a defender los derechos indígenas a la tierra y la territorialidad, la conformación del Consejo Continental de la Nación Guaraní (CCNAGUA) debe entenderse bajo la distinción entre nación y estado. Esto se debe a que reconocemos que las formas de ser y pensar de los pueblos guaraníes son diferentes a las observadas, en general, en los estados nacionales y registradas en los documentos relacionados con el Mercosur analizados en este trabajo (Mercosur, 2005a, 2005b). Así, según Prada Alcoreza (2010, p. 51), “es indispensable considerar las imaginaciones colectivas de resistencia a la colonialidad y la modernidad, entendidas como actos de descolonización”, que se aplica al tema que nos ocupa.

El estudio aquí registrado sobre el Protocolo Constitutivo del Parlamento del Mercosur considera cuestiones guaraníes de los documentos finales de las primeras Asambleas y Encuentros Continentales de la Nación Guaraní (Documento Final, 2006; 2007; 2010), prestando atención a lo que Carlo Ginzburg (2007, p. 286) denominada "atitude antropológica", al referirse a la base lingüística de dicha perspectiva, para la cual "o discurso interno é essencialmente um diálogo e . . . todo discurso citado é *feito seu* e remodelado por quem cita". En este sentido, subrayamos lo que escribió Mikhail Bakhtin (1981, p. 28) para quienes "não é tanto a pureza semiótica da palavra que nos interessa na relação em questão, más sua *ubiquidade social*". Así, observando las relaciones sociales capaces de dar sentido al discurso, nos acercaremos a las principales características del regionalismo latinoamericano y caribeño actual, con miras al movimiento transfronterizo guaraní como parte de un regionalismo liderado por movimientos indígenas y populares. luchando por la tierra, aquí se llama regionalismo de los pueblos.

2. Una contextualización histórica

En general, los procesos de integración regional y sus respectivos proyectos, concebidos desde los estados nacionales, presuponen cierta convergencia en medio de la diversidad de intereses y circunstancias de los países. Después de la Segunda Guerra Mundial (1939-1945), los diferentes ciclos de regionalismo e integración se asociaron a ciertos modelos económicos y políticos de bloques regionales adoptados por los Estados participantes y, sin duda, los modelos inicialmente más importantes estuvieron influenciados por el regionalismo estructuralista, relacionado con las elaboraciones de la Comisión Económica para América Latina (CEPAL), creada en 1948, y que luego cubrió el Caribe (Klaveren, 2018, p. 63).

Sin embargo, desde la creación de la CEPAL hasta la actualidad, sería importante examinar las medidas planteadas en los discursos en torno a los procesos de integración regional, los principales actores involucrados en ellos, su alcance y sus resultados. Según Klaveren (2018, p. 64), entre las grandes diferencias que se pueden observar a través de los ciclos de regionalismo e integración en América Latina y el Caribe, se encuentran algunos elementos comunes, como la retórica grandilocuente, el voluntarismo jurídico y el regionalismo conducido por Estados con escasa o nula participación de otros actores sociales.

Escribiendo en la última década del siglo pasado, Andrew Hurrell (1993) ya consideraba la relativa decadencia de la hegemonía estadounidense, demostrada en su reducida capacidad para jugar un papel global en el sistema interestatal y acompañada por el desarrollo de sistemas regionales de poder en otros espacios. Consciente de la dinámica política y económica de América Latina, Hurrell (1993) cree que el interés latinoamericano por el regionalismo hemisférico en ese momento no estaba relacionado con similitudes en los tipos de régimen, ni en las solidaridades firmadas entre países democráticos o “coalizões internacionais entre grupos de elite”. En cambio, según el autor, este interés estaba relacionado con lo que denominó “requisitos internacionais de regimes específicos”, es decir, las condiciones sociales en las que se encuentran los países de la región que participan del sistema interestatal (Hurrell, 1993, p. 109).

Pensando en las relaciones entre la matriz productiva regional y el integracionismo, José Antonio Sanahuja (2009, p. 14) apunta al propósito de incorporar el progreso técnico en favor de su transformación, resultando en reducción de costos y barreras no comerciales basadas en políticas sectoriales en áreas como el transporte, la generación de energía y la innovación tecnológica, realizadas por actores públicos y privados. Para Sanahuja (2009), existe un potencial de integración sin explotar en América Latina y el Caribe, en términos de infraestructura física, matriz productiva y energética, ciencia y tecnología. El autor considera estos y otros temas ante las asimetrías sociales que se observan en nuestra región (Sanahuja, 2009, p. 15).

Quizás el principal proyecto de integración subregional dirigido a las infraestructuras sudamericanas fue concebido a fines del siglo pasado, en abril de 1998, luego de la Cumbre de la Organización de los Estados Americanos (OEA) en Santiago de Chile: la Iniciativa para la Integración de América del Sur. Infraestructura Regional (IIRSA). IIRSA delineó diferentes ejes de integración en el cono sur, privilegiando visiblemente los canales viales útiles para el transporte de mercancías, aunque asumió que este no era un propósito exclusivo (Informe de Evaluación, 2010).

En un artículo publicado a través de la sucursal brasileña de la revista *Le Monde Diplomatique*, Alessandro Peregalli, Alexander Panes y Diana Aguiar (2020) recuerdan los veinte años desde la fundación de IIRSA, formulada por el Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo (BID): un proceso cuyo liderazgo fue asignado por los autores al entonces presidente brasileño, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, en Brasilia, el 31 de agosto de 2000. Para los autores de este artículo, IIRSA es un plan de reordenación territorial que sería

muy funcional para la creación y efectividad de la Área de Libre Comercio de las Américas (ALCA), discutida entre fines del siglo pasado y principios de este².

3. Integración latinoamericana y caribeña en perspectiva comparada

Durante la primera mitad del siglo XIX, entre 1821 y 1838, países ahora conocidos como Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua y Costa Rica formaron la República Federal Centroamericana, un trasfondo histórico que puede verse, de alguna manera, como un razonablemente establecido a favor de una posible convergencia de esos países a los propósitos políticos, económicos y culturales del integracionismo estatal (Acosta y Ulloa, 2014). Poco más de cien años después de la ruptura de esa república, los mismos países que la formaron elaboraron y firmaron la Carta de San Salvador en 1951: documento responsable de la Organización de Estados Centroamericanos, ODECA (Blanco Fonseca, 2014).

La ODECA inspiró el Tratado General de Integración Económica, firmado el 13 de diciembre de 1960 en Managua, Nicaragua, con el objetivo de crear un mercado común en ese espacio; tal iniciativa sería precursora de la Secretaría de Integración Económica Centroamericana (SIECA) y el Banco Centroamericano de Integración Económica (BCIE). Estos avances en los procesos de integración mencionados serían interrumpidos a fines de la década de 1970 y principios de la de 1980 por conflictos internos en países como El Salvador, Guatemala y la propia Nicaragua, que han sufrido sistemáticamente guerras civiles, resultando en un completo estancamiento de los procesos integracionistas en la región. durante este período (Blanco Fonseca, 2014, p. 74-75).

Durante la década de los 80, Colombia, México, Panamá y Venezuela conformaron un grupo que pasó a conocerse como el Grupo de Contadora, encargado de dirigir el llamado Proceso Esqueso, con la idea de que los Estados centroamericanos dirigirían el proceso ellos mismos. conflictos que estaban viviendo (Acosta y Ulloa, 2014). En 1986 se formó un grupo de países, que pasó a denominarse Grupo de Apoyo a los Contadores, liderado por Argentina, Brasil, Perú y Uruguay; la unión de ambos grupos se denominó Grupo de los Ocho, inspirada en el principio de autonomía política. En 1990, este grupo adoptó el nombre de Grupo do Rio, a partir de una declaración elaborada conjuntamente por los ocho países mencionados, en la ciudad brasileña de Río de Janeiro,

² Consulta: “20 anos da IIRSA na América do Sul: quem está comemorando agora?”. Disponible en <https://diplomatieque.org.br/20-anos-da-iirsa-na-america-do-sul-quem-esta-comemorando-agora/> Acceso en 18 de octubre de 2020.

resultando en un mecanismo de consulta internacional, sin secretaría permanente (Mercadante, 2012).

El 13 de diciembre de 1991, en Tegucigalpa, Honduras, el presidente hondureño, los presidentes de Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua y Panamá firmaron el Protocolo de Tegucigalpa a la Carta de la ODECA, que establece el Sistema de Integración Centroamericana (SICA), que en 2003 también incorporó Belice y República Dominicana. Visto como un nuevo hito integracionista en esta región, el SICA abogó por la paz, la libertad, la democracia y el desarrollo (Blanco Fonseca, 2014, p. 75). Considerando la posible influencia de este proceso con el Grupo de Río, entendemos los principales precedentes para la posterior realización de la I Cumbre de América Latina y el Caribe, en diciembre de 2008 en Costa do Sauípe, Brasil, que reunió las actividades fundamentales para la fundación de la importante Comunidad de Estados Latinoamericanos y Caribeños, CELAC, en la ciudad de Playa del Carmen, México, en febrero de 2010 (Calc, 2009).

Para Sanahuja (2009, p. 12), a partir de la década de los noventa, América Latina habría definido un panorama de integración regional que se mantuvo estable por cerca de quince años, donde se señalaron diferentes estrategias integracionistas, entre las que vimos la de México, por ejemplo, que se distanció de otros países latinos, adoptando una opción “pragmática” de integración con América del Norte, como podemos ver a través del Tratado de Libre Comercio de América del Norte (TLCAN), que inicialmente se estableció entre Estados Unidos y Canadá, recibiendo Adhesión mexicana en 1994.

Según José Briceño Ruiz (2012), hay dos puntos básicos en el pensamiento integracionista latinoamericano: la autonomía política y el desarrollo económico. Para el autor, desde la independencia política colonial, a lo largo del siglo XIX, hasta la consecuente búsqueda de una mayor libertad, frente a los poderes extrarregionales, las élites latinoamericanas buscaron culminar en la autonomía. Además, los esfuerzos en la región para diversificar sus estructuras productivas buscaron traducirse en desarrollo económico. Entre el estudio de elaboraciones dependientes, autonomistas y cefalinas, Briceño Ruiz (2012) considera cuestiones políticas y económicas en el pensamiento integracionista latinoamericano, con énfasis en el siglo XX, mostrándose preocupado por la consolidación del desarrollo industrial y colocando el integracionismo como tema. cuya discusión permanece abierta en América Latina y el Caribe (Briceño Ruiz, 2012, p. 54).

Visto como un proceso, el integracionismo se construyó entre aspectos estructurales y coyunturales, incluyendo la influencia de las circunstancias en las que se desarrolló este proceso (Celli Junior, 2012). En general, la integración entre Estados ha sido proyectada por ellos sin dejar de observar a otros actores, pero sin observar adecuadamente la participación de los movimientos sociales en tal proceso: según Umberto Celli Junior (2012, p. 19), “o conceito de integração sempre foi dinâmico e relacionado a um determinado contexto, político, econômico e social. Sua complexidade também deriva do fato de que não pode ser visto exclusivamente sob o prisma econômico ou jurídico”.

El embajador, exministro de Relaciones Internacionales y exministro de Defensa de Brasil, Celso Amorim (2010), pronunció un discurso en octubre de 2010 durante la XXVI Sesión Plenaria del Parlamento del Mercosur, en el que afirmó “o Mercosul que queremos não é apenas o Mercosul das economias ou o Mercosul dos Estados, mas também um Mercosul dos povos” (Amorim, 2010)³. Es importante señalar que esta afirmación trajo consigo la atribución de un sentido específico de integración regional, que hasta entonces había sido poco atractivo.

4. El “Mercosur de los pueblos” en relación con los guaraníes

En esa ocasión cuando habló de un “Mercosul dos povos”, Celso Amorim (2010) habló ante el entonces presidente de la República Oriental del Uruguay, José Mujica, del presidente en funciones del Parlamento del Mercosur, Ignacio Mendoza Unzaín, entre otros. ministros y parlamentarios, sobre el avance de un “projeto comum de integração profunda e solidária”, destacando los cambios que atravesaba el Mercosur. El mismo Amorim (2010) testificó a favor de estos cambios, subrayando⁴

Uma concepção que, sem descuidar dos aspectos econômicos e comerciais, soube incorporar as dimensões políticas, sociais, culturais e, sobretudo, um agudo sentido de solidariedade, movido pela consciência de que é fundamental dar tratamento adequado às assimetrias. Iniciativas como a instituição do Focem, experiência pioneira entre países em desenvolvimento, e a criação deste Parlamento, anseio de nossas sociedades democráticas, bem refletem a mudança de paradigmas e a disposição para elevarmos o perfil do nosso projeto

3 Verifique: “Discurso del Ministro Celso Amorim con motivo de la XXVI Sesión Plenaria del Parlamento del Mercosur - Montevideo, 18 de octubre de 2010. Antes de su exclusión de la página de Itamaraty, este documento estaba disponible en <http://www.itamaraty.gov.br/es-BR/categoria-discursos-articulos-y-entrevistas/discursos-del-ministro-de-relaciones-exteriores/8091-discurso-del-ministro-celso-amorim-na-xxvi-session-plenaria-do-parliament-do-mercosul-montevideu-18-de-Outubro-de-2010> Consultado el 18 de octubre de 2020.

4 *Idem, ibidem.*

integracionista, garantindo-lhe o justo título de motor da integração sul-americana (Amorim, 2010).

Considerado por Amorim (2010) como un “motor da integração sul-americana”, el Mercosur pasaría entonces a la segunda década de este siglo como un proyecto diferenciado de integración regional entre los demás proyectos existentes en el Cono Sur. La creación del Fondo de Convergencia Estructural y Fortalecimiento Institucional del Mercosur (Focem), creado a partir de la Decisión No. 45/04 del Consejo del Mercado Común (CMC), uno de los órganos de decisión de este bloque, buscó brindar el apoyo necesario para el mantenimiento institucional y las principales iniciativas tomadas desde el bloque (Focem, 2004).

La valoración de Desiderá Neto (2014, p. 27) de este proceso es que efectivamente fue capaz de enfrentar las iniciativas y planes de Estados Unidos en la región, dejándonos preguntarnos hasta qué punto el Mercosur fue exitoso en este sentido, insertado en el contexto del neoliberalismo. de la década de los noventa, desde la apertura comercial que propugnó tuvo como objetivo, sobre todo, la integración de los países miembros del bloque en los flujos económicos globales. Según Carlos Eduardo Martins (2005), también cabe señalar que “el esfuerzo exportador que se está desarrollando en la región no se traduce en un aumento de su competitividad. El porcentaje de bienes manufacturados sube del 17,9% al 58,1% de los bienes exportados, entre 1980-2001, pero esto ocurre en el marco de un brutal deterioro de los términos de intercambio” (Martins, 2005, p. 148).

Podemos plantear la hipótesis de que una aproximación institucionalista al análisis de los cambios ocurridos en el Mercosur es capaz de observar el funcionamiento del Tribunal Permanente de Revisión (TPR), la creación del Parlamento regional (Parlasur) y el Fondo de Convergencia Estructural (Focem), además de las Cumbres Sociales y el Instituto Social del Mercosur (ISM), como medidas para mejorar la integración regional en su conjunto, que puede ser considerada como un proceso favorable a una mayor representatividad social en el bloque y al arbitraje de posibles conflictos, especialmente los de orden comercial. Sin embargo, tal hipótesis representaría solo un sesgo limitado a una de las dimensiones de este proceso.

La creación del Instituto de Políticas Públicas en Derechos Humanos (IPPDH) y el cargo de alto representante general del Mercosur son sin duda acciones importantes para la consolidación institucional del bloque. Sin embargo, el resultado de estas medidas alcanzó solo parcialmente a los sectores sociales populares, y el conjunto de estos

cambios institucionales tiene el potencial de conducir a una mejor gobernanza regional y una articulación integrada de los intereses de los países miembros (Desiderá Neto, 2014, p. 53). Temas como la supranacionalidad y los derechos sociales de los grupos indígenas transterritoriales y transfronterizos como los Guaraní⁵, entre otros, son relevantes para las próximas agendas de investigación sobre la participación social en el Mercosur y la relevancia del protagonismo de los movimientos populares en el regionalismo de los pueblos, considerado como sujetos activos de las relaciones internacionales en América Latina y el Caribe (Documento Final, 2010).

José Renato Vieira Martins (2014) considera la inserción internacional y la competitividad económica de los países miembros del Mercosur ante la persistencia de “velhos problemas sociais”. El autor enfrenta el desafío de “superar o fracasso das políticas sociais das décadas passadas”, entendiendo que el Estado puede cumplir el rol de “articular la prestación de servicios públicos” y consciente de que las profundas desigualdades sociales que existen en la región representan una amenaza al crecimiento económico y el ejercicio efectivo de la democracia en el Cono Sur (Martins, 2014, p. 101-102). La persistencia de la pobreza, observada por Renato Martins (2014), recibió como respuesta, entre otros, los programas de transferencias monetarias condicionadas, estableciéndose como una medida de referencia, en este sentido, entre los países miembros del Mercosur para la lucha a las asimetrías sociales. Cuando se compara con esas prioridades comerciales consagradas, planteadas por el bloque en la última década del siglo pasado, tal respuesta indica una importante posibilidad de trabajo conjunto entre países para resolver problemas sociales comunes a los Estados Parte del Mercosur.

5. Los guaraníes frente al Parlamento del Mercosur

En general, los movimientos indígenas se encuentran entre los grupos sociales que sufren la coacción de los Estados, siempre que se enfrentan a su nacionalismo homogeneizador o incluso cuando actúan en defensa de algunos derechos sociales (Little, 2004, p. 279). Un caso emblemático al respecto fue la condena de una dirigencia indígena

5 La nación Guaraní se define como transterritorial y transfronteriza, según el registro de la Declaración del III Encuentro Continental de la Nación Guaraní, que se llevó a cabo entre el 15 y 19 de noviembre de 2010 en Asunción, Paraguay.

y obrera, la diputada del Parlamento del Mercado Común del Sur a partir de 2015 por parte de Argentina, Milagro Sala⁶.

En enero de 2016 Milagro Sala y otros militantes habían sido detenidos en protesta por recortes en programas sociales, durante el gobierno de Mauricio Macri (Mançano, 2019). Incluso después de ser absuelta en diciembre de 2018, por falta de pruebas en uno de los cargos que tenía en su contra en un extenso caso sobre el caso “Tiroteio de Azopardo”, Milagro Sala permaneció en prisión preventiva hasta que fue condenada a 13 años de prisión. Enero de 2019, por el Juzgado de lo Penal de la provincia de Jujuy (Mançano, 2019). Esta situación afectó directamente no solo los derechos humanos, sino también la estabilidad de los procesos de integración regional que ocurren a través del Mercosur, porque según el Protocolo de Asunción⁷:

A plena vigência das instituições democráticas e o respeito dos direitos humanos e das liberdades fundamentais são condições essenciais para a vigência e evolução do processo de integração entre as Partes. [...] O presente Protocolo se aplicará em caso de que se registrem graves e sistemáticas violações dos direitos humanos e liberdades fundamentais em uma das Partes em situações de crise institucional ou durante a vigência de estados de exceção previstos nos ordenamentos constitucionais respectivos. A tal efeito, as demais Partes promoverão as consultas pertinentes entre si e com a Parte afetada (Protocolo de Assunção. Artigo 1, 20 de junho de 2005, p. 2).

Como se desprende del citado documento, “o respeito dos direitos humanos e das liberdades fundamentais” es una *conditio sine qua non* para la integración regional: es decir, cualquier violación de los derechos humanos y las libertades fundamentales en cualquiera de los Estados Partes debe resultar en la marco del Estado infractor en materia de tales derechos. Sin embargo, esto no le sucedió al Estado argentino durante el gobierno de Mauricio Macri, a pesar de que el Protocolo de Asunción registró la “promoção e garantia dos direitos humanos e liberdades fundamentais de todas as pessoas que habitam o Mercosul”⁸.

Diez años antes de la condena de Milagro Sala, el informe de Egon Heck sobre el Parlamento del Mercado Común del Sur (Parlasur), publicado el 2 de octubre de 2009 en

6 Milagro Sala fue condenada en 2019 a 13 años de prisión, sin que existan pruebas contundentes en su contra. La Fiscalía Nacional de Violencia Institucional, la Corte Interamericana de Derechos Humanos y Amnistía Internacional consideraron que su detención es de carácter político. Consulta <https://www.brasildefato.com.br/2019/01/15/justica-da-argentina-condena-lider-indigena-milagro-sala-a-13-anos-de-prisao> Acceso el 10 de diciembre de 2020.

7 Disponible en <https://www.mercosur.int/pt-br/documentos-e-normativa/textos-fundacionais/> Consultado el 1 de diciembre de 2020.

8 Protocolo de Asunción. Artículo 1, 20 de junio de 2005, pág. 2.

el sitio web del Consejo Misionero Indigenista (CIMI), señaló que la composición del Parlasur “seguía à risca o ideário colonial: majoritariamente branco e masculino”⁹. Al analizar las posibilidades, en ese momento, de una representación indígena efectiva, el texto registró lo siguiente:

(...) Não tem nenhum parlamentar indígena no Parlasul. Apesar de se ter feito a proposta de representação por povos indígenas essa tese foi derrotada. Aliás, isso já aconteceu em vários parlamentos nacionais. Dessa forma, por exemplo os Guaraní, apesar de ser um povo símbolo de integração nessa região dificilmente conseguirá eleger um representante seu para esse parlamento (Heck, 2009)¹⁰.

Es importante resaltar que en octubre de 2009, cuando se publicó este texto en la página del CIMI, el Parlasur ya mostraba signos bastante evidentes, según Heck (2009), de su rechazo a los pueblos indígenas, tema que resalta la colonialidad del poder a lo que se refirió Quijano (2020). Otro tema interesante del citado registro es que Heck (2009) señala a los Guaraníes como “um povo símbolo de integração nessa região”, señalando el papel colectivo de estos pueblos indígenas autoorganizados para las relaciones internacionales, desde su concepción como pueblo. En este sentido, reconocer al Consejo Continental de la Nación Guaraní como un actor no estatal en las relaciones internacionales puede resultar en un análisis más acertado de esa expresión “Mercosul dos Povos”, que mencionamos anteriormente, en la cual su desempeño tiene el potencial de afectar el curso de la historia de los pueblos de América Latina.

Para Félix Pablo Friggeri (2012), los movimientos indígenas pueden ser considerados sujetos políticos y epistémicos, dados sus aportes a la dinámica social latinoamericana, además de ser el núcleo del sujeto revolucionario colectivo y popular en América Latina, en cuanto a su potencialidad para contrarrestar la dominación capitalista. En este sentido, hay razones suficientes para reconocer el papel político, histórico e internacional de los pueblos Guaraníes, que, desde la primera Asamblea Continental del Pueblo Guaraní, celebrada en São Gabriel, en el estado brasileño de Rio Grande do Sul, el 7 de febrero de 2006¹¹, articula y organiza el movimiento guaraní entre los territorios de los estados nacionales de Argentina, Bolivia, Brasil y Paraguay.

Esta asamblea recordó los 250 años desde el asesinato de Sepé Tiaraju, una dirigencia Guaraní que resistió la expropiación de sus tierras, junto a miles de otros

9 “Parlasul: que bicho é esse?”, 2 de octubre de 2009, disponible en <https://cimi.org.br/2009/10/29340/>. Acceso en 1 de diciembre de 2020.

10 *Idem.*

11 Documento Final da I Assembleia Continental do Povo Guaraní: São Gabriel, 2006.

pueblos indígenas, como consecuencia del Tratado de Madrid (1750), que unió a España y Portugal en otro de sus sanhas colonialistas a través del territorio (Documento Final, 2006). La segunda Asamblea Continental del Pueblo Guaraní tuvo lugar en Porto Alegre, capital del estado brasileño de Rio Grande do Sul, entre el 11 y el 14 de abril de 2007, reuniendo a los guaraníes de Argentina, Bolivia, Brasil y Paraguay. En esta ocasión se planteó el tema de la tierra en torno a la dificultad para acceder y disfrutar de la tierra: “Nosso território, *Ywy Rupá*, foi cortado, várias vezes, por fronteiras entre países e estados. Fizeram guerras para roubar nossas terras. Por isso, hoje, nosso povo ficou dividido entre Brasil, Argentina, Uruguai, Paraguai e Bolívia”¹².

Es posible notar a partir de este tema cómo la construcción de la territorialidad Guaraní es el resultado de un proceso histórico (Godoi, 2014) de muy larga duración (Braudel, 1978). El tema de la tierra, situado en el modo de producción capitalista, es uno de los principales problemas que enfrentan los pueblos indígenas, junto con la colonialidad del poder (Quijano, 2020), el racismo y el patriarcado (Quijano, 1999). Observamos que esta colonialidad persiste en justificar el ataque a los indígenas y la falta de reconocimiento de sus derechos, además de contribuir a la ausencia de políticas públicas específicas y adecuadas para grupos sociales como lo de los Guaraníes. El derecho al acceso y disfrute de la tierra por parte de los pueblos indígenas no ha sido discutido en el Parlamento del Mercado Común del Sur en los últimos años, limitándose el espacio de intervención y audiencia de estos pueblos únicamente al ámbito de la Comisión de Derechos Humanos del Parlasur¹³.

En este sentido, en la decisión del Consejo Continental de la Nación Guaraní, o CCNAGUA, con base en la Declaración del Tercer Encuentro Continental del Pueblo Guaraní, realizado entre el 15 y 19 de noviembre de 2010 en Asunción, no Paraguay, es el resultado de un marco muy histórico, un proceso importante para la autoorganización de los dos pueblos y para la conquista de pautas, además de su importancia para la descolonización del poder y las relaciones internacionales en América Latina. Consideró necesario, entre otras cuestiones, "que todos os países, sobre os quais incide o Território

12 Documento Final da II Assembleia Continental do Povo Guarani: Porto Alegre, 2007.

13 Audiencia pública sobre derechos indígenas realizada por el Comité de Derechos Humanos del Parlasur el 2 de diciembre de 2020. Disponible en: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c8IQM98jlC0&list=PLrpQpEnYekDpc09LzqNFf6_JFg2xuCMzY&index=18 Acceso el 2 de diciembre de 2020.

da Nação Guarani compreendam e tomem consciência que os direitos sobre a Terra e o Território são inalienáveis e imprescritíveis" (Documento Final, 2010).

Además de buscar “promover a solidariedade e a cooperação regional e internacional”¹⁴, el Protocolo Constitutivo del Parlasur observa “O pluralismo e a tolerância como garantias da diversidade de expressões políticas, sociais e culturais dos povos da região”¹⁵, destacando así aspectos institucionales y normativa que puede articularse con el cumplimiento de los reclamos guaraníes, en lo que se refiere al derecho al ejercicio efectivo del *Ñadereko* o su forma de ser. El citado protocolo también observa la “a equidade e a justiça nos assuntos regionais e internacionais, e a solução pacífica das controvérsias”¹⁶, lo que parece proponerse, única y exclusivamente, al diálogo representativo entre los Estados nacionales, miembros del Mercosur, pero también considerado para el cumplimiento de reclamos indígenas.

Así, hay extractos del Protocolo Constitutivo del Parlasur que presentan algunos desafíos para el movimiento Guaraní, como “elaborar estudos e anteprojetos de normas nacionais, orientados à harmonização das legislações nacionais dos Estados Partes, os quais serão comunicados aos Parlamentos nacionais com vistas a sua eventual consideração”¹⁷. Esto presupone condiciones razonables para el ejercicio de la democracia en los países miembros del bloque, a fin de incluir el poder de decisión indígena bien informado, no solo en la estructura de los parlamentos sino en la estructura de las sociedades en las que se encuentran, señalando el carácter, a la vez, nacional e internacional de la incidencia de los reclamos Guaraníes.

6. Consideraciones

La constitución del Parlasul puede entenderse como parte de un proceso regional en disputa por diferentes fuerzas políticas y sociales, observando lo contenido en su artículo 1, “Constituir o Parlamento do MERCOSUL, doravante o Parlamento, como órgão de representação de seus povos, independente e autônomo, que integrará a estrutura institucional do MERCOSUL”¹⁸. Sin embargo, para que esta disputa comience a asumir el espíritu democrático con el que este parlamento dice estar comprometido, será

14 Protocolo Constitutivo do Parlasul. Artigo 2, p. 2. Asunción, 9 de diciembre de 2005.

15 *Ibidem*, Artigo 3, p. 2.

16 *Ibidem*.

17 *Ibidem*, Artigo 4, p. 5.

18 *Ibidem*, Artigo 1, p. 2.

necesario que admita los movimientos indígenas, sus representaciones, demandas y el ejercicio del poder, antes de que pueda considerarse efectivamente consolidado.

La tierra, los derechos humanos y los derechos de los pueblos indígenas son abordados en estos documentos en relación a lo ya asegurado por las constituciones de los países mencionados y reafirmado por diferentes documentos internacionales sobre derechos humanos, derechos de los trabajadores, además de los derechos de los pueblos indígenas. Sin embargo, buena parte de los derechos garantizados por los tratados, convenios internacionales e incluso por las distintas constituciones nacionales de los países aún no parecen estar efectivamente cumplidos, dado que los Guaraníes observan tal incumplimiento y la precariedad que existe en el cumplimiento de muchos de sus demandas, como la demarcación y titulación de tierras indígenas, por ejemplo.

Los pueblos indígenas tienen formas particulares de construir un regionalismo que se diferencia sustancialmente de los procesos de integración regional, llevados a cabo por los estados nacionales al mismo tiempo. Es importante señalar que el rol de los Estados en tales procesos no es exclusivo, lo que implica reconocer el rol de los pueblos desde sus movimientos organizados como un aporte cualitativo a otro posible regionalismo, no concentrado solo en las actividades comerciales, circulación de bienes, bienes y servicios. En este sentido, los procesos de integración regional que pretenden transformar las bases productivas de América Latina y el Caribe, sin observar el cumplimiento de las demandas de estos movimientos, pueden resultar en un aumento de las asimetrías sociales entre países, en el agravamiento de las desigualdades económicas. y en el avance de la degradación socioambiental.

En cuanto al movimiento Guaraní, el éxito de los reclamos registrados por el CCNAGUA puede resultar en logros significativos para el grupo de sociedades donde los guaraníes se movilizan y organizan de manera libre y autónoma. Las consecuencias de este éxito pueden llegar al establecimiento de nuevas relaciones humanas en el territorio, consideradas en diferentes aspectos como el económico, político, educativo, social y cultural. El protagonismo guaraní, entre otros sujetos colectivos indígenas, existe y persiste en influir en el transcurso de la historia y el sentido de las relaciones internacionales contemporáneas en el sur de América Latina: su carácter de sujeto histórico, actor internacional, sujeto político, descolonizador, popular y revolucionario, en además de epistémica, existe, resiste y persiste en el tiempo con sus contradicciones.

Las Asambleas Continentales del Pueblo Guaraní fueron importantes actividades políticas y culturales para la movilización y lucha de los pueblos indígenas en las Américas, además de ser importantes para la formación del CCNAGUA, lo que demuestra la vitalidad y potencialidad del aporte Guaraní a la historia de los pueblos de América Latina y el Caribe, además de la historia del sur global y del mundo. Se trata, por tanto, de un tema digno de agendas de investigación diversificadas e interdisciplinarias, cuyos aportes tienen mucho que agregar a la producción de conocimiento de América Latina y el Caribe.

Las relaciones de los movimientos indígenas con la lucha por la tierra, el territorio y la territorialidad, la articulación entre agendas específicas de estos movimientos en todo el continente americano, así como entre los movimientos indígenas y otros movimientos sociales, como los movimientos sindicales, movimientos de campesinos sin tierra, Los movimientos quilombolas y negros, feministas, juveniles y de género, entre otros, también conforman una agenda de investigación a considerar. Las relaciones de estos movimientos, a su vez, con los poderes constituidos deben ser estudiadas con detenimiento. El alcance regional y la visibilidad de algunos movimientos sociales parece ser una tendencia contemporánea, razonablemente inscrita en la escena política e internacional, y necesita ser estudiada más a fondo.

Los cambios registrados en el Mercosur, como el establecimiento de su dimensión social, marco conceptual y plan estratégico, además de la constitución del Parlasul, fueron importantes para el avance de los procesos de integración regional de los estados miembros del bloque. Este proceso cuenta con los aportes de los gobiernos que han trabajado para él, de las entidades de clase, organismos internacionales y movimientos sociales, entre otros, y representa una parte importante de la construcción del regionalismo actual. Sin embargo, los aportes del movimiento guaraní al regionalismo de los pueblos no han sido suficientemente reconocidos, ni sus demandas han sido suficientemente atendidas por los países miembros del bloque.

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Challenges to the implementation of the food and nutritional security policy in the municipality of São Paulo

Desafios à Implementação da Política de Segurança Alimentar e Nutricional no Município de São Paulo

Eduarda Lazari Maia¹ 
Gabriela Pinheiro Lima Chabbouh² 

DOI: 10.22478/ufpb.2525-5584.2021v6n2.60027

Recebido em: 30/06/2021
Aprovado em: 02/07/2021

Resumo: O artigo explora a implementação das metas 2.1 e 2.2 dos Objetivos de Desenvolvimento Sustentável (ODS) da Organização das Nações Unidas entendidas como equivalentes à implementação das políticas de Segurança Alimentar e Nutricional (SAN), no município de São Paulo, utilizando como referencial teórico o tripé estratégico de Mark H. Moore. O trabalho utiliza duas estratégias metodológicas: a análise de documentos públicos e a aplicação de questionário aos integrantes da Comissão Municipal ODS e suas Câmaras Temáticas. A partir dos dados coletados, as autoras analisam três pontos: a inclusão do tema da SAN na agenda de políticas públicas, sendo percebida enquanto valor público a ser perseguido pela administração municipal; as fontes de legitimação e apoio da SAN no município de São Paulo e, por fim, a capacidade operacional da Prefeitura de São Paulo para garantir a efetivação da SAN. Conclui-se que: a política de SAN se configura como valor público, dada a sua presença nos principais instrumentos de planejamento municipal; há tímida legitimidade e apoio ao redor do tema, conferida principalmente pelos cidadãos e a Prefeitura enfrenta desafios de estrutura, de processo e de sustentação de resultados na implementação da política de SAN, apesar dos envolvidos avaliarem positivamente as capacidades municipais.

Palavras-chave: Segurança Alimentar e Nutricional; Município de São Paulo; Objetivos do Desenvolvimento Sustentável

Abstract: The article explores the implementation of targets 2.1 and 2.2 of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of the United Nations, understood as equivalent

¹ Ensino Superior em Negócios, Direito e Engenharia (Inspir). E-mail: eduardalazari@gmail.com.

² Universidade de São Paulo (USP). E-mail: gabriela.p.lima@gmail.com.

to the implementation of Food and Nutritional Security (FNS) policies in the city of São Paulo, using as a theoretical framework the Mark H. Moore's strategic tripod. The work uses two methodological strategies: the analysis of public documents and the application of a questionnaire to the members of the Municipal SDG Commission. From the collected data, the authors analyze the inclusion of FNS in the public policy agenda, being perceived as a public value to be pursued by the municipal administration; the sources of legitimacy and support of FNS in the city of São Paulo and, finally, the operational capacity of the City of São Paulo to guarantee the effectiveness of FNS. It is concluded that: FNS policy is configured as a public value, given its presence in the main instruments of municipal planning; there is timid legitimacy and support around the issue, mainly conferred by citizens and the City Hall faces challenges of structure, process, and sustaining results in the implementation of the FNS policy, despite those involved evaluating positively the municipal capacities.

Keywords: Food and Nutritional Security; São Paulo City Hall; Sustainable Development Goals

1. Introduction

This article examines the challenges of enabling the Food and Nutrition Security (FNS) policy of the São Paulo Municipality (PMSP). According to Brazilian law, "food and nutrition security consist of the realization of the right of everyone to regular and permanent access to quality food, in sufficient quantities, without compromising access to other essential needs" (Act No. 11,346, 2006).

The institutionalization of FNS by PMSP took place through Act no. 15,920, 2013, which defined the municipal components of the National Food and Nutritional Security System (SISAN). In subsequent years, the city has made progress in drafting management arrangements and including actions aimed at promoting FNS in the 2017-2020 target program. However, the theme left the public policy agenda in the programmatic review of the target program 2019-2020.

In recent years, PMSP has progressed with the institutionalization of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The commitment, formalized by Act 16.817/2018, established the SDGs as guidelines for municipal public policy, providing opportunities for an extensive movement of government agencies for its implementation, including SDG 2 - Zero Hunger and Sustainable Agriculture.

This article analyzes the perspectives and capabilities for the implementation of SDG 2, more specifically the municipal targets 2.1 and 2.2, which address the FNS theme, with an emphasis on nutrition indicators and aspects of adequate access to food.

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Public documents were reviewed, as well as an analysis of qualitative and quantitative data from a public consultation on the topic conducted by the Participate + Platform. In addition, a survey on targets 2.1 and 2.2 was also applied to the members of the Municipal SDG Commission and the participants in the theme rooms.

In order to support the analysis, Moore's strategic triangle is used, which summarizes the requirements for successful strategies in the public sector in three pillars: the definition of public value, the creation of legitimacy, and support and operational capacity (Moore, 2000).

This model was chosen as the benchmark for the analysis, as it directs attention "upwards", by looking at the political environment from which public bodies are given authority to act, and "outwards", by examining what the external demand for value creation is, and finally, by looking inward to verify the operational capacity of public organizations (Moore, 2000).

The article examines these three pillars sequentially: 1) public value, defining and contextualizing the public issue that motivated the inclusion of FNSs in the São Paulo public policy agenda; 2) examine the current status of sources of legitimacy and support for the theme, by analyzing the participation of civil society in the public consultation of the 2030 municipal agenda; and 3) the capacity of the City Hall to structure, process and maintain the results of the FNS policy, based on the perception of the actors involved in the Municipalization process of the 2030 Agenda.

From the analysis of the collected primary and secondary data, in the light of Moore's strategic triangle, this article aims to show that the FNS policy in the city of São Paulo is configured as a public value, given the presence thereof in municipal planning instruments; assesses the extent of legitimacy and support around the issue, provided mainly by citizens, and shows that the actors involved in the tracing of the 2030 agenda in the municipality of São Paulo, believe that the PMSP mostly has the necessary capabilities for the implementation of FNS, despite identifying challenges in terms of structure, process and sustained results.

2. Public value - Food and nutrition security in the agenda for public policy in the city of São Paulo and institutionalization of the theme

In 2013, the city of São Paulo (PMSP) began institutionalizing FNS policy as a public issue. According to the municipal administration communicated in the 1st

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PLAMSAN, this process involved civil society in the drafting of a bill (Inter-Secretariat for Food and Food Safety [CAISAN-Municipal], 2016, p. 39).

Approved, municipal law no. 15.920/2013, stipulates that the municipality must take the necessary measures to guarantee the human right to adequate food (DHAA) and FNS of its population. In addition, it established the municipal components of SISAN, namely: The Municipal Conference on Food and Nutrition Safety (CMSAN); the Municipal Council for Food and Nutrition Safety of São Paulo (COMUSAN-SP); and CAISAN Municipal.

After the FNS policy was institutionalized, the city hall joined the National Food and Nutrition Security System (SISAN) and built its first FNS plan for the period 2016-2020 (Bógus; Lins & Ribeiro, 2019). In addition to the institutional framework created specifically to address the issue, the history of FNS inclusion in the São Paulo targeting program is essential to understanding the configuration of the issue as a public value to be pursued by City Hall.

When preparing the goal program³ 2017-2020, 2017-2020, a municipal planning tool, the City Hall, to promote the health of the population and reduce deaths due to Chronic Non-Communicable Diseases (NCDs), is considering the appointment of nutritionists. The justification for inclusion was the worrying data on CNCDs in early age groups and the unmistakable link between healthy eating habits and longevity⁴.

However, the initiative represents only one of 433 action lines. Although limited to one action, it was sufficient to leave the organization of information on the nutritional health of the population of the municipality as a legacy, which can serve as a basis for monitoring the state of FNS in the population of São Paulo, although limited to the dimension of nutrition indicators⁵.

³ The targeting program is a mandatory management tool that by modifying n. 30, of 2008, of the Municipal Organic Law of São Paulo, and must be submitted within 90 days after the start of the administration of a mayor with the priorities and strategic actions, with quantitative objectives, for each area of the Municipal Administration and sub-prefecture. The preliminary version is submitted for popular consultation and after popular participation, a final version is published. It is the document that registers the most important concrete obligations of the administration throughout the management cycle.

⁴ According to the World Health Organization [WHO] (2018), unhealthy diet is one of the four most important risk factors for non-communicable diseases. In the latest issue of the State of Food and Agriculture, the FAO emphasizes that healthy diets in all forms protect against malnutrition, but it also increases the increasing difficulty in accessing healthy diets due to price problems: the global rise in the price of healthy diet was about 7.9% worldwide. In Latin America, the increase was 6.8% (FAO, 2021, pp. 25-26).

⁵ The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) conceptualizes food insecurity in four dimensions: supply, access, utilization, and the stability of the three dimensions mentioned over time. Supply refers to the productivity of food and thus the availability of food from the point of view of supply.

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The regular social participation on the subject of FNS proved that the city's planning tools need to be treated more properly. In the final version of the target program 2017-2020, a goal was set to meet the demands that came from social participation: target 37 which was aimed at improving "São Paulo's position on the food insecurity map (InSAN map) from medium to low".

Goal 37 sought to consider actions provided for in the Municipal Food and Nutrition Safety Plan (PLAMSAN), to change from medium to low food insecurity in São Paulo on the InSAN map. It is noteworthy that the InSAN map⁶ measures primarily nutritional indicators: deficiency in height and weight in children under 5 years of age, accompanied by Bolsa Familia program. Information on per capita income, access to water, and sewage are also used to determine the level of food insecurity in the federal units in this study.

Based on the InSAN map, it is estimated that in the municipality of São Paulo there are 50 128 families - about 200 512 people, corresponding to 1.6% of the total population - in a situation of food insecurity and an average level of food insecurity.

Data from the InSAN map indicate that attention should be paid to the theme in the municipality. First, because the main indicators of the study capture the physical-biological consequences of a more aggravated state of food insecurity. If Radimer's reading of hunger is seen as an individual and collective phenomenon, management within the family and with increasing deterioration, in which the most severe stage of hunger already affects the children of the household, the InSAN card reveals the size of

Access is from the point of view of affordability of prices charged in the market and how accessible it is to people. The use is consistent with the practices of preparation, distribution and variety of food in the home environment and its effect on the appropriate intake of nutrients and energy. It is understood that through CNCND data as motivation and the monitoring of nutrition indicators systematically, the SMS measures the physical-biological effects of the use dimensions and access to food.

⁶ The InSAN Map, Mapping Food and Nutritional Insecurity is a study developed and published in 2016 (reference year 2014) and 2018 (reference year 2016) by the Interministerial Chamber for Food and Nutritional Security - CAISAN with the aim of helping families and individuals identify what was in food and nutritional uncertainty, based on data from the Cadastro Único and the National System of Food and Nutritional Surveillance - SISVAN. The study classifies levels of food insecurity on a vulnerability scale with the following grades: Very low, low, medium, high, very high. The criteria for defining each of these levels are not currently included in the federal government portal. Published data, as well as available information on the methodology, can be obtained at: <https://aplicacoes.mds.gov.br/sagirmsps/portal-san/artigo.php?link=15>

the extremely afflicted population due to food insecurity⁷. However, the study variables do not capture psychosocial aspects of hunger, as in the EBIA or FIES-SM survey⁸.

Other reasons that are urgently needed are the limitation of the studied public and the dimensions evaluated to define food insecurity so that the diagnosis underestimates the total number of people who need FNS and DHAA public policy in São Paulo. With the adoption of an interdisciplinary framework for understanding food insecurity by Kepple and Segall-Corrêa (2011)⁹, it is understood that participation in social programs reduces the vulnerability to food insecurity. Therefore, the target audience of the InSAN map has access to an important household determinant to alleviate food insecurity¹⁰.

Given the considerations on the reference used by the PMSP, it can be understood that target 37 of the São Paulo Objective Program 2017-2020 meets the demands of civil society in a timid and limited manner. Considering other references to the underserved population, as well as to other family arrangements, aspects of food culture, race, employment, among other determinants, may lead to a broader and more complete treatment of the problem. with a greater number of goals and actions.

In addition to being limited, the space conquered in the public policy agenda in 2017 was lost in 2019 when the programmatic review of the Objectives Program for 2019-2020 was published. The version revised by Mayor Bruno Covas of the municipal

⁷ This understanding of food insecurity as a progressive process comes from the studies by Radimer (1992 as cited in Ministry of Social Development [MDS], 2014) for the effect of the Cornell indicator, which measures psychosocial aspects of food insecurity, and was a reference forerunner for the development of the Brazilian scale of food insecurity (EBIA). The progress of food insecurity, according to Radimer, starts from a stage in which the quality of household food loss occurs, which worsens when there is also a quantitative loss of access to food without affecting the children in the household, to a more serious state stage in which minors experience hunger is understood here as a lack of or a lack of food intake from the calorie or quantitative point of view, from which consequences for nutrition indicators can be felt.

⁸ The FIES -SM surveys (an acronym for Scale of the Food Insecurity Experience Scale - Research Module) and EBIA (Brazilian Scale of Food Insecurity) are psychometric scales used by the FAO and IBGE respectively to address subjective and behavioral aspects of the experience of insecurity to measure food. These are questions that measure the presence of concern about the lack of food among family members and the behavior of hunger management as a household phenomenon, such as skipping meals or reducing the variety of foods eaten.

⁹ Still, on the multidimensionality of this phenomenon, Kepple and Segall-Corrêa (2011) present a conceptual model of the determinants of food insecurity that encompasses 25 aspects at the macroeconomic, local, and household levels. The interdisciplinary framework proposed by the authors understands that the definition of food insecurity based on anthropometric indicators hides political, economic, and cultural factors on a macro-scale - global scenario - and on a micro-domestic scale - and ultimately the reality in which hunger occurs, ignore. even without physical-biological consequences.

¹⁰ However, the InSAN map does not contain the reality of households without minors or with minors older than 5, as well as the priority of anthropometric indicators, the lack of weight and age, which measures the physical-biological effects that do not always occur in situations of food insecurity.

planning for the biennial did not participate popularly, and in this version, FNS is not mentioned.

The institutionalization of FNS as a public value for the PMSP takes place through specific tools to address the issue, such as Act 15.920 and PLAMSAN, and through the inclusion of targets related to the issue in the target program, an important instrument of commitment by the administration municipality on deliveries to be made within a management period.

This chapter reveals a background in which civil society took a stand on the issue when there was an opening for it and was crucial to the acceptance of the issue as a public value on the PMSP's agenda as, in recent history, it was the only occasion that there was no participatory process that the subject did not enter the policy agenda.

The adoption of the 2030 Agenda in the city of São Paulo was open to social participation and therefore offered civil society an opportunity to express itself again on FNS, in a public consultation during 2020, within the scope of SDG 02. Data from this public consultation allows accessing the current status of public demand on this matter and thus assess the legitimacy and support of society for the problem. The next chapter will therefore address this pillar from the data point of view.

3. Legitimacy and support for FNS public policies in the municipality of São Paulo

Legitimacy and support are understood as the sources of authority of the public power to act after the fulfillment of a mission, which generates public value. These sources include citizens, elected representatives, interest groups, and the media that together form an authorizing environment (Moore, 2000, p. 197).

This aspect is relevant to the financial sustainability of public organizations, as legitimacy and support must be sufficiently widespread and strong to justify the priority of an agenda and the management of financial resources to the extent necessary to deliver public value. This is because government organizations need to persuade the regulatory environment to generate revenue.

In this section, a diagnosis of the current state of support for FNS policies is made, taking into account the citizen as a role player in the empowerment environment that gives legitimacy to a public value. This analysis focuses on data from the public consultation of the municipal agenda of 2030, which was carried out by the town hall in the second half of 2020, with an emphasis on proposals for targets 2.1 and 2.2.

3.1. Data analysis of Participe+

The Municipal SDG Commission, with the participation of 16 civil society organizations¹¹, took office in July 2020 and dedicated itself in the second half of 2020 to the municipalization of UN goals for municipal reality. Between October and November 2020, the targets and indicators proposed for the Municipal 2030 Agenda, including the ones of SDG 02, were submitted to public consultation through the Participe + platform.

As described in previous sections, in the history of FNS the participation of civil society was the key to the inclusion of the topic on the PMSP's agenda. The results from the public consultation enable us to analyze a current source of interaction with civil society in São Paulo, the primary source of legitimacy and authority of public representatives of the government. Table 1 presents the proposals that the PMSP makes in the public consultation for the 2030 municipal agenda for targets 2.1 and 2.2 that deal directly with the FNS:

Table 1: Proposed objectives for SDG 02 - Zero Hunger and Sustainable Agriculture

Municipal target 2.1: End hunger by 2030 and ensure access for all people, especially the poor and people in vulnerable situations, including children, to safe, nutritious, and adequate food during the year.
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Municipal objective 2.2: By 2030, reduce chronic and acute malnutrition and accelerate obesity in children under five years of age, and meet the nutritional needs of pregnant women and infants under six months.

This approach to data is grounded on the interpretation that the legitimacy and support needed to support public action not only requires people to express themselves in favor of a certain policy or criterion but that this manifestation has the power to influence policymakers. The literature on the subject points to the asymmetry of information between individual and collective actors in the public arena and the organizational costs

¹¹According to the Diagnosis of Indicators for Monitoring the SDGs in São Paulo (City Hall and São Paulo, 2020), the civil society organizations represented in the municipal committee on SDGs are Liga Solidária - Liga das Senhoras Católicas van São Paulo; OAB - São Paulo Division - 93rd Pinheiros Division; Ciclocidade - Association of Urban Cyclists of São Paulo; Association of Explorers of Brazil - São Paulo Region; Abrinq Foundation for the Rights of Children and Adolescents; Instituto Siades - Environmental Information System for Sustainable Development; Sustainable Cities Institute (Rede Nossa São Paulo); Akatu Institute; Institute of Architects of Brazil (IAB-SP); Eccaplan - LTDA for Sustainable Development Advice; Article 19 of the association; State Union of Students of São Paulo (UEE -SP); Federal University of São Paulo (UNIFESP); Center for Studies Research Documentation in Healthy Cities (CEPEDOC); University of São Paulo (USP); United Metropolitan Colleges (FMU).

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that allow time for well-informed participation as limiting factors for the influence of policytakers on policymakers (Secchi, 2014, pp. 140-143).

Therefore, in a participation process that takes place online and allows the reception of individual asynchronous collaborations, without interaction with other participants in civil society or representatives of the government, there is a scenario of:

- relatively low organizational costs, as citizens can adjust participation at their convenience in terms of personal hours and access to devices and the internet
- of relatively high information asymmetry, given the breadth and variety of themes in the 2030 Agenda and the variation in complexity between objectives and indicators.

As there were no opportunities for the dissemination and equalization of information, it is believed that the volume of absolute and relative contributions would be the key factor for public agents to see and recognize the FNS theme's legitimacy and to increase its priority in the public policy agenda.

The structure of the Participate + Public Consultation of the Municipal 2030 Agenda data analysis seeks the magnitude and extent of the legitimacy and support that civil society provides about the FNS policy. The quantity and content of the proposals for the SDG targets 2.1 and 2.2 are analyzed, and how this information compares with the involvement of the population with other themes of the 2030 Agenda.

In the model proposed by City Hall, citizens were able to respond to the municipal proposals for the 2030 Agenda and its characteristics - indicators and numerical targets. For each feature, the citizen was given a set of options: Maintain, Maintain and make new suggestion, Review, Remove, Remove and make new suggestion.

The consultation was conducted in two blocks¹² and gathered 8,606 contributions from civil society in São Paulo. Among them, 86.3% were interactions of consent to maintain the proposal and 11.6% were review requests. The "Maintain and make new suggestion" option corresponds to 1.8% of the interactions, followed by the options "Remove" and "Remove and make new suggestion", which together make up 0.3% of the interactions.

These results indicate that the consultation participants agree with the proposals of the city hall. Among the differences of opinion, proposals for revision prevailed,

¹² The first block was between 10/21/2020 and 11/03/2020, and the second block of the consultation took place between 11/09/2020 and 11/22/2020. The results are available at: <https://participemais.prefeitura.sp.gov.br/legislation/processes?filter=past&page=1#process-list>

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especially about the "2030 Target for the indicator", with 53.1% of the indications for change. The most important factor of disagreement between the government and the concerns of civil society is therefore the magnitude of the ambition to achieve the quantitative targets.

Still, in the overall results of the public consultation, there was a 13.1% engagement rate with the content proposed by the PMSP, with a total of 1,130 proposals submitted by 39 participants. Consultation participants could limit themselves to choosing one of the standardized responses, a case called 'Interaction', or become more actively involved, and suggest an alternative text for the trait they wanted to change. In this case, the participation was classified as 'Suggestion'. Therefore, the engagement rate corresponds to the percentage of proposals qualified as suggestions, which requires a more active attitude in preparing a counter-proposal to the government.

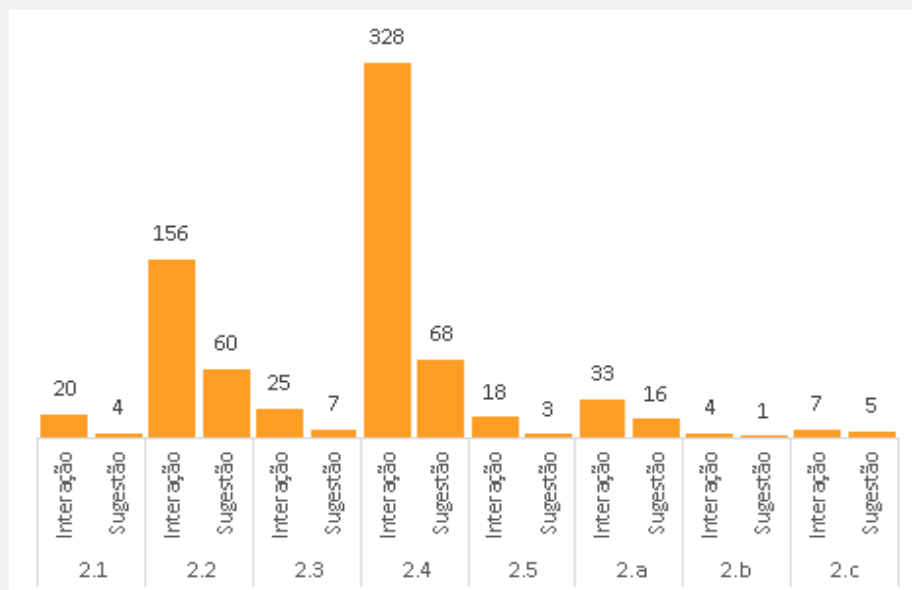
SDG 02 is one of the goals with the greatest participation and involvement of citizens in the public consultation: there was a rate of 94 interactions per target of SDG 2, 81% above the overall average observed in the public consultation.

The targets related to SDG 02 correspond to less than 5% of the objectives submitted for the consultation, but it yielded 20% of the total proposals. There were 755 interactions, of which 164 proposals, an engagement rate of 21.8% for SDG 02¹³, compared to an overall engagement rate of 13.2% for the other goals of the 2030 Agenda.

Graph 1 shows the total of interactions, separated between standardized interactions and original suggestions for each of the objectives of SDG 02.

Graph 1: Number of interactions and suggestions per SDG objective 02

¹³ Within SDG 02, there are a greater number of interactions with targets 2.2 and 2.4. Target 2.1, which is within the scope of our FNS analysis, had only 24 iterations. Target 2.4 deals with sustainable forms of food production and the following text was brought into public consultation: "By 2030, 60% of the agricultural properties in the municipality will promote satisfactory agro-environmental practices, sustainable nature, promote the maintenance and/or repair of ecosystems and local biodiversity, with gradual improvement of soil and soil quality, and strengthening the municipality's resilience to the challenges of climate change."



In the qualitative analysis of the involvement of participants with targets 2.1 and 2.2, there is a greater agreement between the citizens with the proposal of the municipal administration for targets 2.1. In total, 71% of participants chose to retain the goal as originally proposed. Among the 29% who expressed disagreement, two suggestions were made: the inclusion of the word “healthy” in the target text and the extension of the target for the proposed indicator, without any specific quantitative suggestion¹⁴.

In the case of target 2.2, 74% voted in favor of the City Hall proposal, a number slightly higher than target 2.1. However, when the participants expressed disagreement, it was much more important than those identified for target 2.1.

Requests for revision of the goal description include a request for the eradication of malnutrition and the acceleration of obesity, rather than the reduction proposed in the original text, as well as suggestions to include the mention of school nutrition policy as a way to achieve the goal to reach.

Among the proposals to link school meals to target 2.2, there were requests to favor the purchase of food from local family producers, eliminate industrialized products and offer organic school gardens to provide the public-school network.

¹⁴Following the inclusion of the proposed change, the target 2.1 in the municipality of São Paulo became: “End hunger by 2030 and guarantee access for all people, especially the poor and people in vulnerable situations, including children, to safe, healthy, nutritious, and adequate food throughout the year.”

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Also in target 2.2, citizens manifested for the expansion of the goal and the target audience. It is suggested that teens be included in addition to children, as well as to maternal health and breastfeeding conditions as part of efforts to achieve this goal.

However, the participation promoted by the two consultations does not indicate that it affected the PMSP's position concerning the municipal objectives for the 2030 agenda for the implementation of the FNS. Among the proposals for targets 2.1 and 2.2, 13% were accepted. All proposals for target 2.2 were rejected.

Through the standardized responses, the municipal administration mostly considered the original proposal more compatible with the 2030 Agenda and/or with the current possibilities of the PMSP. Table 2 below gives an outline of the justifications for forwarding the proposals by the residents.

Table 2: Analysis of the reactions of the São Paulo City Hall to the public consultation

Answer	Justification	Target 2.1	Target 2.2
Proposal not included	The original proposal was more compatible with the global objective and/or with the current possibilities of the municipality	0%	76%
Proposal not included	Not accepted, but can be considered in the action plan for the implementation of the agenda	0%	24%
Included proposal	The proposal was added to the original proposal	67%	0%
Included proposal	The proposed proposal had already been included in the original proposal	33%	0%

Given the background analyzed in this section, it is possible to confirm that there are sections of civil society that are actively participating in areas for consultation and deliberation on FNS policy. On all occasions, civil society has mobilized around the issue. The analysis of Participate + confirms this statement, as the averages of interaction and involvement in SDG 02 were significantly higher than the overall average.

Even if it succeeds in making itself present and visible, it is not possible to say that the mobilization of civil society is strong enough to gain broad recognition and the intensive allocation of resources to the policy according to the needs to implement, not

justify the population. In the 2030 Agenda Public Consultation, it was a group of 39 people who worked out proposals¹⁵ for objectives and indicators of the SDG 02.

4. Operational capacity for FNS implementation in the city of São Paulo

According to Mark Moore, operational capabilities include the resources needed to generate public value. These resources include both the improvement of management structures and the administrative processes and monitoring systems used to achieve the desired results, either directly or through partnerships.

In the same vein, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) has developed a framework that addresses the key challenges to consolidating operational capacity for the implementation of the SDGs in the public sector and, in a structured way, identifies key resources and skills that: must be strengthened to overcome these challenges. Three categories of challenges facing governments are highlighted:

- **Structural challenges:** indicate the need to implement institutional reforms and strengthen internal governance capabilities.
- **Process challenges:** indicate that it is necessary to change the allocation of resources or the design of services and public policies.
- **Outcome challenges:** indicate that it is necessary to create, strengthen or improve indicators and data systems for monitoring actions.

4.1.FNS structural challenges in the city of São Paulo

The municipal components of SISAN: CMSAN, COMUSAN-SP and CAISAN-Municipal are the main management structures for the implementation of SDG 02. It is linked to the Municipal Secretariat for Economic Development, Labor and Tourism (SMDET), in addition to the extremely recent, it does not seem sufficient to meet the challenge of promoting FNS in São Paulo.

This is because, under challenges affecting particularly vulnerable people, they are classified as 'complex problems, as they are multidimensional phenomena, can benefit from intersectoral alternatives, understood as implementation arrangements with

¹⁵The Participate + system does not count the total number of participants involved in the consultation - that is - who voted on the available options. It is possible to count only the participants who made suggestions, as it was necessary to register the username registered in the system. The number of 39 people involved in the SDG theme therefore only counts these users, but it is possible that more people are interacting with the goal.

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articulation between different types of government and non-government actors, through integrated approaches¹⁶, as long as it is properly implemented¹⁷.

CAISAN-Municipal, implemented by decree no. 55,868, of 23 January 2015, is the body responsible for the articulation between the secretariat that has an interface with the FNS theme for the proposal and implementation of public policies. SMDDET is responsible for the chairmanship of CAISAN-Municipal, also composed of the municipal secretariat of Government; Health; Human rights and citizenship; Sub-prefecture; Green and Environment and Development and Social Assistance.

However, despite the existence of the structure, the information is available on the SMDDET website¹⁸ indicates a demobilization of this intersecretariat articulation space. In 2018, the meetings took place bi-monthly; in 2019 there are no records of meetings. In 2020, there were only two meetings in the first semester that focused primarily on the strategies the administration adopted to mitigate the effects of the Covid-19 pandemic. In the past 12 months, there have been no board meetings.

Recently, the FNS policy has been given another management space, the Municipal Committee SDG - Joint Collegiate Body of a consultative and consultative nature, which has a very inter-secretarial composition and is responsible for its implementation of the Municipal Program for the Implementation of the 2030 Agenda, including SDG 02. It remains to be seen whether the new structure will overcome the structural challenges of implementing the FNS policy in the municipality of São Paulo.

4.2.FNS process challenges in the city of São Paulo

CAISAN (2016) defined six guidelines¹⁹ for the implementation of FNS in the city of São Paulo, based on the Pluriannual Plan (PPA) that was in force during the

¹⁶ The concept of intersectoral arrangements is polysemous, but the authors have chosen the interpretation of Roberto Rocha C. Pires in the context of the introduction of the book *Implementing Inequalities: Reproduction of Inequalities in the Implementation of Public Policies* (2019).

¹⁷ It is noteworthy that these benefits only appear if intersecretariat articulation is properly implemented, as according to Bichir and Canato (2019) 'implementation is part of the defining process of the effectiveness of intersectoral policies, which can mitigate or reflect inequalities in access to services'.

¹⁸ Minutes available on the SMDDET page: https://www.prefeitura.sp.gov.br/cidade/secretarias/desenvolvimento/seguranca_alimentar/participacao_social/index.php?p=270514

¹⁹ The Municipal Food Security Plan has the following 6 guidelines: 1: Promoting access to adequate and healthy food and water, with priority for families and people in insane situations; 2: Promoting public supply and structuring sustainable and decentralized systems, based on agro-ecological and solidarity in food production, processing, distribution and marketing; 3: Establishment of permanent processes of food and nutrition education and food culture, with the aim of promoting healthy eating habits, with training actions, based on the diagnosis of local needs, with a focus on information technology and popular

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elaboration of the PLAMSAN. These actions relate to three programs that remained in the PPA structure for the period 2018-2021:

- Program 3016: Nutrition and Food Security
- Program 3019: Promoting economic growth and job creation
- Program 3023: Protecting the Vulnerable Population²⁰

From 2016 to 2020, the total resources for these programs were budgeted²¹ was 164.6 million BRL, of which 74% was allocated to the program 3023. Programs 3016 and 3019 receive 15% and 12% of the total budget for the period, respectively. The budget amount allocated to SDG 02 is still being analyzed, but the budget amount has decreased: in 2016, 74.7 million BRL was allocated, while the subsequent years averaged BRL 22.5 million.

However, the size of the resources exported was not affected by the reduction in the budget allocated to the programs. In 2016, despite the allocation of R \$ 74.7 million, only R \$ 8.4 million, ie 11.2% of the budget, was paid. In the following years, the average amount paid for the implementation of FNS was R \$ 13.4 million per year and has not been below R \$ 10 million since then. Proportionally, the average volume of resources exported is only 57.8% of the budgeted resources for policy implementation between 2017 and 2020. The low implementation rate means a lower delivery of goods and services to the population, indicating shortcomings in the implementation of the production processes of public policy.

Another sign of process problem is the low number of actions performed compared to planned actions. The program 3016, even though it consists of 17 actions, had only one action, 4301- Supply Activities, had executed the assigned budget, although partially²².

education, as well as encouraging Research and training in the San and Dhaa areas; 4: Promotion, universalisation and coordination of San actions aimed at traditional peoples and communities, as referred to in Article 3, subsection I, of Decree no. 6,040, dated February 7, 2007, indigenous peoples and agrarian reform settlers; 5: Strengthening food and nutrition actions at all levels of health care, in articulation with San's other actions, taking into account all life cycles, and 6: Monitoring the realization of Dhaa.

²⁰ In 2016 and 2017, this program called for the victory of extreme poverty. However, the program structure was maintained after the approval of a new PPA cycle.

²¹ Action 2440, which implemented the basic income emergency program in 2020, was excluded from the budget analysis. It is understood that first aid is essential to prevent the deterioration of food insecurity, but it is suspected that the accounting would make it impossible to identify the public spending patterns in the period, as the budget allocated to this program in 2020 is in order. was worth R \$ 417 million; 2.5 times larger than the total budget of the other programs analyzed over the past 5 years.

²² The year 2020 was an exception, as education in FNS and maintenance and operational actions were carried out during the exercise at CRESANS (actions 8002 and 8103). In program 3019, only action 8083,

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Program 3023 includes four actions and maintains the pattern of actions without assigned budget or execution. In this program, the allocation and execution are concentrated in the family income guarantee programs, registered in action 6166. Nevertheless, the resources of this action have maintained an execution average of only 56.5%, which is the level of 80% only once recently surpassed 5 years.

In addition to the challenge of delivering goods and services against the budget amount, there is ultimately also the challenge of delivering quality and monitoring it. In total, the programs that reflect the implementation of FNS in the city contain up to 22 actions²³. In the last monitoring of the implementation of these actions and their respective products, carried out by the City Hall in 2020 (year of reference: 2019), only 5²⁴ of the 22 actions - about 23% of the total - provided the products in the PPA (an acronym for the Multiannual Plan). Two others did not deliver products and 4 were carried out in other, more generic budget actions, and/or municipalization so that it was not possible to verify the delivery. The remaining actions have no defined products or were not carried out in 2019.

Bolsa-Trabalho, was carried out. The other action of the program, 1691, deals with the maintenance of CRESANS, the same purpose of action 8103, of program 3016. Action 1691 only received an award in 2018 and was not carried out in the said year.

²³ The actions are 1131 - Food and nutrition supply and security projects (carried out in programs 3023 and 3016); 1154 - Implementation of organic agriculture and implementation of the agricultural warehouse in Parelheiros; 1338 - Expansion, refurbishment and requalification of the supply unit - Sacolões: Piraporinha, Pirituba, Cohab Adventista and Lapa; 1402 - Construction and implementation of the agricultural warehouse in the municipal area at Estrada da Colônia, s/nº, Jd. Silveira, Parelheiros; 2015 - Maintenance and operation of the mechanized agricultural patrol; 2044 - Support for rural development and agro-ecology - Laudenor Institute; 2160 - Implementation of Community Gardens; 2163 - Support for rural development and agro-ecology; 2406 - Educational actions in food and nutrition security - Goal program 14.h; 4301 - Municipal Provisioning Actions; 7000 - Construction of Supply Unit; 7001 - Expansion, refurbishment and requalification of the supply unit; 8001 - Maintenance and operation of the supply unit; 8002 - Educational actions in food and nutrition security; 8103 - Maintenance and operation of the Food and Nutrition Safety Reference Center; 9067 - Construction of the Food and Nutrition Safety Reference Center; 9068 - Expansion, refurbishment and reaffirmation of the Food and Nutrition Safety Reference Center; 1691 - CRESANS - Procurement of equipment and space adaptation - located in the São Miguel Supply Center; 8083 - Job Fair; 2440 - Basic emergency income; 4393 - Food security for the elderly; 6166 - Minimum Family Income Guarantee Program. One of the actions in this footnote mentions de requalification of "sacolões", word that derives from "sacola", Portuguese word for bag. Sacolões are spaces for the sale of fresh food. They are characterized by a business model in which food pricing is determined by the weight of the bag or by offering a large mix of products at a fixed price. They emerged and became popular in Brazil in the 1970s for offering advantages in terms of financial accessibility and territorial reach, supplying centers and peripheries. Brazilian government included sacolões in the official food supply system in the 1980s, as documented by the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Supply in this document: https://www.conab.gov.br/info-agro/hortigranjeiros-prohort/publicacoes-do-setor-hortigranjeiro/item/download/602_c1aa64ea9392cba31dbf92d88f447b5b

²⁴ The actions with products delivered were: 4301 - Municipal supply actions, 6166 - Minimum family income guarantee program, 7001 - Expansion, refurbishment and reaffirmation of the supply unit, 8002 - Educational actions in food and nutrition security, 8083 - Bursary work.

4.3.FNS results support challenges in São Paulo city

The monitoring of public policy is defended by Rolland (2015) as a fundamental tool for evaluating the public value delivered to society. According to the author, official statistics create value through indicators value for democracy as a basis for evidence-based public policy.

It is in this context that the publication of the "Diagnosis of indicators for monitoring the SDGs in São Paulo" is inserted, the result of a year of debates and reflection on the possibilities of monitoring the 2030 Agenda by the PMSP. This instrument contains for each of the 169 objectives the legal, institutional, operational and/or instrumental challenges facing the City Hall in achieving the 17 SDGs.

4.3.1. Diagnosis of indicators for monitoring the SDGs

The diagnosis of indicators for the monitoring of the SDGs in São Paulo was compiled by the Inter-Secretariat Working Group (GTI PCS/SDG), composed of 26 municipal public bodies, to support the Municipal SDG Commission in monitoring the performance of the 169 objectives of the SDGs.

The Municipal SDG Commission, after taking office, divided its work into 7 thematic chambers (TC), each of which is responsible for the municipalisation of a set of objectives. The TCs have the work of more than 120 members, from the government and civil society, who were directly involved in the municipalization of the 2030 Agenda in the year 2020. Given the transversal nature of the SDG 2 theme, its objectives have been spread under 6 of the 7 TCs.

TC members obtained information on the operational capability of PMSP to implement SDG 2 through the Diagnostic Indicators for Monitoring SDGs. Within the scope of SDG 2, of Objective 2.1, the challenges that the City Hall mentioned for the gradual promotion of the DHAA and FNS were the challenges that the municipal plan for food and nutritional safety predicts - PLAMSAN:

1. Take actions that enable access to adequate and healthy food;
2. Prioritize families and people with social vulnerability in these actions;
3. Promote public supply and the structuring of sustainable production systems;
4. Establish permanent processes of food and nutrition education and food culture;
5. Promote healthy eating habits;
6. Promote food and nutrition safety actions for traditional people and communities;

7. Strengthen food and nutrition actions at all levels of health care;
8. Monitor the realization of human rights to adequate food.

It is interesting to note that the first 7 challenges listed relate to the content of the public policy of FNS itself and that only the last one relates to the operational ability to monitor the DHAA guarantee policy by the government. There is therefore no challenge in terms of management structures and administrative processes developed by the public administration to deliver the desired public values.

No challenges were listed in the scope of objective 2.2 of SDG 02, as its analysis depends on information from the São Paulo Municipal Health Department, which was involved in combating the COVID-19 pandemic and did not have the opportunity to reflect on the challenges posed by combating all forms of malnutrition.

4.3.2. Food and Nutrition Monitoring System (SISVAN)

In addition to the effort to monitor SDG 2 under the 2030 municipal agenda, the prioritization of nutritional health in municipal planning in 2017 provided an opportunity for the demand of the SMS-SP technical area to strengthen SISVAN. The Integrated Health Care Management System of São Paulo - SIGA Saúde, has for years allowed the collection of anthropometric data by Primary Health Care, but the field has not been prioritized and there was not enough data on the nutritional status of the population.

As of 2018, there has been an increase in the collection of anthropometric data by the municipal department of health, which in 2020 allowed 229,509 children under the age of 5 to be monitored in the city of São Paulo. Through monitoring, it was possible to calculate: height deficit of 7.1%, weight deficit of 5.3%, and overweight of 9.6% of children under 5 years monitored by SISVAN²⁵.

Monitoring these indicators, through SISVAN, is essential to diagnose the problem. This information can not only support health planning but can also serve as a tool for the development of FNS public policies by other government agencies.

²⁵ The Bulletin "Health in Data", an annual publication of the Coordination of Epidemiology and Information (CEInfo) of the municipal health department, in its 19th edition, published in 2020, presented for the first time indicators of nutrition and health for children less attended 5 years in Primary Care in 2019 - estimates of SISVAN coverage, height deficiency and overweight for age (São Paulo City Hall, 2020a).

4.4. Questionnaire on resources for the implementation of the SDG 02

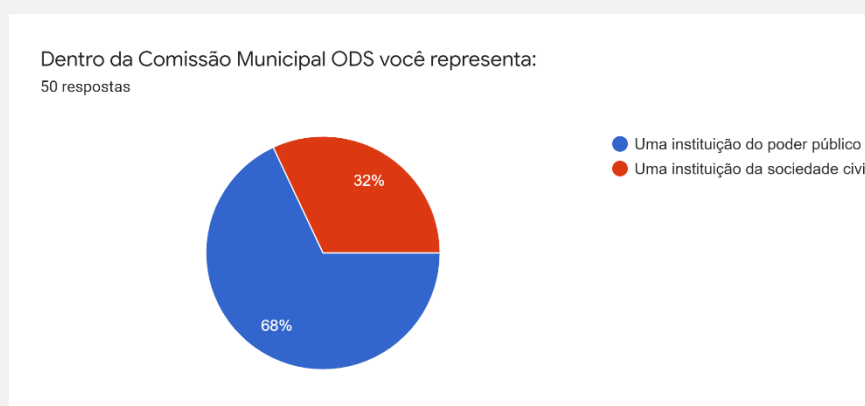
To find out more about the PMSP's operational capability to implement SDG 02, it was decided to apply a questionnaire to the members of the theme rooms of the Municipal SDG Commission. The questions posed are structured from the GCPSE framework, which stands for Global Center of Excellence in Public Services²⁶.

It was decided to prioritize objectives 2.1 and 2.2, as it is understood that it focuses on aspects of insufficient access to food and its nutritional value. For each of the objectives, nine statements were made about implementation solutions (three statements for each category of challenges: structural, procedural, and sustainable outcomes). For each statement, the participant had to indicate how much they agreed on a scale of 1 to 4, where 1 - completely disagreed and 4 - completely agreed.

In March 2021, the contribution of the members of the Theme Chambers of the Municipal DSC Commission was requested to better understand the perception of those involved about the available resources in the PMSP to successfully achieve targets 2.1 and 2.2 of the SDGs. Between 2 March 2021 and 12 May, 50 responses were received in the form of perception of resources available in the municipality for the implementation of SDG 02 in São Paulo. The results are analyzed:

In terms of the profile of the participants, 32% (16) represent civic organizations and 68% (34) government agencies.

Graph 2: Profile of survey participants per performance



Participants from the 7 TCs contributed to the research, 7 members from the TC for health and wellness, 11 from the social TC, 13 from the economic TC, 14 from the

²⁶ The GCPSE was the result of a partnership between the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and the Government of Singapore and was dedicated to studies on governance capabilities for the implementation of sustainable development and structural changes needed to increase the effectiveness of civil servants' actions. to ensure. public.

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institutional strengthening TC, 16 from the educational TC, 17 from the TC area TC and 17 of the Urban CT.

Graph 3: Profile of participants in the research according to thematic room



First, if we look at responses to overall resources for implementing Objectives 2.1 and 2.2, on a scale of 0 to 1, implementation capabilities average about 0.73. This means a result of almost an average score of 3 (on a scale of 1 to 4) of the agreement of the respondents with the necessary abilities to implement the referenced goals of SDG 02.

It appears that the participants determined that the municipality is better able to reduce malnutrition and overweight (2.2), with an average score of 0.74, than to end hunger and ensure access to food (2.1), with an average point of 0.71. However, it is interesting to note that both assessments are very positive, indicating a general perception of respondents that the municipality has the necessary resources to implement SDG 2 objectives 2.1 and 2.2.

By separately analyzing the responses by category of challenges for both goals, it appears that the participants believe that the city has more resources to meet the challenges of maintaining results, an average score of 7.7, the resources around the structural challenges they averaged 0.73 and ultimately the resources to deal with procedural challenges had the weakest average rating of 0.7.

Internally in the categories, the statement with the lowest agreement (0.64) of the participants refers to a procedural challenge (the category that is rated the least): 'We have what it takes to have the resources allocated to the topic, expand and/or the form in which resources are allocated to successfully implement the goal'.

The budget analysis, in item 3.2, indicates management problems. Although the budget for the main programs is made available, the ratio of the annual resources is low -

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the average of the resources allocated to the three analysis programs, which are the central aspects of PLAMSAN, is 57.8%. Therefore, it is possible to confirm with greater certainty that there are challenges to the implementation of the budget and not the availability of the budget.

On the other hand, the analysis also showed that almost 3/4 of the resources allocated to FNS go to the 3023 program, which deals with guaranteeing access to revenue. While it is an important tool to reduce food and nutritional insecurity, it is not a policy that is deliberately aimed at solving this problem. This is an indication that the respondents' perception of the availability of resources specifically aimed at promoting FNS may be correct.

In contrast, the statement with the highest agreement (0.79) of the participants refers to a challenge to maintain the results (the category with the best score): 'We have the necessary measures to ensure the reliability of existing data to be successful to implement this goal. This positive assessment seems to be in line with the perception of those involved in the process of selecting indicators for monitoring the objectives of the 2030 municipal agenda.

4.5. Remaining challenges of the 2030 municipal agenda

The Municipal SDG Commission worked for six months to draw up the location of the 2030 Agenda for the municipality of São Paulo, based on the indicator diagnosis of the municipality of São Paulo. In addition to the municipal wording of the UN objectives, the document contains a contextualization section, the indicators selected for monitoring, and a section on the remaining challenges for the municipality of São Paulo to meet each of the commitments in the next ten years (São Paulo City Hall Paulo, 2020c).

Within the scope of objective 2.1, it is interesting to emphasize that the challenges posed by the Municipal DSC Commission are, in the first place, challenges in maintaining results, as there is a lack of information on the target audience of food access policy, information required to formulate, monitor and evaluate FNS policies.

Second, in objective 2.1, the Municipal 2030 Agenda highlights process challenges regarding resource allocation and policy design. The highlighted challenges are related to the articulation of programs, projects, and actions that manage the integration of FNS dimensions into urban development policy, urban, urban and rural agriculture, supply, health, education, social assistance, and the environment.

Within the scope of objective 2.2, the process challenges appear first, identifying the need to improve the design and implementation of policies. The challenges of a) strengthening food and nutrition policy; b) expansion of joint action of food and nutrition education in the municipal network for public health and education and c) strengthening of the intersectoral articulation for the planning of FNS actions in the city of São Paulo.

Second, in Objective 2.2, the municipal agenda in 2030 points to challenges for maintaining results, for the development of SISVAN, enabling indicators for monitoring the growth and development of children, the nutritional status of pregnant women and other groups, which identify the areas with the greatest vulnerability.

If the perception of those involved in the municipalization process is compared with the remaining challenges registered in the 2030 municipal agenda, there is a coincidence in the perception that the main challenges facing the São Paulo municipal government are the FNS implement policies, in the categories are of process and retention of results.

In summary, it appears that the municipality of São Paulo has good structural capabilities to handle the implementation of the FNS policy, both based on document analysis and based on the answers to the questionnaires. However, the existence of a fairly institutionalized structure does not reflect the good capacity for the design of policies and the efficient allocation of resources, as there is an inefficiency in the budget execution of the resources allocated. Finally, in terms of maintaining the results, objectively and in the perception of the respondents, the municipality still has shy abilities, despite the recent progress in structuring the food and nutrition monitoring system and registering the remaining challenges for the implementation of the FNS (targets 2.1 and 2.2) within the scope of the 2030 municipal agenda.

5. Conclusion

As argued in this article, it seems that the acceptance of FNS as a public value to be pursued by PMSP is an extremely recent phenomenon. Only at the end of 2013 did the inclusion of the topic on the agenda of the municipal public policy lead to the legislation establishing the municipal components of the National Food and Nutrition Security System.

Although it has been institutionalized, and mainly within the competence of SMDet in São Paulo municipality, it is concluded that the responsibility for the

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implementation of FNS is quite diffuse. Given the transversal particular of FNS, it is believed that the Municipal SDG Commission could become an important example of intersectoral articulation for its implementation.

The inclusion of the topic on the agenda in recent years is evident through the entry of FNS in the most important municipal planning instruments, as seen in the objective estimation that there are more than 200 thousand people in a food insecurity situation in the municipality, or by the participation of citizens on the subject in participatory processes.

While it is possible to depict an oscillation in the presence of the theme on the public policy agenda, there is an increasing institutional commitment by the City to promote FNS. Initiatives such as the implementation of the municipal SISVAN and the adoption of the 2030 Agenda by the City Hall and the establishment of the municipal commission of SDGs as a management tool to guide the process stand out as evidence of said commitment.

However, taking into account the analysis of the response to the public consultation, the reduced size of the group involved in the theme seems to limit the legitimacy and support of the theme. Although present and organized, it is difficult for few people to generate sufficient legitimacy and support to mobilize other actors for this axis of the tripod, such as the press and elected politicians.

By reiterating Moore's argument that the strength of legitimacy and support must be such that the priority of the agenda and the allocation of resources are justified, the constraints related to the size of civil society involved, help to justify operational challenges, especially about, the allocation of resources.

The operational capacity, understood as the ability to mobilize the necessary resources to make the generation of public value feasible, depends on the development of capacities: structural, related to the institutional framework; process, related to the allocation of resources and the design of public policies and outcome capacities, related to the retention of sufficient information to monitor the results of the policies.

In terms of structural capabilities, it is clear that from the documentation standpoint, the municipality of São Paulo is formally implementing all components of the national food and nutrition security system. Based on the analysis of the answers to the questionnaires, this dimension was well evaluated by the participants as it was above the general average for the evaluation of municipal capacities.

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In terms of process capabilities, which regards policy design and efficient allocation of resources, there is a lack of efficiency between the budget amounts and the settlement amounts through the analysis of budget execution. According to the perception of the respondents, the dimension of process challenges was the least well evaluated, and the statement about the allocation of resources was also the least well evaluated.

Finally, regarding the sustenance of outcomes, although it is important to emphasize the progress in the structure of the Food and Nutrition Monitoring System, there are still major challenges for information management for the measurement of FNS policies. Interestingly, this dimension was best evaluated by research participants, especially the statement about the reliability of the data.

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Política Exterior, Relaciones Internacionales Y Políticas Públicas: Una Discusión Conceptual

Política Externa, Relações Internacionais e Políticas Públicas: Uma discussão conceitual

Marcelino T. Lisboa¹ 
Karen Bombón Pozo² 

DOI: [[10.22478/ufpb.2525-5584.2021v6n2.57298](https://doi.org/10.22478/ufpb.2525-5584.2021v6n2.57298)]

Recibido em: 27/03/2021
Aprobado em: 10/09/2021

Resumen: el texto discute algunas definiciones de política exterior señalando similitudes y diferencias con las relaciones internacionales y las políticas públicas. Además, desarrolla la idea de qué es proceso decisorio y qué son directrices de política exterior. Se mostró que, por un lado, las relaciones internacionales y la política exterior tienen similitudes con relación a la forma como observan los fenómenos que ultrapasan las fronteras. Por otro lado, se diferencian porque la política exterior es necesariamente una actividad gubernamental y las relaciones internacionales pueden ser realizada por actores no estatales. Las políticas públicas y la política exterior se diferencian porque esta última posee el componente internacional, el cual puede estar ausente en otras políticas públicas. La política exterior es una política pública, su diferencia en comparación con las demás es el elemento internacional. Sin embargo, ambas son similares porque pasan por trámites político y administrativos, y son actividades de gobierno. El proceso decisorio es una etapa de la política exterior en donde se generan diferentes tomas de decisiones e implica la interacción entre diferentes actores. Las decisiones se guían por las directrices, por lo que los tomadores de decisiones deben considerarlas para decidir.

Palabras claves: proceso decisorio; directrices; concepto; actividad gubernamental.

Resumo: o texto discute algumas definições de política externa, apontando similaridades e diferenças com as relações internacionais e com as políticas públicas, além de desenvolver a ideia do que é processo decisório e o que são diretrizes de política externa. Verificou-se que as relações internacionais e a política externa têm a similaridade de abordar fenômenos que ocorrem através das fronteiras e diferenciam-se pelo fato de que a política externa é necessariamente uma atividade governamental, diferente das relações

¹Universidade Federal da Integração Latino-Americana (UNILA) – E-mail: marcelino.lisboa@yahoo.com.br

²Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales/FLACSO – E-mail: karen2_bp@hotmail.com

internacionais, que podem ser exercidas por atores não estatais. As políticas públicas e a política externa diferenciam-se pelo fato de que a política externa possui o elemento internacional, que pode não estar presente nas demais políticas públicas; a política externa é também uma política pública, tendo o elemento internacional como o que a diferencia das demais. Ambas se assimilam pelo fato de passarem por procedimentos político-administrativos e são atividades de governo. O processo decisório é uma etapa da política externa na qual ocorrem diversas tomadas de decisão, em um processo que envolve a interação entre diversificados atores. As decisões são guiadas por diretrizes, que são as linhas guia que os tomadores de decisão devem considerar no momento da tomada de decisão.

Palavras-clave: processo decisório; diretrizes; conceito; atividade de governo.

1. Introducción

Este texto discute los enfoques conceptuales del concepto de “política exterior” desde el diálogo entre las corrientes teóricas de las relaciones internacionales y las políticas públicas. Básicamente, se busca ofrecer un aporte didáctico al debate conceptual de estos tres elementos. Para ello, se señalan algunas similitudes y diferencias entre las definiciones de “política exterior” y “relaciones internacionales”, por un lado, y las conceptualizaciones entre “política exterior” y “política pública”, por otro lado. Además, se presentan definiciones sobre la “toma de decisiones y los lineamientos” de política exterior, pues son elementos que permiten que ésta suceda, así como ayudan a explicar por qué sucedió de una manera y no de otra. A manera de contribución didáctica para la comprensión de estos temas, también se discute la política exterior, las políticas públicas y las relaciones internacionales como áreas o subáreas específicas, pero que tienen superposiciones en sus campos de acción. El proceso de toma de decisiones y las directrices son elementos importantes de la política exterior, especialmente en lo que respecta al Análisis de Política Exterior (APE). Sin embargo, estos no son componentes exclusivos de la política exterior, ya que se aplican también a las políticas públicas.

La motivación que llevó a producir este artículo fueron las situaciones vividas en las experiencias de docencia y orientación de trabajos finales de carreras de grado y posgrado, así como la necesidad de ofrecer una discusión científica de estos conceptos en conjunto. Si bien, existe una extensa bibliografía que analiza la política exterior, las relaciones internacionales y las políticas públicas, en cada una de estas obras, ya sean libros o artículos, sus conceptualizaciones son sumamente específicas y útiles para alcanzar los objetivos específicos de dichas obras. Por lo tanto, los estudiantes buscan constantemente un texto publicado que condense esta información y proporcione

definiciones más amplias de estos conceptos. Este artículo tiene la intención de contribuir con este asunto presentando el concepto de “política exterior” en comparación con el de “relaciones internacionales” y “política pública”, como antes mencionado. El objetivo no es proporcionar una reflexión innovadora ni una discusión teórica profunda que contraste estos tres conceptos, sino de ofrecer una síntesis de los tres elementos examinando su diálogo frecuente. En este sentido, el texto está pensando y dirigido a investigadores que desean realizar una primera aproximación con esta temática.

La literatura sobre la toma de decisiones y los lineamientos cuenta con una amplia gama de trabajos que abordan estos temas, pero están concentrados generalmente en estudios de casos o enfoques históricos en su mayoría. Por una parte, los libros con la historia diplomática de un determinado país indican las directrices más generales de su política exterior en cada período. Por otra parte, investigaciones más específicas del proceso de la toma de decisiones traen casos de estudio que analizan en profundidad los momentos claves de la toma de decisiones en la política exterior. De todas formas, en la mayoría de estos casos no se proporcionan explicaciones objetivas de las pautas y de los procesos de toma de decisiones; dando a entender indirectamente que se tratan de elementos que no necesitan alineaciones más precisas. Sin embargo, estos son dos elementos cruciales en el estudio de la política exterior, por lo que es importante que sean tratados conceptualmente. Este artículo pretende realizar este aporte presentando esta discusión conceptual con la intención de ayudar a delimitar qué son lineamientos y qué es toma de decisiones en política exterior.

Otra motivación que impulsó la producción de este texto fue que la política exterior como política pública ha sido un tema cada vez más presente en la literatura de esta subárea. De esta forma, el texto se centra en analizar el proceso de la política pública y sus fases vinculando constantemente a la política exterior. La intención es acercar las discusiones sobre política pública a la política exterior y no al revés. Siendo así, no se trata de una discusión que problematiza la democratización de la política exterior o la necesidad de construir una política exterior más abierta a la participación pública.

Es importante señalar que la política exterior, así como las relaciones internacionales y las políticas públicas no son solamente conceptos como tal, también son fenómenos que forman parte de la dinámica de la sociedad. Por tanto, estos fenómenos al convertirse en objetos de estudio en sus respectivas áreas científicas, generan la necesidad de discutir sus definiciones y abordar conceptualmente estos temas. Esta tarea debe ser

realizada con mucho cuidado para no simplificar amplios campos de estudio, como los que se abordan en este texto. Además, el ejercicio didáctico que proporciona esta discusión es siempre necesario en estos estudios.

El texto está organizado en cuatro partes, además de la introducción y la conclusión. La primera analiza la política exterior y las relaciones internacionales. La segunda examina la política exterior y las políticas públicas. La tercera aborda el proceso de toma de decisiones y las directrices. La cuarta parte discute la política exterior como política pública desde el punto de vista de las cuestiones analíticas de esta última.

2. Política Exterior y Relaciones Internacionales

La política exterior puede entenderse como un conjunto de principios que orientan las acciones internacionales de un gobierno. Son principios que dan las bases a un país para interactuar con el entorno más allá de sus fronteras y que reflejan la totalidad de sus políticas. Es la suma de las relaciones externas oficiales, generalmente realizadas por el Estado en sus relaciones internacionales, las cuales atraviesan por una compleja interacción entre el ambiente interno y externo, por un lado, y de actores estatales y no estatales, por otro lado, para ser efectivas.

La política exterior, como objeto de estudio científico, está vinculada a fenómenos políticos, económicos, sociales y culturales dentro de los Estados y también en el ámbito del sistema internacional.³ Es un asunto de investigación vinculado principalmente a la Ciencia Política y a las Relaciones Internacionales, pero no exclusivamente. Esto muestra las dificultades que existen para conceptualizar este término. Tal como señala Marcel Merle (1984), el concepto de “política exterior” a menudo recibe el prejuicio de que es fácil de definirlo, pero que a la final está en la cumbre de las actividades políticas notoriamente difíciles de definir (Hill, 2016).

Después de la Segunda Guerra Mundial, paralelamente a la evolución de la APE como subárea específica de estudios y de las Relaciones Internacionales como disciplina

³ A partir del siglo XVIII, se pudo comprender mejor la semántica de la política exterior, tal como se describe comúnmente en términos conceptuales en la actualidad. Fahrmeir, Hellmann y Vec (2016) argumentan que el término de “política exterior” aparece en el idioma inglés como *foreign policy* a principios del siglo XVIII, cuando la expresión “diplomacia”, hasta entonces entendida como una experticia en diplomas, pasa a contribuir con la connotación actual. Para los autores, la invención del término de “política exterior” y su antecedente, las relaciones exteriores, es producto de la fase de transición de la sociedad de príncipes, cuando las disputas religiosas determinaban decisiones políticas, a la fase moderna del Estado racional.

de la ciencia, la visión de la política exterior también comenzó a cambiar. Como destaca Hill (2016), las visiones de la historia diplomática que retrataban la política exterior⁴ se reinventaron, prestando más atención a las herramientas de toma de decisión, al papel de la burocracia y a los grupos de interés en la política exterior. Esto se reflejó en la producción académica sobre el tema. En efecto, los trabajos de carácter histórico y descriptivo de la diplomacia continuaron, pero se comenzó a explorar la política exterior desde otras miradas. Según Carlsnaes (2013), se incluyeron nuevos compromisos metodológicos y nuevas preocupaciones empíricas sustantivas considerando a nuevos actores y procesos.

Tras el aumento de la complejidad de los estudios sobre política exterior. Es importante señalar que cuando un objeto de estudio comienza a recibir amplias percepciones y, por ende, a expandirse, la tendencia es que surjan algunas imprecisiones al discutirlo conceptualmente. Por ello, en el caso de la política exterior, es imprescindible definirlo, principalmente para diferenciarla de las relaciones internacionales. Las Relaciones Internacionales o RI (en mayúsculas) se refiere a una subárea de estudio de la ciencia. Es una disciplina académica vinculada a la Ciencia Política y que generalmente tiene a la política exterior como parte de su objeto de estudio. En este caso, existen variaciones en diferentes lugares y diferentes períodos de tiempo sobre la pertenencia de la Política Exterior como disciplina, en unos casos vinculada a las RI y en otros a la Ciencia Política. Este artículo se enfoca en discutir las relaciones internacionales (en minúsculas) como un fenómeno sujeto a análisis científico, y diferenciarlo conceptualmente de la política exterior.

Las relaciones internacionales pueden definirse ampliamente como un conjunto de eventos y fenómenos que involucran una amplia gama de actores que existen e interactúan en el sistema internacional, es decir, más allá de las fronteras internas de las sociedades (Pecequilo, 2004). Esta definición conserva dos elementos presentes en los recientes intentos de definir el concepto de relaciones internacionales, el Estado y los

⁴ Los estudios sobre política exterior tuvieron un fuerte enfoque en la historia diplomática hasta mediados del siglo XX (Carlsnaes, 2013) y estaban enfocados en el contenido político. Se observó principalmente los medios estratégicos y diplomáticos utilizados y los resultados obtenidos. En este tipo de abordaje, hasta la primera mitad del siglo XX, la política exterior fue tratada predominantemente como un producto, la sustancia y la efectividad se observaban a través de la comparación con otros productos, por ejemplo, las políticas exteriores de otros países o los actores de disputa en el tablero global. El tema de investigación privilegiado sobre la política exterior fue el ámbito internacional, y se prestó menos atención a los factores internos de la política exterior (Merle, 1984).

“otros” actores. Las definiciones de las relaciones internacionales más cercanas a la visión realista, ofrecidas a principios de la segunda mitad del siglo XX, colocan al Estado como principal agente de las relaciones internacionales y a la seguridad como tema prioritario de las acciones externas. En otros enfoques menos realistas, las relaciones internacionales son vistas como actividades desarrolladas entre individuos o colectividades - no exclusivamente del Estado - y que trascienden el espacio de su comunidad política, es decir, las fronteras del Estado. Así, como destaca Esther Barbé (1995), el concepto tiene dos criterios definitorios, la ubicación geográfica y los actores involucrados. Estos dos aspectos son útiles para diferenciar las relaciones internacionales de la política exterior.

Se puede considerar que el criterio de ubicación geográfica es lo que asemeja a ambos conceptos. En efecto, es posible mencionar un gran número de definiciones sobre “política exterior” que la caracterizan como un fenómeno que se desarrolla fuera de las fronteras, cada una con alguna especificidad. Por ejemplo, Morin⁵ (2013) define a la política exterior como el conjunto de preceptos o normas que rigen las acciones de una autoridad política en el entorno internacional. Esta conceptualización es útil para enfoques que consideran al Estado soberano como unidad de análisis. En esta misma lógica, Breuning (2007) menciona que la política exterior es la totalidad de las políticas de un país que sirven para interactuar con el medio ambiente más allá de sus fronteras. Además, se puede incluir la descripción clásica - y frecuentemente citada - de Merle (1984), quien la define desde una visión topográfica, afirmando que la política exterior es la parte de la actividad del Estado orientada hacia afuera. La conceptualiza como un proceso opuesto a la política interna o como problemas que surgen más allá de las fronteras.

La política exterior se observa comúnmente desde las acciones de un actor específico (Estado) en un contexto estructural (sistema internacional) que se caracteriza como anárquico (Hellmann, 2016), lo que implica una limitación operativa del concepto.⁶ Además, definir a la política exterior como una actividad que involucra, en cierta medida,

⁵ El libro de Jean-Frédéric Morin (2013) se publicó originalmente en francés. Posteriormente, se publicó en inglés en colaboración con Jonathan Paquin (2018). Hay pocas diferencias en las dos ediciones y ambas se utilizan en este artículo.

⁶ Esta definición está estrechamente vinculada a la escuela realista de las Relaciones Internacionales. Trata al Estado como agente unitario inmerso en una base estructuralista y racionalista. Estos factores muestran parte de la limitación operativa que existe para examinar la política exterior, ya que margina las estructuras institucionales y las acciones internas.

acciones más allá de las fronteras, no la diferencia de las relaciones internacionales. Sin embargo, el criterio geográfico señalado por Esther Barbé (1995) sigue siendo útil para diferenciar la política exterior de la política interior, así como para definir el carácter internacional, tanto de la política exterior como de las relaciones internacionales. Sin embargo, la utilidad se limita cuando estos procesos necesitan diferenciarse con el propósito de obtener una mejor comprensión. Esto debido a que la política exterior se desarrolla en una compleja interacción del entorno doméstico e internacional (Neack, 2018), siendo imposible separar objetivamente estas dos instancias.⁷

El otro criterio que corresponde a los actores involucrados se considera que tiene una mayor capacidad para diferenciar la política exterior de las relaciones internacionales. Las relaciones internacionales, como se mencionó anteriormente, involucran a actores que interactúan en fenómenos que van más allá de las fronteras estatales. Sin embargo, desde mediados de la década de 1970, las relaciones internacionales han sido identificadas como un fenómeno que engloba a actores estatales y no estatales (Keohane & Nye, 1977), que se involucran en procesos que antes eran [únicamente manejados por los Estados, tanto en el ámbito interno como externo (Mansani & Reis, 2014). Esta amplia participación de los actores, presente en las definiciones de relaciones internacionales, no se aplica necesariamente al concepto de política exterior.⁸

Hill (2016) presenta una definición de política exterior que ayuda a comprender esta lógica. Definiéndola como la suma de las relaciones exteriores oficiales llevadas a cabo por un actor independiente. Generalmente, se trata del Estado a través de sus relaciones internacionales, pero no exclusivamente. En esta definición, el actor independiente puede ser el Estado o un conjunto de Estados, el autor ejemplifica citando a la Unión Europea. Hill (2016) se refiere a todos los mecanismos de gobierno del Estado al referirse a las relaciones oficiales y no solamente a los departamentos relacionados con las relaciones exteriores. Esto no significa que todos los temas tratados por todas las instancias gubernamentales formen parte de la política exterior. Sin embargo, cuando se aplica el criterio de ubicación geográfica del tema más allá de las fronteras, se transforma

⁷ Putnam (2010) aborda esta cuestión identificando un nivel interno e internacional que ejercen presión sobre los tomadores de decisiones. Para el autor, se aplican diferentes lógicas en cada nivel y no tiene sentido intentar verificar si el nivel interno influye más que el externo o viceversa.

⁸ Figueira (2011) al delimitar el objeto de estudio de la política exterior, presenta esta discusión explicando cómo el debate entre tradicionalistas y pluralistas abarcó también a la política exterior y a las teorías de las Relaciones Internacionales.

a la temática en internacional y todos los actores involucrados son participantes de la política exterior.

En esta definición, se puede observar que existe un embudo que delimita a los actores y a los temas involucrados con la política exterior en comparación con las relaciones internacionales. En la política exterior debe existir necesariamente el elemento estatal en su proceso para que el tema se caracterice como un asunto de política exterior; en otras palabras, pasar por la entidad gubernamental. Esto no es obligatorio en el caso de las relaciones internacionales. Carlsnaes (2013) contribuye a esta discusión al definir a la política exterior como un conjunto de acciones perseguidas por representantes de un gobierno y expresadas en forma de metas explícitamente establecidas. El gobierno actúa en representación de una unidad soberana, dirige sus esfuerzos hacia objetivos y actores gubernamentales (o no) que se pretende afectar y que están más allá de su legitimidad territorial. Hill (2016) y Carlsnaes (2013) tratan a la política exterior como una acción de gobierno. Excluyen la visión del Estado que lo caracteriza como caja negra, enfoques más monolíticos y orientados al análisis sistémico.

Desde un punto de vista conceptual, las relaciones internacionales son más amplias y la política exterior más particular y específica. La diferencia esencial es que un fenómeno político, económico, social o cultural debe necesariamente estar vinculado a la política de gobierno para que sea caracterizado como política exterior. Inclusive, las relaciones no oficiales entre actores no estatales pueden caracterizarse como un objeto de las relaciones internacionales siempre que se desempeñen más allá de las fronteras.

3. Política Exterior y las Políticas Públicas

La política exterior es una actividad oficial de los gobiernos, como se discutió anteriormente. Así como otras políticas tiene un proceso que involucra varias etapas desde su inicio hasta su ejecución, pasando por fases de elaboración y negociación. Los líderes gubernamentales necesitan la aprobación institucional para tomar decisiones políticas en los países que poseen un modelo democrático liberal. Inclusive, se deben seguir los procedimientos constitucionales y reglamentarios para que las decisiones políticas sean efectivas y legítimas. En este sentido, existe la posibilidad de que estas políticas sean aprobadas, alteradas o vetadas por parte de los poderes responsables de actuar en dichos procesos.

La política pública es una actividad oficial de los gobiernos que también pasa por procesos que involucran una serie de etapas desde su inicio hasta su ejecución. Es un conjunto de programas y acciones del Estado que tienen como objetivo ayudar a enfrentar los desafíos de interés colectivo (Castro & Oliveira, 2014), y resolver problemas públicos. Reforzando esta definición, Amabile (2012) afirma que las políticas públicas son acciones del gobierno concretizadas a través de decisiones tomadas por el orden público y que están destinadas a satisfacer el interés de una colectividad. Al igual que en la política exterior, los líderes gubernamentales necesitan la aprobación institucional para llevar a cabo las políticas públicas. Se deben seguir los procedimientos institucionales y regulatorios para que las decisiones políticas sean efectivas y legítimas, las cuales dependen de la aprobación, alteración o veto por parte de los poderes habilitados a actuar en dichos procesos.

Considerando la lógica que condiciona la construcción de las políticas públicas, varios enfoques apuntan la existencia de diferentes fases y prácticas que forman parte del proceso político, tales como, identificación del problema, inserción del tema en la agenda política⁹, la negociación hasta la aprobación, implementación de las propuestas aprobadas, cambios de rumbo durante la ejecución y, finalmente el cierre de la política (Lisboa, 2017). La idea del proceso político pensado en etapas tuvo su génesis a partir de la década de 1950 con el trabajo de Harold Lasswell, quien inicialmente desarrolló la idea de ciclos de políticas como una forma sistemática de análisis político (Howlett & Giest, 2012).

Calduch (1993), entiende que la política exterior, como cualquier otra política, es un proceso que presenta una sucesión de decisiones y acciones. Para el autor, tres etapas son comunes en el proceso institucional de cualquier política: elaboración, ejecución y control. En la fase de elaboración, se recolecta información sobre la situación, se determinan los objetivos, se buscan alternativas viables y finalmente se eligen los medios para lograr las metas. La etapa de ejecución consiste en las acciones que se realizan para ejecutar lo que fue previamente decidido. En el caso de la política exterior es común que esta etapa se concentre en el ejecutivo y no en el legislativo. La etapa de control tiene dos fases, primero, el control legal que determina si las acciones son lícitas o ilícitas. Segundo,

⁹ Capella (2006) considera que los modelos analíticos de Flujos Múltiples (Kingdon, 2014), por un lado, y el Equilibrio Puntuado de Baumgarnter & Jones (1993), por otro lado, tienen mayor capacidad explicativa sobre cómo se formulan las agendas gubernamentales. El autor proporciona una explicación sobre los dos modelos.

el control político en donde los actores monitorean los éxitos y fracasos de los ejecutores de la política.

Se necesita realizar dos pequeñas observaciones cuando se realiza un análisis de estos fenómenos por etapas, ya sea de la política interna o externa, como se indicó anteriormente. La primera observación es que la secuencia de las etapas no es lineal. Examinar la política en etapas tiene el objetivo de simplificar la complejidad del proceso para conseguir desarrollar estudios sobre el tema (Howlett, 2000). La intención no es explicar la aprobación de una política en etapas cronológicamente observables, estáticas y predecibles. Estas fases no siempre ocurren en la misma secuencia o separadamente, ya que involucra cuestiones de procedimiento y negociaciones políticas.¹⁰ La segunda observación es que el proceso interno de aprobación de una política es diferente en cada país. Su dinámica varía según el sector de la sociedad afectado y debe tomar en cuenta los diferentes niveles de la administración pública involucrada.

En relación a las políticas públicas, a lo largo del tiempo, se sistematizaron varios modelos de análisis a partir de un ciclo formado por diferentes etapas. Independientemente del enfoque, la participación del ejecutivo y el legislativo es común en el proceso de toma de decisiones en la política, tanto por obligaciones procesales como por el juego político, así como la participación de los grupos de interés que buscan atender sus demandas. Para Milner (1997), los actores políticos – ejecutivos y legislativos – se interesan en satisfacer las demandas de los grupos de interés, ya que esto puede transformarse posteriormente en capital para obtener votos en las elecciones. Mientras que los grupos de interés presionan la aprobación de las preferencias específicas de sus sectores. Este proceso comienza con la presentación de un tema al poder legislativo, quienes lo analizan observando su legalidad, contenido e interés social mediante comisiones especializadas. El tema ingresa al Pleno para su aprobación y posteriormente es remitido al poder ejecutivo para su aprobación o veto. Dependiendo del tema tratado, este proceso puede variar, pero este es el modelo estándar de forma general. En este sentido, se puede observar que no existe una gran diferencia entre el proceso de toma de decisión de la política exterior y otras políticas, ya sean políticas internas o políticas públicas.

¹⁰ Jann y Wegrich (2007) presentan una discusión sobre las etapas de una política. Además, discuten los límites y la utilidad de esta perspectiva. Faria (2021, p. 22), destaca que el ciclo de las políticas es una representación de los procesos de producción de las políticas, los cuales son útiles y problemáticos.

A pesar de que la política exterior es una política pública y los procedimientos para su procesamiento institucional tener similitudes con cualquier otra política, esta mantiene ciertas especificidades. Según mencionan Salomon y Pinheiro (2013), estas diferencias pueden generar diferencias considerables en lo que respecta a los objetivos y resultados. Los autores señalan que tratar a la política exterior como una política pública implica comprender que en su proceso ocurren demandas y conflictos de diferentes grupos. El hecho de ser implementadas fuera de las fronteras causa incertezas de sus resultados, por una parte, y permite que se desarrollen diferentes pactos institucionales internos y articulaciones políticas domésticas de diversas dimensiones, por otra parte. Además, en el caso de la política exterior, los controles legales y políticos de las políticas implementadas pueden ser realizados por agentes internos, así como por actores transnacionales (Calduch, 1993).

El hecho de que la política exterior ultrapase las fronteras nacionales provoca una similitud con las relaciones internacionales desde un punto de vista conceptual. Sin embargo, al mismo tiempo, esta característica marca la diferencia de la política exterior con otras políticas públicas. Uno de los argumentos teóricos incluidos en esta discusión y que ejemplifica esta afirmación es la posición de Risse-Kappen (1995) quien problematiza la influencia de los factores externos en la formación de las políticas en el ámbito doméstico. Para el autor, las coaliciones y los actores transnacionales impactan en las políticas estatales de diferentes maneras dependiendo de las características de las estructuras políticas internas.¹¹ Estas estructuras están conformadas por: a) instituciones políticas del Estado representadas y perfiladas por el ejecutivo, legislativo y aparato burocrático; b) normas y condiciones que determinan la forma de estructurar las demandas de la sociedad en general; c) relaciones políticas entre el Estado y la sociedad, considerando especialmente las normas que regulan las actividades de los grupos de presión y los sistemas de formación de intereses.

Es cierto que los puntos planteados por Risse-Kappen (1995) con relación a los actores se pueden aplicar también a las políticas internas. Sin embargo, el autor señala que el nivel de impacto causado por los actores transnacionales en el proceso de toma de decisiones políticas es más fuerte cuando el tema que se aborda está regulado por tratados bilaterales, regímenes multilaterales u organizaciones internacionales. De esta forma, los

¹¹ En Faria (2018) hay una amplia discusión sobre coaliciones internacionales, actores transnacionales y otros elementos de las relaciones internacionales que actúan en las políticas públicas.

temas de política exterior que generan interés en actores que están más allá de las fronteras nacionales pueden ser influenciados por dichos actores, incluso en el proceso de toma de decisiones a nivel nacional.

En el proceso de toma de decisiones relacionado con la estructura institucional interna, Wallace (1971) y Merle (1984) señalan las ventajas que tiene el ejecutivo en relación con el legislativo dentro de este proceso. En gran medida, esto debido a que el ejecutivo es visto como el representante oficial del Estado en el ámbito internacional, por un lado, y por tener un mayor control sobre las fuentes de información en materia de política exterior, por otro lado. Según Couto (2019), en el sistema presidencial y el parlamentario, se espera que el ejecutivo se interese en la mayor parte de la producción de las leyes, ya que es el principal responsable del éxito del gobierno ante los ojos de la sociedad. Wallace (1971) entiende que el ejecutivo es capaz de controlar y definir los temas de política exterior que llegarán al debate público, así como seleccionar el momento de presentarlos. El autor concluye que la política exterior es mucho más un asunto de negociación que de legislación y que el ejecutivo no tiene, en las políticas públicas internas, las ventajas que tiene en la política exterior. Esto no significa que guiar la política exterior sea tarea fácil para el ejecutivo, ya que las altas autoridades del ejecutivo son desafiadas en este espacio (Morin & Paquin, 2018). Más que nada, se trata de un entorno en donde las realidades no son inmutables y la información es escasa e imprecisa, lo que dificulta elegir un rumbo al interactuar con actores que no pueden ser coaccionados a través de una jerarquía.

Wallace (1971) enfatiza que el proceso doméstico de política exterior es un área distinta que sigue un patrón diferente y cuyos actores juegan diferentes roles. El autor considera que hay tres categorías de temas de política exterior que pasan por procesos internos. La primera categoría se refiere a temas relacionados con los valores que son relevantes para toda la sociedad, por un lado, y con la existencia de una unidad nacional de pensamiento, por otro lado. En esta categoría, el ejecutivo tiene bastante libertad de acción, pues mantiene un status de legitimidad para tratar el tema. La segunda categoría señala las cuestiones que involucran los intereses sectoriales y preferencias de los grupos sociales. En estos casos, la capacidad de influencia de los grupos sociales y de los agentes estatales varía según la situación. Cuando los conflictos y disputas de intereses entre los grupos internos llegan al límite dentro del proceso de toma de decisiones, estos temas adquieren un patrón similar a las disputas de las políticas internas. La tercera categoría

apunta a temas que involucran a países con los que tienen pocas o débiles relaciones, o inclusive temas que generan poco interés. Son menos relevantes porque no representan un riesgo para el país y despiertan poco interés en la sociedad. Conviene mencionar una última observación del autor, quien señala que las políticas públicas internas generan mucho más interés y están mucho más cercanas a los ciudadanos que conforman la base de apoyo de los partidos políticos. Así, los actores legislativos demuestran menos interés por la política exterior en cuanto tiempo y esfuerzo que la política interna. Mientras que el ejecutivo no puede privarse de esta tarea.

Está claro que la política exterior es más que el conjunto de acciones y comportamientos que un Estado adopta en sus relaciones con el entorno externo. Más bien, se compone de una variedad de áreas y dominios que forman un conjunto de preocupaciones de los tomadores de decisiones vinculadas a otros intereses (Breuning, 2007). Existen grandes similitudes en cuanto al proceso de toma de decisiones y procedimientos institucionales, así como los intereses políticos que configuran las etapas de una política pública, sea externa o interna. No obstante, en política exterior siempre se debe considerar el factor internacional que la compone. Si bien la política exterior es vista como una política pública por los trámites domésticos que demanda y por el impacto que tiene en la sociedad nacional, su carácter transnacional la diferencia de otras en términos de fondo, actores y presiones involucradas en su formulación.

4. Proceso Decisorio y Directrices

Existen otros términos que a menudo aparecen vinculados entre sí cuando se aborda conceptualmente la política exterior. No es raro que expresiones como toma de decisiones y directrices formen parte de las mismas discusiones que involucran a la política exterior.

El proceso de toma de decisiones puede ser visto como un conjunto de interacciones entre los órganos políticos administrativos y otros grupos sociales del Estado, mediante el cual se definen los objetivos y se seleccionan los medios necesarios para llevar a cabo una política exterior (Calduch, 1993, p. 6), es decir, la etapa de toma de decisiones. Una decisión es la elección de una opción entre varias. Es un proceso en el que siempre existe un cierto grado de incertidumbre (Neack, 2018). En este sentido, la toma de decisiones es el núcleo central de la etapa de la política exterior. Se denomina el proceso de toma de decisiones.

La política exterior de un país es un fenómeno que una parte se desarrolla en un espacio que está fuera de su control. Para Bedoya (2013), se trata de un terreno extraño y ajeno a las entidades que están bajo su soberanía, donde conviven los intereses nacionales de otros Estados. A pesar de esto, la toma de decisiones se desarrolla de manera objetiva dentro del círculo político gubernamental. En otras palabras, ocurre a partir de negociaciones entre el ejecutivo, legislativo y los grupos de interés (Milner, 1997). Complementando estos dos factores, Breuning (2007, p. 9) señala que el tomador de decisiones no puede controlar cómo reaccionará el otro país ante cualquiera de sus decisiones. Considerando estos elementos, es evidente que la política exterior opera en un tablero de dos niveles (Putnam, 2010) y el proceso de toma de decisiones no puede entenderse como una etapa separada que ocurre solo en el ámbito doméstico. Se debe prestar atención al hecho de que el comportamiento externo del Estado es el resultado de una interrelación entre estructuras externas y agentes internos, lo que conduce a una relación multicausal (Eun, 2012).

De acuerdo con Snyder, Bruck y Sapin (2002) al enfocarse en la toma de decisiones es posible organizar los factores que influyen en el proceso de toma de decisiones en torno a los agentes políticos que actúan en este proceso. Para los autores, los tomadores de decisiones de política exterior operan en escenarios donde sus acciones se relacionan con los factores internos y externos, aparentemente no concernientes. Stuart (2008) agrega que estudiar el proceso decisorio y la toma de decisiones demanda enfocarse en el comportamiento humano de decisión en toda su complejidad. A pesar de la importancia del individuo en este proceso, estas decisiones casi nunca son concisamente individuales, ya que la arena política está formada por una compleja red de disputas y coaliciones.

En este contexto, ¿cómo definir si un determinado fenómeno es parte del proceso de toma de decisiones de la política exterior? Para ello, se pueden recapitular algunas cuestiones que se destacaron en este texto. Primero, un determinado fenómeno puede considerarse como política exterior cuando está vinculado a la política gubernamental. Segundo, al igual que otras políticas públicas, la política exterior pasa por un proceso de aprobación institucional que generalmente incluye al ejecutivo, legislativo y otros actores, aunque no siempre. Tercero, la toma de decisiones es central en el proceso de política exterior.

Entendiendo el proceso de toma de decisiones como un conjunto de interacciones entre actores que definen objetivos y seleccionan los medios para llevar a cabo una política exterior. La participación de un país en un proceso de integración regional en donde ocurren negociaciones entre los países involucrados es un ejemplo. Dichas negociaciones pueden dar lugar a la firma de documentos como un acuerdo o una carta de intención. Sin embargo, antes de llegar a este momento, los actores gubernamentales interactúan internamente para tomar la decisión de firmar (o no) la carta de intención que establecerá relaciones con otros países. Por ejemplo, los actores que interactúan entre sí e influyen sobre un determinado gobierno a tomar la decisión de seguir (o no) un proceso son los profesionales de los ministerios involucrados en las relaciones exteriores, grupos políticos de apoyo u oposición al gobernante o grupos de interés que se verán afectados económicamente por las relaciones con otros países. Este momento previo a la firma de la carta de intenciones que da paso a la formación de un proceso de integración regional es un ejemplo que muestra la inmersión de la toma de decisiones que ocurre en la génesis del proceso.

Después de esta fase, la cual se desarrolla con gran centralidad por parte de los agentes políticos y profesionales del poder ejecutivo. El proceso debe someterse a la aprobación del poder legislativo, siguiendo los pasos procesales previstos en la legislación de cada país. Los procesos relacionados con la política exterior pueden ser aprobados, modificados o rechazados por órganos parlamentarios, tal como ocurre con otras políticas públicas. Esta es otra fase en donde los actores políticos pueden interactuar como una forma de movilizar los medios necesarios para llevar a cabo una política exterior. Por lo tanto, la aprobación legislativa también puede verse como un momento de toma de decisiones dentro del proceso decisorio de política exterior. Sin embargo, cabe señalar la advertencia que hacen Morin y Paquin (2018), en la etapa del proceso institucional de política exterior, el poder legislativo generalmente se involucra menos, los grupos de interés son menos activos y los debates son menos transparentes en comparación a otras áreas de la política pública.

La política exterior tiene la fase de ejecución aparte del proceso que precede el paso por la legislatura y los trámites parlamentarios. La decisión de emprender una acción externa depende de una serie de factores internos y sistémicos, así como de la evaluación de las otras partes involucradas. Siguiendo el mismo ejemplo antes mencionado, un proceso de integración puede generar gastos financieros a las partes involucradas. Siendo

el caso, puede suceder que el país entre en una crisis económica entre el momento inicial de la toma de decisiones de la política exterior y su implementación, y no pueda cumplir con estos compromisos. También puede acontecer que alguna de las otras partes involucradas se encuentre en una crisis financiera y exista desconfianza con relación a su capacidad de cumplir con lo pactado. Además del tema financiero, puede haber limitaciones políticas debido a cambios en el tipo de gobierno de una de las partes y grupos políticos con quienes no exista alineación ideológica asuman el poder. Todas estas cuestiones pueden provocar que se decida no llevar a cabo todo lo planificado, negociado y aprobado anteriormente. Así, definir si una política exterior se implementará (o no) es también un momento de toma de decisiones.

Para concluir, se consideran tres puntos centrales para discutir qué es el proceso decisorio en política exterior y qué fenómenos forman parte de este proceso. Primero, colocando como punto central la toma de decisiones concretas, se deben definir todos los hechos y actores que de alguna manera influyeron en la decisión. En este punto, concordamos con Stuart (2008) quien afirma que la toma de decisiones es la variable dependiente de un proceso decisorio.

Segundo, existen varios momentos dentro del proceso de política exterior que exigen tomar decisiones. Esto se demostró anteriormente con ejemplos sobre la toma de decisiones durante la fase inicial, dentro del legislativo y en la fase de ejecución. De cualquier forma, la intención fue mostrar que pueden ocurrir múltiples decisiones dentro de un mismo proceso decisorio de política exterior de un gobierno. Se concuerda con Snyder, Bruck y Sapin (2002) cuando defienden que el proceso decisorio es una combinación de interacciones y toma de decisiones, respuestas que los tomadores de decisiones proporcionan ante acciones de otros actores involucrados en el proceso.

Tercero, las etapas no son cronológicamente lineales y es común que se sobrepongan, como se mencionó anteriormente. Además, estos procesos ocurren a diferentes velocidades en cada país. Este es un factor que hace que muchas veces la aprobación de políticas exteriores sea más compleja en comparación con otras políticas públicas. Aquí se concuerda con Howlett (2000) quien menciona que el análisis de una política en fases tiene el objetivo de simplificar la complejidad del proceso y conseguir desarrollar estudios efectivos sobre el tema.

Definido el proceso decisorio como la etapa de la política exterior que envuelve a actores y hechos que conducen a una o varias decisiones, aún falta aclarar cuáles son los

lineamientos de la política exterior. Las directrices son orientaciones o instrucciones que guían acciones con la intención de alcanzar un objetivo. Siendo así, los lineamientos o directrices de la política exterior de un gobierno son las pautas que los tomadores de decisiones deben considerar al momento de tomar una decisión. Neack (2018) define como los principios que orientan las acciones en relación con otros actores internacionales. Así, los lineamientos de política exterior influyen directamente en el proceso de toma de decisiones, ya que pueden definir la elección de una opción en detrimento de otras. Entonces, ¿los lineamientos preceden al proceso decisorio? Esta pregunta puede responderse de forma positiva o negativa.

En países con regímenes democráticos y elecciones frecuentes es común que se anuncien los lineamientos de política exterior al inicio de un período de gobierno. Inclusive, existen casos en que las directrices se señalan en la fase de disputa electoral, cuando los candidatos presentan propuestas adversarias para ser elegidos por los votantes. Por lo tanto, para dar a conocer los lineamientos de la política exterior al inicio de un gobierno, se debió haber desarrollado previamente un proceso decisorio sobre cuáles serían estas directrices. En el caso de que los lineamientos no se anuncien durante el período electoral, estas se deciden a partir de la victoria en las elecciones o al comenzar el mandato. Aquí la respuesta a la pregunta del párrafo anterior es negativa, ya que se toma al menos una decisión antes de definir las directrices, que es la propia elección de estas pautas.

Hay otros casos que permiten afirmar que las directrices preceden el proceso decisorio. En varios países existen preceptos constitucionales que rigen las relaciones exteriores y que deben ser seguidos por los funcionarios de gobierno de todas las gestiones, siempre que estos principios estén previstos. En este caso, existe una orientación constitucional que está legalmente por encima de cualquier otra política gubernamental. Por ejemplo, en el caso de Brasil, la constitución establece que uno de los principios que orientan las relaciones internacionales del país es la independencia nacional. De esta manera, el proceso decisorio que establece los lineamientos de la política exterior de un gobierno específico debe guiarse por esta pauta. Este es un ejemplo de cómo un lineamiento puede preceder al proceso decisorio.

5. Política Exterior y Políticas Públicas: dos monedas con la misma cara

A partir de las definiciones presentadas hasta el momento sobre política exterior, relaciones internacionales y política pública, vale la pena preguntarse, ¿cómo definir si un determinado tema forma parte de las políticas públicas, la política exterior, las relaciones internacionales o más de uno de estos?, ¿cuándo se sobreponen estas áreas?, ¿cómo es posible tratar un tema de estudio de política exterior como política pública?, ¿cómo identificar si un tema de política exterior tiene características de política pública? Estas preguntas no se relacionan únicamente a la discusión propuesta en este artículo. Son interrogaciones de estudiantes, frecuentemente escuchadas por profesores que tratan estos temas en cursos introductorios de Relaciones Internacionales, Ciencias Políticas y Políticas Públicas. Existe una amplia gama de trabajos en la literatura nacional brasilera e internacional que tratan este tema. Sin embargo, el investigador que hace un primer acercamiento al tema puede sentir que está pisando terreno pantanoso hasta saber en qué campo se encuentra ubicado lo que está leyendo.

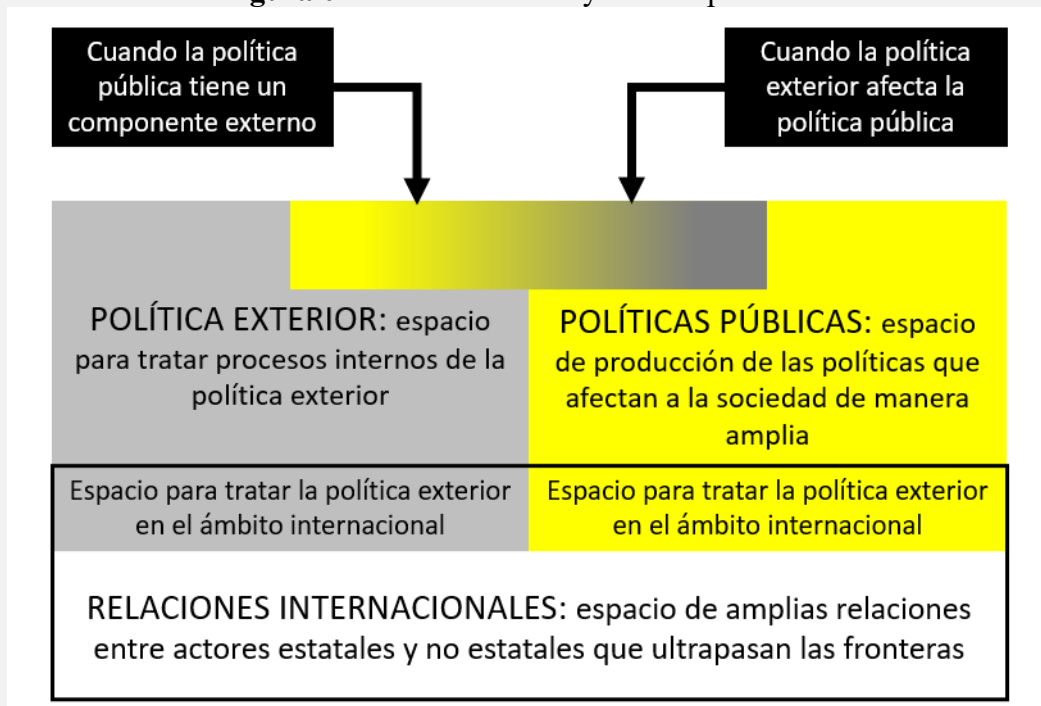
Esta sección presenta una leve discusión sobre estos asuntos, como una forma de contribuir con el debate fundamentalmente didáctico de estas cuestiones, por un lado, y con los estudios sobre la política exterior como política pública, por otro lado. La idea es brindar una noción inicial, esencialmente didáctica y básicamente introductoria de cómo los temas de política exterior y política pública tienen sus espacios específicos de acción y estudio, así como existen momentos que se solapan.

Se necesita realizar dos aclaraciones antes de seguir con esta discusión. Primero, la política exterior como política pública se entiende aquí como una política de gobierno que de alguna manera afecta al menos a una parte de la sociedad de un país y que tiene un componente internacional como condición necesaria mínima para concretizarse. Es una política que afecta al público en general y tiene al menos un elemento que ultrapasa las fronteras. Segundo, el modelo de análisis que se presenta a continuación es meramente didáctico, pues estas fases suelen desarrollarse al mismo tiempo y en múltiples dimensiones, como se mencionó anteriormente. Inclusive, provocando que en algunos casos sea imposible separar una fase de otra.

Considerado estos puntos aclaratorios, se puede pensar en las relaciones internacionales, la política exterior y las políticas públicas como áreas específicas de estudio, pero con superposiciones entre estas. En efecto, hay temas que pueden tratarse como política exterior y política pública al mismo tiempo. Mientras que existen otros temas que pueden considerarse políticas públicas viabilizadas por las vías de las

relaciones internacionales, pero sin que se caractericen necesariamente como política exterior (Figura 1).

Figura 01: áreas de estudio y sus solapamientos



Fuente de datos: Elaboración propia

Plantear la política exterior desde dos niveles de operación, el interno y externo, demanda la necesidad de citar, primero, el trabajo de Análisis de Política Exterior de Putnam (2010), que enfatiza el papel del negociador en el ámbito interno y externo. Segundo, cabe mencionar el aporte de Alisson (1971) quien analiza la toma de decisiones internas como una forma de apoyar las acciones externas. En el caso de tratar las políticas públicas de la misma manera, con dos niveles de acción, es importante destacar las siguientes obras. Existen modelos de análisis que analizan el ámbito interno como, por ejemplo, Lindblom (1991) que discute cómo un tema llega a la agenda de las políticas públicas a partir de lógicas presentes en el mercado. Weible y Sabatier¹² (2007) consideran a las políticas públicas como cuestiones discutidas por coaliciones de actores interesados en la temática. Mientras que Kingdom (2014) menciona que un tema llega a la agenda cuando hay consenso entre los problemas, soluciones y eventos políticos. Hudson y Day (2020), en su trabajo centrado en el análisis de la política exterior,

¹² Una síntesis didácticamente bien construida del modelo de coaliciones de defensa es presentada por Vicente (2015).

consideran que algunos elementos del enfoque de John Kingdon, específicamente la forma que el autor define el papel de los *policy entrepreneurs* en la toma de decisiones, puede contribuir fácilmente al campo de las políticas públicas.

Los modelos de análisis de las políticas públicas en el ámbito internacional, que no necesariamente pueden caracterizarse como política exterior, pueden generar otra discusión conceptual que involucra la definición de paradiplomacia. Tradicionalmente, la política exterior ha sido enfocada, por un lado, tratado a los Estados nacionales como unidades de análisis y, por otro lado, a los gobiernos centrales como actores principales. Sin embargo, las acciones diplomáticas de los actores subnacionales o las acciones de la paradiplomacia han sido más frecuentes.

A mediados de la primera década del siglo XXI, Salomón (2007) señaló que los gobiernos subnacionales reivindicaban la posibilidad de tener un rol institucionalizado en la política exterior y que estaban siendo creados los mecanismos articuladores entre los espacios centrales de decisión de política exterior y los entes subnacionales. Al mismo tiempo, Ribeiro (2009) mencionó que este fenómeno es calificado por algunos autores como una política exterior de segundo orden. Morin y Paquin (2018) afirman que algunos actores subnacionales son suficientemente independientes para desarrollar e implementar su propia política exterior. Inclusive, existen casos en donde estos actores se oponen a las acciones tomadas por sus gobiernos centrales en materia de política exterior. De todas formas, el término de “política exterior” de los gobiernos no centrales¹³ aún se utiliza retraídamente para hacer referencia a acciones que tienen características de política exterior, en el sentido tradicional, pero que son formuladas y ejecutadas por entidades subnacionales.

Es más común encontrar esta discusión en las relaciones internacionales y la política exterior que en las políticas públicas. Al mismo tiempo, estas temáticas no profundizan las discusiones teóricas específicas de las políticas públicas. Esto genera dificultades desde el punto de vista analítico, pues los estudios de la paradiplomacia enfrentan limitaciones derivadas del uso y elección de métodos de análisis (Mercher & Pereira, 2018). Esto se debe a que todavía hay limitantes con relación a la interacción

¹³ Se utiliza el término de “Gobiernos No Centrales” en el mismo sentido que lo describe Ribeiro (2009, p. 36): “son gobiernos locales más cercanos a la ciudadanía como municipios e intendencias, pero también gobiernos regionales con un nivel intermedio de poder como provincias, entidades federativas de Estados, comunidades autónomas y cantones.

entre la literatura sobre políticas públicas, por un lado, y sobre relaciones internacionales y política exterior, por otro lado, a pesar de existir fructíferas discusiones. La diferenciación que hacen las tres áreas con relación a la paradiplomacia se considera una disputa de términos más que una diferenciación profunda de su alcance científico¹⁴, por citar algunos ejemplos, la política exterior de los actores subnacionales, las relaciones internacionales de las ciudades y otras definiciones utilizadas para designar el desempeño externo de los actores no centrales. Inicialmente es más importante saber en qué parte de la discusión académica se ubica un determinado tema, que definir exactamente el término que se utilizará para tratarlo en los estudios. Posteriormente, esto ayudará a que se aclare cuál es el término correcto que debe usarse, incluso si es posible usar estos términos indistintamente.

Tomando en consideración los aspectos discutidos en esta sección, se destacan las observaciones de Lentner (2006), quien afirma existir una marcada división entre las cuestiones internas y externas en los estudios que tratan de políticas públicas y política exterior. Para el autor, existe la posibilidad de que las perspectivas teóricas de ambas áreas se solapen, pero los estudiosos de un campo ignoran los enfoques del otro. Existen vertientes en el Análisis de Política Exterior que explican el comportamiento de los Estados en el sistema internacional desde los paradigmas realista y liberal (Morin & Paquin, 2018). Sin embargo, hay otra que se enfocan exactamente en el mismo tipo de análisis que los estudiosos de las políticas públicas (Lentner, 2006). Inclusive, existen casos en donde se usa el modelo de un área para analizar otra. Por ejemplo, Česnakas e Jakštaitė (2019), aplica la idea del ciclo de políticas públicas para analizar la política exterior de Lituania, sin usar exactamente un modelo de análisis de política exterior como complemento.

Esto demuestra que aún queda un terreno fértil por explorar, así como grandes espacios para avanzar en este tipo de investigaciones, en el caso de que cada área comience a dialogar con los modelos analíticos de la otra.¹⁵ En este trabajo, se concuerda

¹⁴ Esta lucha terminológica va más allá de los “Gobiernos No Centrales”, que son actores gubernamentales. Hay otros actores que en algunas perspectivas son tratados como paradiplomáticos sin ser un GNC, como Itaipú Binacional (Manhães & Pinto, 2019). En otras perspectivas, la entidad Itaipú no es tratada con el término de actor paradiplomático, aunque hizo factible una política pública transnacional (Lisboa & Perón, 2019).

¹⁵ La colección de Faria (2021) presenta textos sobre la política exterior brasileña y se organiza en tres partes: Formulación, Implementación y Evaluación. No es un libro que utiliza perspectivas de políticas públicas para analizar la política exterior, más bien se aplica para organizar la obra. En palabras del

totalmente con el argumento de Lentner (2006), antes explicitado. En efecto, se considera que este puede ser el camino para desarrollar análisis consistentes de ciertos casos en donde la política pública posee un componente externo para efectivizarse o cuando la política exterior afecta directamente a una parte de la sociedad a la que se dirige una política pública.

Ferreira (2020) describe las bases fundamentales de esta área y sus principales aspectos. Siendo una obra que no solo presenta un enfoque histórico, sino que también actualiza la discusión sobre el desarrollo del Análisis de Política Exterior. Al discutir acerca de los debates contemporáneos, denominación utilizada por el autor, presenta cómo se han fortalecido nuevas fronteras en el debate sobre análisis de la política exterior con ayuda de estudios que se centran en el papel de la religión, la biología y el feminismo. Las políticas públicas se mencionan brevemente en las discusiones sobre la formación de preferencias, cogniciones y percepciones de los individuos en la política exterior. Esto muestra que aún existen pocos estudios sobre políticas públicas y política exterior que se preocupan en superar la división entre los aspectos internos y externos (Lentner, 2006). Hudson y Day (2020) refuerzan esta afirmación al afirmar que aún no se ha explorado lo suficiente la posible contribución que los enfoques teóricos de las políticas públicas podrían ofrecer al estudio de la política exterior.

Es importante mencionar la contribución de Mercher y Pereira (2018), considerando que la preocupación aquí son los modelos analíticos que respondan a las problemáticas que generalmente se analizan desde los modelos de análisis de política exterior o políticas públicas. Los autores consideran que la paradiplomacia puede ser analizada como política pública, pues examinan la política exterior como política pública y la paradiplomacia como política exterior desde una perspectiva interdisciplinar. Para ello, proponen el Análisis de la Paradiplomacia (APD), para afirmar que es necesario utilizar algunas pautas del análisis de políticas públicas para examinar la acción externa de una ciudad u otro gobierno local y subnacional en las relaciones internacionales. Este modelo ayuda a desarrollar los análisis que vinculan los factores externos e internos. Aporta en el análisis de la política exterior como política pública o viceversa, especialmente en la comprensión de la etapa de formulación y el proceso decisorio. Sin embargo, una política pública demanda procesos de implementación y ejecución (Souza,

organizador, los textos “se organizan siguiendo un ingenio tradicional de los analistas de políticas públicas, a saber: la imagen organizadora del llamado ciclo de políticas” (Faria, 2021, p. 22).

2006). En este sentido, el modelo APD proporciona algunas guías para observar estas fases, pero no profundiza.

Si la política se piensa como un ciclo o proceso que atraviesa una fase de toma de decisiones y, otra de implementación y ejecución, la propuesta de Mercher y Pereira (2018) se ubica en la etapa de toma de decisiones. En este mismo sentido, se encuentran Milani y Pinheiro (2013) y Lima (2013) quienes discuten la necesidad de expandir la política exterior para incorporar actores que tradicionalmente no participaban. Sorgine y Santos (2018) amplían este debate observando la participación de una gama más amplia de actores en la fase de toma de decisiones y su capacidad de influir en los tomadores de decisiones. La diferencia es que Mercher y Pereira (2018) incluyen el análisis de las políticas públicas al análisis de política exterior. Sin embargo, al igual que los otros autores, el trabajo se centra en el proceso decisorio y no en las fases posteriores.

Se considera que aún está vigente la propuesta de Lentner (2006), quien sugiere avanzar con el desarrollo de estudios interdisciplinarios de los modelos de análisis de política exterior y de política pública. Esto abre las posibilidades de realizar modelos de análisis que, por un lado, partan de los modelos de análisis de política exterior o, por otro lado, de los modelos de análisis de políticas públicas. Considerando la política como un proceso o como un ciclo, los trabajos que enfatizan en el proceso decisorio pueden servir de base para los modelos de análisis de política exterior y política pública, desde las etapas iniciales hasta llegar a la ejecución y evaluación.

6. Consideraciones Finales

A lo largo del texto, se pudo observar que la política exterior es un fenómeno más limitado que las relaciones internacionales. Esto debido a que un evento debe vincularse necesariamente a la política de gobierno, tener un carácter internacional y ultrapasar las fronteras para que pueda caracterizarse como política exterior. Las relaciones no oficiales entre actores no estatales pueden caracterizarse como un objeto de relaciones internacionales siempre que van más allá de las fronteras. No obstante, en el caso de la política exterior, el componente gubernamental es imprescindible.

Existen grandes similitudes entre las políticas públicas, ya sean externas o internas, en cuanto a los procedimientos institucionales y los intereses políticos que configuran las etapas de estas políticas. La particularidad que caracteriza a la política exterior es que siempre debe tomarse en cuenta el factor internacional que la compone.

La política exterior es una política pública, pues atraviesa por procedimientos domésticos y genera impacto en la sociedad nacional. Sin embargo, su carácter transnacional lo diferencia de las demás por su contenido, actores y presiones involucradas en su formulación.

Con base en los elementos acabados de mencionar, se concluyó que el elemento transnacional, el cual señala los fenómenos que se desarrollan fuera de las fronteras, une el concepto de “política exterior” con el de “relaciones internacionales”, por un lado, pero lo separa del de “políticas públicas internas”, por otro lado. Aunque la participación gubernamental y los procedimientos institucionales vinculan el concepto de “política exterior” con el de “política pública”, por una parte, genera semejanza de las “relaciones internacionales” en un sentido más amplio, por otra parte.

Se desarrolló la idea de que el proceso decisorio es una etapa en donde se generan distintas tomas de decisiones e involucra la interacción entre diferentes actores. En cada decisión de política exterior, los encargados de optar por un camino y no por otro deben considerar el ambiente interno y externo para tomar una decisión. Además, los lineamientos de política exterior definen qué opción elegir en el momento de tomar las decisiones. Estas directrices pueden ser específicas de un gobierno o provenir de cuestiones más amplias derivadas de preceptos constitucionales.

Se mostró la existencia de un espacio amplio de posibilidades para formular modelos de análisis que combinen la política exterior y la política pública para ampliar las cuestiones analíticas y las posibilidades de desarrollo de este campo. En este sentido, se evidenciaron algunos trabajos que han contribuido con esta discusión, los cuales se han enfocado en las fases de formulación y proceso decisorio, pero sin avanzar al análisis de las fases de implementación y ejecución.

Discutir conceptos significa entrar en un campo que tiene una parte de objetividad y otra de subjetividad. Esto implica necesariamente que la persona que decida adentrarse en esta discusión deba tomar decisiones con la finalidad de destacar algunos elementos y no otros; este artículo no fue diferente. De todas formas, se espera que el contenido presentado contribuya al desarrollo de los estudios en el área y, fomente nuevas discusiones teóricas y conceptuales imprescindibles en la actividad académica.

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Analyzing contending models of paternity-leave: A critical-comparative approach centered in the non-transferable exclusive license model

Analisando modelos contrapostos de licença-paternidade: Uma abordagem crítico-comparativa centrada no modelo de licença exclusiva não-transferível

Samuel Spellmann¹ 

DOI: 10.22478/ufpb.2525-5584.2021v6n1.52114

Recebido em: 27/04/2020

Aprovado em: 29/12/2020

Resumo: O presente artigo apresenta análise crítico-comparativa entre os modelos de licença-paternidade, licença-maternidade e licença-parental da Suécia e da Dinamarca. Isto é feito de modo a pautar a discussão sobre os modelos possíveis de implementação da licença-paternidade, visando melhor alimentar o debate legislativo-acadêmico no Brasil, muito embora se constate o ambiente de contrarreformas estruturais na Seguridade Social, em meio a atual Crise do Capital. Inicialmente, é apresentado um panorama sobre a legislação voltada à licença parental em ambas as nações escandinavas. Após, é estabelecida análise comparativa entre os modelos sueco e dinamarquês. A escolha pela análise de ambos os paradigmas se justifica pelo caráter mutuamente oposto que os mesmos carregam, e pelas derivações que a implementação de políticas de austeridade no âmbito da Licença-parental acarretou no cenário doméstico destes países. O artigo presta especial atenção para o Modelo de Licença Exclusiva Não-Transferível e suas consequências para a ampliação da fruição da licença-paternidade na Suécia. Além disso, através do estudo do modelo dinamarquês, é estatisticamente demonstrado o nexo entre o não pagamento integral dos benefícios da licença-parental e a menor utilização deste direito social por genitores e adotantes homens.

Palavras-chave: Licença-paternidade; Modelo de Licença Exclusiva Não-transferível; Suécia; Dinamarca; Licença-parental.

¹ Doutorando em Relações Internacionais pela Pontifícia Universidade Católica de Minas Gerais (PUC-Minas). Mestre em Relações Internacionais pela Universidade Estadual da Paraíba (UEPB). Especialista em Direito Processual Civil pelo Instituto Brasileiro de Mercado de Capitais (IBMEC). Graduado em Direito pela UEPB. Assistente de Editoria na Revista Brasileira de Políticas Públicas e Internacionais (RPPI). Membro da Rede Brasileira de Estudos da China (RBChina) e da International Initiative for Promoting Political Economy (IIPPE). E-mail: samuelspellmann@outlook.com.

Abstract: This article presents a critical-comparative analysis between paternity, maternity and parental-leave models in Sweden and Denmark. We do this in order to inform the reader about the current discussions on the possible models for implementation of paternity-leave, aiming on feeding the legislative and academic debate in Brazil, even though we recognize the current socioeconomic reality, in which structural counter-reforms on Social Security takes place, and while a Capital Crisis is unfolding. First, we present an outlook about parental-leave legislation in both Scandinavian nations. Afterwards, a comparative analysis is established between the Swedish and the Danish models. The article justifies the choice for the analysis of both paradigms by pointing out the mutually opposed characteristics these models encompass, and by the derivations that took place after the implementation of austerity policies through paternity-leave legislation at these countries. The article takes pays especial attention at the Non-transferable Exclusive License Model and its consequences for the widening of the utilization of paternity-leave in Sweden. In addition, through the study of the Danish Model, we demonstrate the intrinsic connection between not paying in full parental-leave benefits and the statistic lesser use by male adopters and genitors of this social right.

Keywords: Paternity-leave; Non-transferable Exclusive License Model; Sweden; Denmark; Parental-leave

1. Introduction

Recently, Sweden, the Scandinavian country with a strong tradition of defense of human and social rights, modifies again its public policies guidelines of Social Security. Starting from 2016, the two months paternity-leave would be increased with another monthly period, assuring Swedish parents a third month of separation from labor sites in order to care for those who just started their family livelihoods, be that by birth or adoption.

The mentioned legal modification was made in a way to impossibilities the free use of two of the available months by both parents, the parental-leave, that previously consisted of twelve months. These two months wouldn't stop from being available to the parents. Each one would be directly associated to one of the genitors, as they are not interchangeable among parents. The Swedish paternity-leave now consists of three months, just like maternity-leave.

It is the insufficiency of public policies that would facilitate the gestion of conflicting demands between work and family care, allied to the low masculine participation in the division of unpaid labor that reverberates in women's working opportunities, notably that of mothers and their dependents, which reinforce gender

inequalities in the labor market. It is from this reality that certain conceptions were created, such as that feminine employment implicates in higher labor costs levels if compared to male labor contracting, which lead to lower salaries for women² (Abramo & Todaro, 2005).

The system adopted by Sweden and other countries, including Brazil, named the exclusive non-transferable leave model is appointed by several scholars as a legal alternative that is more favorable to mothers, fathers, families, and, generally, for the entire society. In the long run, it incentivizes both parents' temporary withdraws from the workplace and the dedication with the care for their offspring.

Some other studies have already analyzed the role of the institution of the right for paternity-leave in proportion to Brazilian mothers. Its consequences for the work market are defended through several papers. Beyond reducing existing income inequalities, these changes can reverberate in the increase of the degree of work opportunities, not to mention the reduction of prejudice linked to women's career ascension and in a greater access to labor unions engagement, thus contributing to a more just and equalitarian society.

Our objective in this work is to do a critical-comparative analysis between paternity-leave, maternity-leave and parental-leave models adopted in Sweden and Denmark. This was done through a previous exposition of the evolution of Social Security Systems of both Scandinavian countries. Afterwards, a critical-comparative analysis is established between the Swedish and Danish models. The choice of these paradigm cases is justified by the mutually opposed character that these States carry and by the derivations that the implementation of austerity policies at the parental-leave legislation enacted in the domestic scenario of these countries. The paper pays especial attention to the Non-Transferable Exclusive License Model and its consequences to the positive diffusion of the use of the paternity-leave in Sweden. In addition, through the study of the Danish case, it is demonstrated that there is a connection between the non-integral payment of paternal leave benefits and the reduction of the use of this social right by both male genitors and adopting men.

² As demonstrated by Abramo and Todaro (2005, p. 22): "According to a recent [International Labor Organization] ILO study, in 2000, women's salaries were, on average, 34% less than those received by men per month and 22% by hour worked (data related to the total urban non-agricultural occupied labor in 15 countries in Latin America, which correspond to 92% to the total of the EAP [Economically Active Population] in the region) (OIT, 2001)".

Our final intention is, therefore, to critically reflect over the effect of these modifications in the legal frameworks of these countries, linking private life alterations and the betterment of in livelihood conditions linked to the public policies mentioned here. At last, we believe that these appointments can, in the future, better inform and influence the Brazilian legislation on the appropriate ways to enact the right to paternity-leave.

2. Preliminary appointments and opportune definitions regarding nordic countries

The Social Security here represented, part of a certain model of Welfare State, has a universalist framework. Social Security here is understood as the rights framework acquired by the working class as a form of socialization of the reproduction costs starting at the early years of the XX century. In a way to placate claims over the necessities faced by the working class in order to keep realizing work – that is, the transformation of the material life – the costs of certain rights started being paid in a redistributive manner, through the taxation of Capital. However, it is a group of limited, definite rights the one that constitute the structure of Social Welfare (Davi et al., 2010; Andrade, 2012).

This same structure takes several forms as one analyzes each State, as well as according to subnational federative entities. In Brazil, the Social Security is composed by Social Security, by the several forms of access to healthcare, notably the *Sistema Único de Saúde* (Unified Health System – SUS), and the Brazilian social assistance network, named *Sistema Único de Assistência Social* (Unified Social Assistance System - SUAS) (Davi et al., 2010).

The institution of Social Security systems is a part of the first adequations faced throughout the start of the XX century. By mid-century, the propagation of the ideas that a State should be composed by these rights gave form to the Welfare State, which propagated, in several different degrees, through the core capitalist countries³ of the world, while also possessing largely incomplete versions in the global semi-periphery, which constituted in countries like Brazil an incomplete citizenship (Andrade, 2012).

However, the systematic of the Welfare State, filled by Social Security systems, materialized the recently constituted Social Rights. It is thus necessary to highlight here

³ *Core Capitalist Countries* is the adopted terminology by István Mészáros (2011) in several of his writings assembled in *Beyond Capital*. The concept comprehends – once we're dealing with the existing countries in the end of the 1980s – to the Western European countries, as well as the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

that universality as a central valor of Social Security is present only in some countries and is restricted to certain social policies. A certain exegesis can be made from this legal differentiation, reflecting and propagating certain diverse ideological understandings. One can visualize that this is convenient from the historical constructions of local welfare systems, varying between juridical orders of Bismarckian influence – tending in favor of the institution of social rights through social benefits by workers – and Beveridgian inclinations – based on the value comprehended as the solidarity among workers and enterprises, in a way to finance, through social contributions, an universalized form of social security (Castel, 1998; Boschetti, 2009, Tsutiya, 2013).

According to Sori, Fontes and Machado (2007 apud Gornick & Meyers, 2003), the most common public policies in developed countries are of three kinds. They are: work licenses to take care of children without the loss of employment and with salary maintenance, apart from other equivalent money benefits; labor journey time reduction regulations for childcare without economic costs for the development of professional careers.

According to Ray, Gornick and Schmitt (2009), the paternity-leave can provide support to new parents in two ways, which are complimentary between themselves: through the offer of legally protected leave – permitting the absence from work over a legally predetermined period of time – and through the financial support during the use of the leave. All these public policies are available to both genders, and are meaningfully present in Denmark and Sweden, as characterized below.

Nordic countries⁴ generally share a historical evolution when dealing with the adequacy of family protection and family care rights. However, in spite of their similarities, each country had their own legislative and historical developments, as they opted by one or another right (Valdimarsdottir, 2006). Coinciding with the pattern of industrialization developed throughout the second half of the XIX century, the industrial growth of Nordic countries happened in a way do adequate domestica capital to the dynamic of the widening of the pattern of accumulation of the epoch. Its industrial and banking capital also reached monopolistic levels at the end of the XIX century, and, like

⁴ The Nordic Countries, or Scandinavia, is a common expression that traditionally comprehends Denmark, Sweden, Iceland, Finland and Norway, which share socioeconomic traits and livelihood patterns, as well as geohistorical connections (Kuhnle, 2007).

the rest of core capitalist countries, they also constructed their own financial capital at the start of the XX century (Berand & Ránki, 1982).

The rights relative to maternity and paternity-leave, like the parental-leave, had their start in the Nordic countries, particularly between the mid of the 1940s and the end of the 1960s decade. In par with the conclusions obtained by Abramo and Todaro (2005) in their studies over Latin America, it has also been observed that the unions of these countries, at the start of the XX century, overwhelmingly focused on the protection of male workers (Valdimarsdottir, 2006). Beyond labor conditions, in certain aspects the law aimed at preserving traditional family formations, putting men as house providers. Examples are the Danish unemployment law (1919), according to which the unemployed salaries would only be paid to unemployed fathers, but not to unemployed mothers. Another example can be visualized in the Danish fiscal law (1922), which classified married men, but not married women, as providers, independently if the couple had children or not (Valdimarsdottir, 2006).

In this work, however, we shall not tackle a detailed exposition of all the legal systems of Nordic countries which possess some form of parental-leave. Instead of that, as previously mentioned, a choice was made by selecting Denmark and Sweden, which both detained, at a first moment, directly opposed systems of parental care legislation.

Both legal systems were transformed over the decades following the 1990s. Sweden, up until mid-1990s continued to adopt a parental-leave system that almost expressed totally the freedom of choice in the time sharing among parents, thus being the first country to enable men to also share the living and care of children. By 2020 the country had the system with the world's widest available time for division among parents: the parental-leave in Sweden can reach one year (Valdimarsdottir, 2006). The changes in its legal framework, better described below, were in the direction of reducing the free availability of parents. To do that, it was determined that the specific time to be used by each parent could not be enjoyed by the other parent or genitor in the case of refusal of use by the other.

In what concerns Denmark, it is meaningful to mention that the State was not the first among the Scandinavians to institute a corresponding legislation to a specific paternity-leave, a legal regime that aggregates maternity-leave and parental-leave (Valdimarsdottir, 2006). Throughout the 1990s, the country attempted to reduce the paid amount of paternity-leave to 70% of the contribution salary of Danish workers. With the

following abandonment and reversion of this policy – its downside effects are further described below -, Denmark ended by “choosing the road” of Sweden’s parental-leave model.

Finally, it is noteworthy that since the 1980s, notable importance has been given to the care of children through the public kindergarten system. This is particularly noteworthy because parents that have opted to.

The kindergarten system and the spot guarantee policy for each child is of vital importance for aiding parents in their return to the workplace (Sorj; Fontes & Machado, 2007), a political position that is widely understood as being essential (Abramo & Todaro, 2005).

3. Two opposing interpretations to the right to leave: The swedish and danish models of paternity-leave

3.1 The Danish Model

The first law about maternity-leave in Denmark dates from the year of 1901, forbidding mothers from working during the four first weeks after birth, and restringing itself only to factory work. The period not worked would be left without pay, without having guarantees of return to work once the time period was over. The law ended by being socially ignored. According to the research made at the time of the law, women that seek the benefit were later rejected by their employers, not to mention the short period for body recovery and the lack of condition for self-sustenance in the absence of income (Valdimarsdottir, 2006).

In 1960 a new law guaranteed maternity-leave as a right, establishing fourteen weeks of leave as a comparable compensation to the time established in Denmark for sick leave. It also became possible to start the leave period in the eight previous weeks before the presumable date of birth. The law was applied to all employed women, and the right to the benefit was guaranteed for two weeks to housewives (Valdimarsdottir, 2006).

A restructuration in the Danish pensions system soon after 1960 started to envisage female contributions for social workers and other public service occupations, stimulating their entrance in the workforce. Motivated by that, women started to claim more legal flexibility and coverage (Valdimarsdottir, 2006).

In 1984 the right of maternity-leave was extended from fourteen to twenty weeks, and it was allowed to both parents the use of six of those weeks to be split as they see fit.

Beyond that, it was guaranteed to fathers the usage of their own two weeks of leave, an independent that that would not be deducted from the duration of the maternity-leave – although parents only had the right to monetary compensation (paternity paid leave) in case of the respective mothers of their children being workers, while to every woman a Danish version of the maternity paid leave was owned (Valdimarsdottir, 2006).

A new law in 1989 forbade the demission of pregnant women and of workers who were under the fruition of paternity or parental-leave due to birth or adoption. The leave timeframe was again expanded to 24 weeks, to which eight weeks could be used before birth. The parental-leave time was expanded to 10 weeks (Valdimarsdottir, 2006).

Since 1991 Danish parents had the right to receive paternity salaries when using paternity-leave independently from the work status of their spouses. Since then, a new consensus emerged on the importance of the establishment of a close relation between fathers and their children. However, according to Valdimarsdottir (2006), these arguments did not lead to new legislations conferring paternity-leave increases up until the mid-2000s.

In Denmark it is considered important, since 1964, that a spot for every child is guaranteed at the public educational system at the kindergarten level. This educational right is considered important for child development while also performing an alternative measure to stay-home parents. It is correspondent to daily care for children under 3 years old and it has specific adequacies to parents' employment in a way to facilitate their regress to work (Denmark, 2016).

The current Danish legislation on parental-leave was adopted in March 2002. A total of 52 weeks is currently guaranteed for both parents, and the leave period can start up to 4 weeks before the expected birth-date or adoption (Denmark, 2016). Beyond that, a 2 weeks period is guaranteed to fathers during the first 14 weeks after birth or adoption (Denmark, 2016).

During this period, both parents, in the case of employment in the private sector, have a right to a full standard salary, established by the arithmetic average of the last 12 months' earnings of the receiving father. This benefits system has the nature of non-contributory social assistance⁵. This disposition resembles the Brazilian maternity-leave,

⁵ This notion is connected to the Beveridgean model of Social Welfare, that, as highlighted by Boschetti (2009, p. 02) “[...] in the Beveridgean system, rights have a universal character, being unconditionally directed to all citizens or under resources conditionings, but guaranteeing social minimums to all in the

encompassing both parents independently of their employment status over the last 12 months or of their gender, being named parental leave compensation (Addati; Cassier & Gilchrist, 2014). Public service workers also receive full pay under these circumstances (Valdimarsdottir, 2006).

There was a continuous reduction of the parental leave compensation throughout the 1990s (Valdimarsdottir, 2006). When the right was instituted, its value corresponded to 80% of the monthly salaries of private sector workers. The year of 1995 oversaw the widest usage of the parental-leave system in the history of Denmark by parents from both genders. Of this total, men encompassed 8,6% (Valdimarsdottir, 2006).

In 1996 the parental leave compensation for private sector workers was reduced to 70%, reaching 60% the following year. This was followed by a reduction in the proportional usage of parental-leave by men, which fell to 7%. This is due to both the societal pressure on women for the care of children but also to the usual disparity of salaries between genders. Proportionally, this reduction meant an up to 40% general reduction of family salaries, thus enabling the logical conclusion for choosing restricting parental-leave to women (Valdimarsdottir, 2006).

It is evident that the impact of a badly shaped public policy can cause. The proportional and progressive reductions mentioned above point to the rise of neoliberal public policies in Denmark during the 1990s. Several counter-reforms were instituted in this period, through several stages, split between governments, uniform in their direction, only varying in their amplitude and in the profoundness of their consequences.

The origins to this change are directly related to the core of the neoliberal ideology, which proposed the reduction to ‘stimuli’ to the use of Social Security. What comes out of this is the desire to minimize the role of the State, cutting resources and taxes and transferring services that previously were hosted publicly to the private sector. At the areas in which the State can not act because of lacking specific demand, private philanthropic organizations would be responsible, under the free control of individuals, replacing State action. At the end, the Social Services kept under State supervision were those directed strictly to the poor, once the programs were only justified by the relieve of the extreme necessities of certain social segments (Mota, 1995; Castelo, 2013).

condition of need. The financing originates from taxes, and the control belongs to the public, it is estatal. The fundamental principles are the institutional unification and the uniformity of benefits [...]”

3.2 The Swedish Model

In 1900, Sweden approved a law forbidding women work in factories in the 4 weeks previous to birth. From 1913 women started receiving financial assistance during maternity-leave (similar to maternity-leave salaries) during maternity-leave, but only if they contributed to public health pension funds. A modification was introduced in 1932 allowing feminine contributions in Sweden (Valdimarsdottir, 2006).

Maternity-leave salaries were composed by pension funds and sick-leave contributions. Non-contributing female parents also received the right to paid leave, being paid for a period of 30 days. In 1937 this period was increased to 3 months, together with a slight increase in the value of pensions. Two years later, the time at the disposal for maternity leave was increased again, now to four months and a half. In parallel that same year, work termination during pregnancy or maternity-leave became illegal in Sweden, and women working in the public service received the right to full pay during maternity-leave (Valdimarsdottir, 2006).

In Sweden, six-months maternity-leave was reached by 1945, and it became a right to women in 1954 in spite of their employment status. Financial aid during maternity-leave started for over 3 months, as well as a money compensation after the birth of every child. By 1962 the period of financial aid started to span all 6 months of leave. The benefit corresponded to 60% of the received wages average before pregnancy. Beyond that, pregnant women stated having free dental care for over nine months after maternity-leave (Valdimarsdottir, 2006).

Discussions over the role of men in childcare in Sweden date from the interwar period. In Parliament, discussions over parity of opportunities in the labor market often led to the need for the application of the same equality in childcare (Valdimarsdottir, 2006). Thus emerges a division between parental-leave systems: the legislative systematic existent in the first half of the XX century in Sweden focused on gender equality through women's participation in labor life by the guarantee of the rights of newborns together with a safe return to work as well as encouraging natality (Valdimarsdottir, 2006).

In a second moment, a new concern over the guarantee of family protection through the presence of the father figure as a genitor now in the domestic environment,

strengthening the bonds with newborns in the first months of their lives by sharing leave time (Valdimarsdottir, 2006).

From this change of comprehension, Swedish parents were the first among Nordic countries to have the legal right to paternity-leave, obtained in 1974, the same year in which the first law concerning parental-leave was introduced in the country. According to the new law, both parents could split the seven months' time of leave between themselves, and the financial benefit during maternity-leave was risen to 90% of the wages average previously received. Women also gained the right to star the leave period up until 60 days before the expected birth date (Valdimarsdottir, 2006).

The same legislation enabled fathers to receive 10 days of paternity-leave after the birth or adoption, as well as an additional 10 days for the care of sick children, independent of their age. The law also created the possibility of a parental-leave extension if the parents accepted to work in shorter work shifts. Thus, Sweden became the first country in the world to enable parents the option of withdrawing from work only half the time (Valdimarsdottir, 2006).

In 1995, Sweden established the “father’s and mother’s months” – an untradable month dedicated to the isolated use of each parent. Mothers kept possessing the right to start their leaves two months prior to the estimated birth day. In 2002, this right was expanded: each father started possessing a second untransferable month. This right was again expanded in 2015 to 3 months. Presently parents have six months available for division among themselves; however, each father and/or mother has, individually, a total of 3 months (Swedish Institute, 2016).

Since 2002, parents have a right to financial aid for a total of 480 days. Of this total, for 390 days parents have the right to financial aid of up to 80% of their salaries, with a maximum of SEK 37.083 per salary. Throughout the remaining 90 days, a single amount is paid to all beneficiaries, a sum that is fixated by law. Beyond the 480 paid days, Swedish parents have a right to reducing their usual work-day journey 25% until the child reaches the age of eight years old. However, the daily workday schedule reduction is accompanied by a proportional diminution of salaries (Swedish Institute, 2016).

Table 01: Domestic Norms on Paternal-Leave, Maternity-Leave and Paternity-Leave in Sweden and Denmark (2016)

Country	Denmark	Sweden
Employed Workers		

Maximum Period of Paid Leave *	54	69
Pre-birth Leave*	4	9
Maternity-Leave (exclusive) *	18	12
Paternity-Leave (exclusive) *	2	12
Individual Parental-Leave*	32	52
Parental-Leave of Combined Usage *	2	2
Maximum Period of Paid Leave *	52^{1 2}	69
Proportional Amount of Paid Leave (%)	100%	77%/80%³
Unemployed Workers		
Maximum Period of Paid Leave *	---	69

*The values highlighted here are accounted in weeks. Source: NOMESCO, 2017, p. 48.

¹ - The standard period used by the government as an average for the exercise of the right to leave is 32 weeks. This period can be added by eight to fourteen weeks. When both parents' time is added, this period can reach 58 weeks or 64 weeks. However, given the extension of the leave, the paid benefits become proportional, in a way that the paid sum is equivalent to 32 weeks. As an example, parents that use 46 weeks of leave receive approximately 70% of the nominal salary.

² - The amount of 52 weeks is reached through the sum of 4 weeks of pre-birth maternity-leave with the 13 weeks used after birth, plus the two weeks of exclusive paternity-leave and the 32 weeks of freely divided time among parents.

³ - The applied conversion index factor makes the received amount to correspond to about 77% of the contribution salary, however, nominally, this amount corresponds to 80% of the salary received previously.

As summarized at Table 01, the framework of both countries noticeably differs in some points today. First, one can clearly see that Sweden decided to equalize the periods of paternity-leave and maternity-leave. As previously mentioned, the reserved time for paternity leave in Sweden is significantly greater than the Danish alternative, which stayed at two weeks. Besides, it is worth of mention that the mandatory weeks used in the care of newborns are 9 in the Swedish case and less of that in Denmark.

Taken together, the total aggregate of paternity, maternity (pre and after-birth) and parental-leave is 15 weeks bigger in Sweden than in the rest of Scandinavia. It is evident that the time period duration is astonishing to Brazilian audiences: the aggregate of the Danish leave, alone, accounts more than a full year; the Swedish leave reaches one year and four months. However, several observations should be made, especially over Social Security benefits payments.

It is also mentioned-worthy to highlight the exclusively reserved for maternity-leave in Denmark, exceeding its Swedish counterpart by six weeks. However, we should remember that these same exceeding six weeks are easily compensated by the twenty additional weeks in Sweden.

Finally, one needs to mention that the systematic of leaves is equally exerted in Sweden in smite of employment status, with an equal period of time available to both. In

the Danish alternative, unemployed workers do not possess, at first, the right to maternity or paternity paid leave. The individual pre-requisites needed are: having worked for 23 hours in the last 13 weeks; having the right for social service benefits (that are not cumulative with the leave); having concluded a vocational qualifying course or legally being an apprentice. Except for the Norwegian and Danish exceptions, all the other Nordic countries guarantee the right for money benefits during the leave period.

4. The exclusive non-transferable paternity-leave legal model: A critical approach

To leave to the free choice of parents the disposable time for the leave may bring undesirable consequences. Once there is an excessive valorization of men's work, this translates into a choice between the withdraw frequency of the full parental-leave time to women (Thomé, 2009).

Previously in this paper we pointed out our conclusions over the upsides of the exclusive non-transferable paternity-leave model existing side-by-side with maternity-leave under the same criteria, in detriment of the parental-leave used together and split between parents. This comprehension started from the appointments made by Lotte Blocksgaard (2015), that, through the study of the Danish legislation points to the failures in the existing model. According to the author, the average of days used by parents in Demark is of 26 days, while the median of days used by Danish mothers is 276 (Blocksgaard, 2015).

The inequalities continue happening of the male labor market, even in the formal sector. The leave regimen system of the Danish legislation isn't exclusively regulated by law – it is also established by a series of collective labor deals. This generates, according to the research conducted in three enterprises that vary in size, economic sector and in employment requirements, very unequal regimen of paternity-leave exercise (Blocksgaard, 2015).

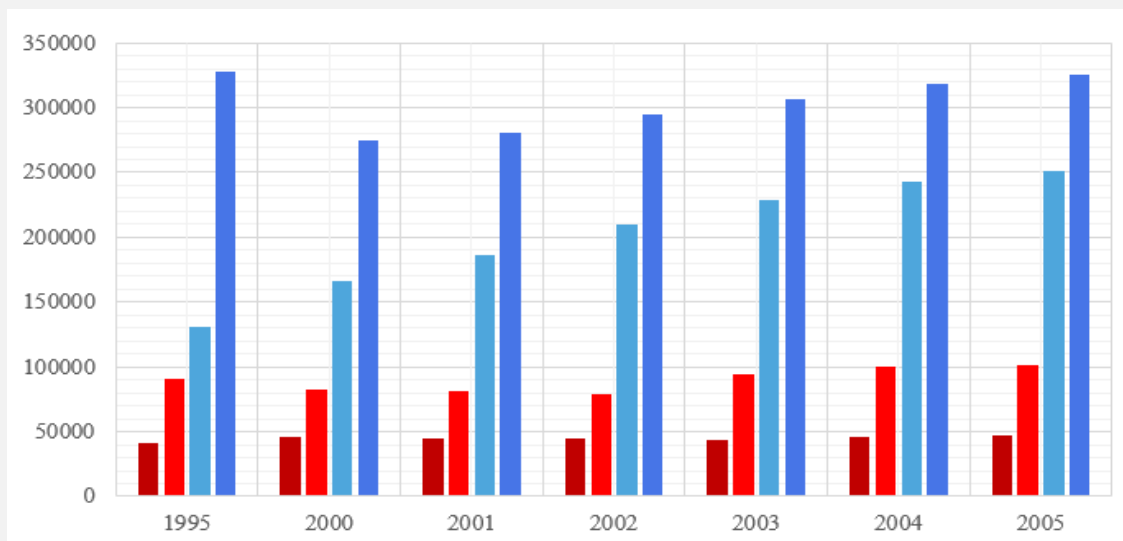
In Denmark, each worker, in order to exercise their right to paternity-leave or parental-leave, has to negotiate with his superiors the duration of the leave, as well as the starting and ending dates of the period. This isn't replicated with women workers in the same company (Blocksgaard, 2015).

Starting from the assumption that the construction of paternity leave is built over preexisting notions and over continuously constructed assumptions of masculinity, the paper demonstrates that there is a limited connection between the idea that this concept and labor relations. It also explains how the need for negotiating the withdraw for

paternity-leave or parental-leave influence the construction of paternity among workers. This is made through mechanisms of incentive and disincentive the male use of the leave-system, a fact that is not repeated in the women labor relations (Blocksgaard, 2015).

By presenting three separate intra-enterprise dynamics, Blocksgaard (2015) attests their arguing on several different labor sectors. By guaranteeing the law and the exclusive license to fathers, in the Swedish model, parents started to interpret as a right the use of paternity-leave, giving wider importance to the time of separation from work.

Chart 01: Total Number of Maternity, Paternity and Parental Leave Beneficiaries by Pregnancy, Birth or Adoption, Women and Men (1995, 2000-2005)

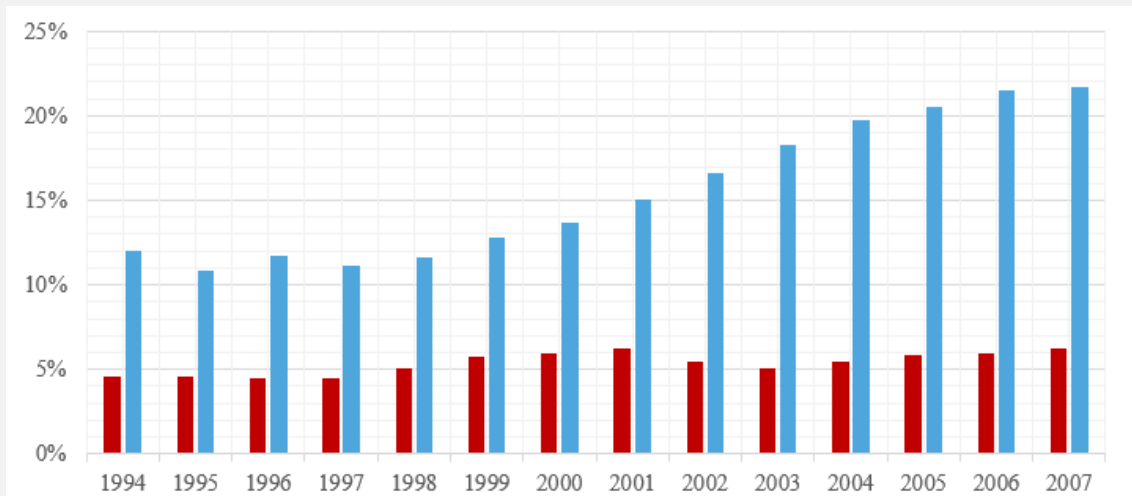


Deep Red: Danish Men. Light Red: Danish Women. Light Blue: Swedish Men. Dark Blue: Swedish Women. Source: NOSESICO, 2003, NOSESICO, 2004; NOSESICO; 2006; NOSESICO, 2008.

However, when one creates a system in which the division of the parental-leave is freely shared by parents and their use by men is also necessarily negotiated in a relation between employee and employer, therefore marked by the inequality of forces intrinsic to the selling of the labor force, once can understand that there is a higher tendency to the non-usage of the parental-leave by men. This is also repeated in the paternity-leave through stimuli to the non-interruption of the male career, at times presented in an indirect form, as promotions, capacitation courses inconveniently offered in odd hours and other variated and unavoidable opportunities (Blocksgaard, 2015).

The study of the Danish case leads to the conclusion that, when a system is designed to split between genders the Exclusive Non-Transferable Paternity-Leave, that is, an independent paternity-leave, increases the exercise among them, helping to establish beacons for the coexistence between life and labor (Blocksgaard, 2015).

Chart 02: Usage Rate of Parental Leave by Fathers, in Percentage of Total Time Available (Parental-Leave and/or Paternity-Leave increased by the Parental-Leave)

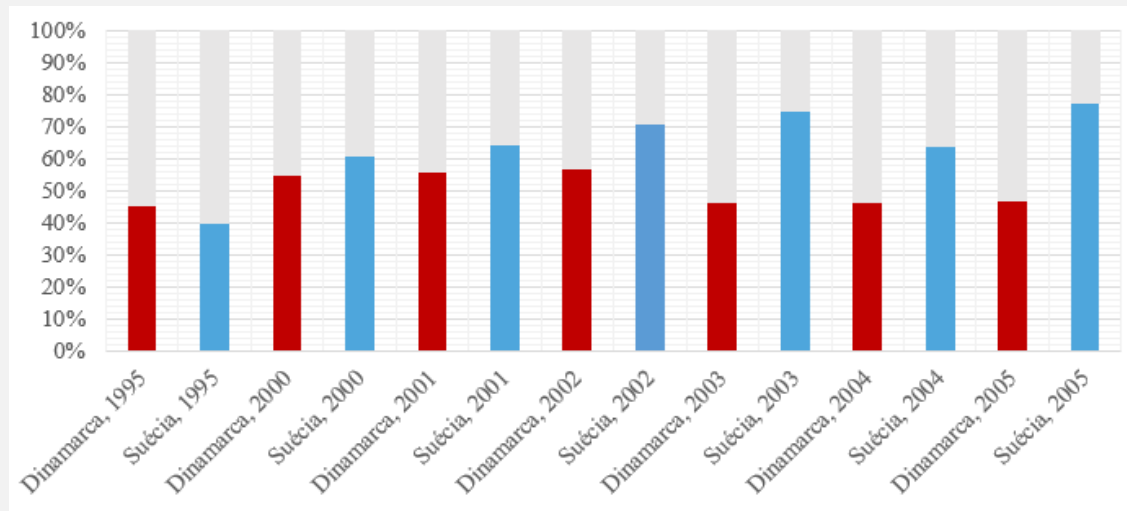


Red: Denmark. Blue: Sweden.

Source: HAATAJA, 2009.

Other studies also highlight how badly-designed public policies of parental-leave can end up reinforcing tendencies of gender inequality. As stated by Rebecca Ray, Janet C. Gornick and John Schmitt (2009) in their study on public policies of parental-leave related to 21 countries, at first, by providing mothers – and not fathers – with a long and generous maternity-leave can seem that it will benefit men. In practice, this policy increases the responsibilities in the care of children relative to the “women’s role”, stopping career opportunities progression, hardening the return to the workplace chances and favoring wages disparity between genders (Ray; Gornick & Schmitt, 2009).

Chart 03: Share of Men in relation to Women Receiving Parental-Leave and/or Paternity Leave, by means of Pregnancy, Birth or Adoption



Red: Danish Men. Blue: Swedish Men. Grey: Percentage remaining until gender parity.
Source: NOESCO, 2003, NOESCO, 2004; NOESCO, 2006; NOESCO, 2008.

This is also the conclusion of Swedish legislators and it is from them that a change has been occurring, since the mid of the 1990s, from a conception of the parental-leave as a right freely sharable by parents to a system progressively more divided legally in its leave regimes (Swedish Institute, 2016).

As shown in Chart 01, it is attainable that an increasingly higher number of men is using the paternity-leave in Sweden, growing almost two times in about ten years, while the number of women practically kept being identical if we compare the final and the starting years. Conversely, the contrary effect can be observed in Denmark: although the number of women has slightly increased during the same period, the number of men using either the parental or the paternity leave has kept stagnant during the entire period.

Chart 02 corroborates this reality, point out the growth from 5% to 6% during the parental-leave used by men. This points out to the lack of social recognition of the need for paternity presence in the first years of child development. This affirmative becomes even more staggering by the limitation to only two weeks for paternity-leave available through the Danish system, which already existed at the start of this period. If from the low usage of these weeks was already showing in the continuation of the total populational of men using any form of leave in Chart 01 when compared to the number of women that use maternity or parental leave, we can see that only about 5% of the parental-leave available time is used by the male-identified population. Conversely, in the same period, the usage of parental-leave by Swedish men almost doubled, growing from 12% in 1994 to about 22% in 2007.

Finally, Chart 03 points to the growth and ulterior reduction in the percentage of Danish men in relation to women using parental-leave and/or paternity-leave. Although the proportional share reached 56% by 2002, the number started to fall at the end of the period, returning to levels of ten years before in 2005. At the same period, Sweden overcame Danish rates in the first five years of the study, reaching 77,20% of gender parity in 2005, more than 150% of the Danish levels.

5. Conclusions

Our hope is that, through these expositions, we could have clarified the reader that both Sweden and Denmark proved that paternity-leave institution is a part of the path towards substantive gender equality. Even though we restricted this analysis to the 1995-2007 period due to the discontinuity of the same indexes in the NOSESCO reports, we believe that we have demonstrated that the implementation of austerity driven policies – like the non-integral payment of salaries received previous to the license, or the establishment of labor criteria for social rights – stopped Denmark from following the same path as Sweden, damaging its population by undermining existing possibilities for salaries gender equality and the shared raising of children among parents.

Once we've arrived at this conclusion, we saw the question over the models of leave legislation – and which to follow. This is why we chose to present both the Danish and Swedish cases. Both differed on the appropriate direction for the legislation. Denmark opted for establishing specific weeks that could only be used by one of the parents, leaving the remaining time for division. The country's legislation put itself in an extreme position in comparison to its Nordic neighbors, because, as we exposed, this was the country that conferred the fewer weeks for parents for sharing.

In the opposing post from Denmark was Sweden, which, at the start of the 1990s had only the weeks of pre-birth maternity-leave as exclusive for parents. The rest of the entire period, which wasn't short – a full year –, was available for division.

However, we remind the reader, all that changed in 1995. Sweden opted for conferring one exclusive month to each genitor/adopting parent, extending that to a second month in 2002 and to a third in 2015. This conclusion by Danish authorities is based on the fact that the choice for conferring almost the totality of the months available to mothers is a reflex of unequal salaries. Mother careers matter less, they inevitably

conclude, in the end, that the salary is effectively inferior, and the career progression opportunities are also few.

And this is also why, allied to socio-cultural conventions over the role of each gender in the raising of children that there is a tendency of greater withdraw of women's time for leave in comparison to men.

In order to fight this discrimination, Sweden started to establish specific months for each gender, in a way to progressively incentivize men in passing time at home and in the care of children.

Beyond that, one should highlight the need for keeping the payments of maternity and paternity leave equal to the salaries received previously by the parents. One can clearly see that in the Danish case the proportional reduction of the salaries enabled a reduction in the use of the paternity-leave. Given the preexistent wages' difference between men and women, the economic disincentive that comes out of this is palpable: more men will stop using paternity-leave because their choice implicates in cumulative wage losses. By preserving the continuity of the conceptions which link the leave to the female gender, there is a direct route to the upkeep of gender connected power dynamics within the labor market (Galiza; Fontoura & Pinheiro, 2009).

Finally, it is out duty to state that it is not because there are meaningful discussions over the limitations of the public budget and over the necessity of adjusts in social welfare that one cannot make changes within the dynamics of financing social security. If we understand that there is no unilateral alternative to dealing with the context of the structural crisis of capital, it is imperative that one concludes that there is a political choice in the way in which the State puts forward counter-reforms.

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Management in Public Health Policy and (dis)continuity in preventing and fighting diseases in municipalities in the Pernambuco

Gestão na Política Pública de Saúde e (des)continuidade na prevenção e combate a doenças em cinco municípios pernambucanos

Maria do Carmo Marcajá Alves¹ 
Marcelo da Costa Borba² 
Josefa Edileide Santos Ramos³ 
Jose Eduardo Melo Barros⁴ 
Alessandra Carla Ceolin⁵ 

DOI: [10.22478/ufpb.2525-5584.2021v6n2.51215]

Received: 17/03/2020

Approved: 27/03/2021

Abstract: This article aims to dimension the aspects of administrative management in Public Health Policy, in cities in Pernambuco in the face of governmental changes. The study was analyzed by the method of content analysis through methodological triangulation, with a qualitative approach, the data were collected in a bibliographic, documentary manner and through semi-structured interviews with municipal managers. As a result, budgetary resources are considered insufficient, the financial cuts caused by the change of ownership in management compromise the progress of strategic actions and decisions on the continuity and discontinuity of public policies. The change in political command raises doubts about the continuity of the policies previously developed and also causes the loss of many political actions already developed. In this way, there may be a loss of the experience lived in the occurrence of the facts.

Keywords: Public resources. Brazilian Northeast. Health budget.

¹ Universidade Federal Rural de Pernambuco– E-mail: mcmalves1@gmail.com.

² Universidade Federal Rural de Pernambuco– E-mail: marcelodcborba@gmail.com.

³ Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul– E-mail: edileideramos1@gmail.com.

⁴ Universidade Federal da Paraíba– E-mail: jembarros@gmail.com.

⁵ Universidade Federal Rural de Pernambuco– E-mail: alessandraceolin1@gmail.com.

Resumo: Este artigo tem por objetivo dimensionar os aspectos da gestão administrativa na Política Pública de Saúde, em cidades pernambucanas perante as mudanças governamentais. O estudo foi analisado pelo método de análise de conteúdo através da triangulação metodológica, com abordagem qualitativa, os dados foram coletados de forma bibliográfica, documental e por meio de entrevistas semiestruturadas com gestores municipais. Como resultado, os recursos orçamentários são considerados insuficientes, os cortes financeiros causados pela mudança de titular na gestão comprometem o andamento das ações estratégicas e decisões de continuidade e descontinuidade das políticas públicas. A troca no comando político suscita dúvidas sobre a continuidade das políticas anteriormente desenvolvidas e provoca ainda a perda de muitas ações políticas já desenvolvida. Deste modo, poderá haver perda da experiência vivida na ocorrência dos fatos.

Palavras-chave: Recursos públicos. Nordeste brasileiro. Orçamento da saúde.

1. Introduction

Assessing the impacts of public policy interventions influence the dynamics of Brazilian regional development, the role of assessments is to understand how they are successful, considering the definition of its objectives and the achievement of results, in the social, institutional, political, economic and other alignment (Baptista and Resende 2011; Simões 2018). The impacts of this dynamic, tend to reinforce the geographical concentration of economic activities, causing transformations and therefore cannot be disregarded (Baer 2012).

Public policies can be considered as responses to social problems "an official coercive aspect that citizens accept as legitimate" (Dias and Matos 2012). In this context, the role of the State is to propose, establish, implement and evaluate these policies. Although many are designed at the national level, they are decentralized, in order to adapt to the reality of each location (Silva and Bassi 2012).

In view of the inequalities in Brazil that cement a context of health vulnerabilities, the challenges inherent in this context, requires coordination between the areas of public policy and between government entities (Hennington, Martins, and Monteiro 2020). There is a need for integration and articulation to develop more effective measures to mitigate social, economic and health damage (Lima, Pereira, and Machado 2020). Public health policies are part of the State's field of social action aimed at improving the health conditions of the population and the natural, social and work environments.

However, a question arises about the public policy actions carried out in the State, regarding the format of political articulation. One hypothesis would be the identification of disruptions in public policies through the alternation of the holder in governments and the planning of actions that do not foresee the negative externalities not repaired by

previous administrations. Therefore, this study aims to dimension the aspects of administrative management in Public Health Policy, in cities in Pernambuco in the face of governmental changes.

This article is structured in four more sections, in addition to this introduction, which presents the initial and objective aspects of the study. Then, the theoretical arguments used to support the research are presented, then the methodological procedures used, followed by the results found and finally with conclusions.

2 Analysis of public health policy in Brazil

2.1 Public health policy in Brazil

In the Health Portal of the Unified Health System (SUS), the history of Brazilian public health began in the 19th century. According to Sousa and Batista (2012), the first social laws date from this period. From 1870, according to Silva and Bassi (2012), the first mass vaccination occurs. However, the mandatory vaccination law to combat yellow fever and bubonic plague, was instituted in 1904 (Sousa and Batista 2012). For the same author, public social protection policies only emerged with the industrialization process. The Ministry of Health was created only in July 1953, with its dismemberment from the Ministry of Education. All actions of the National Health Department were attributed to this Ministry. As of 1960, a new perception is given to public health policy in Brazil. Social inequality starts to be considered as a relevant variable. Moving on to correlate health and development. Then a new group of studies for the formulation of policies appeared, the developmental sanitarians.

In the administration of Minister Estácio Souto Maior, in 1961, with the help of the developmental sanitarian Mário Magalhães da Silveira, the National Health Policy was formulated. The main objective of restructuring a new core to the Ministry of Health, combining with the new advances of the economic and social sphere (Souto Maior 2012). The great concern of that time was the fight against tuberculosis. Health had two different perspectives, management was being defined, on the one hand, from the perspective of the individual, on the other, of the collective. However, Mario Magalhães and Estácio Souto major, bet on the collective and even more on prevention. However, he stated that it would not be possible to improve the health of the people, without fighting poverty, which he considered to be the biggest outbreak. This would be another problem that Brazil would have to solve.

Between 1974 and 1979, there was a crisis in the National Health Policy that faced great tension, due to the need to expand services, and the lack of availability of financial resources. The reforms carried out in the organizational structure failed to reverse the emphasis of the health policy, characterized by the predominance of the participation of Social Security, through curative actions, commanded by the private sector. In view of these conditions, the first actions of a new model of public management in health emerged, established in the proposal of the Unified Health System (SUS) presented in the I Symposium of National Health Policy of the Chamber of Deputies in 1979, being accepted by the national Congress. Although its creation was mentioned in the Federal Constitution of 1988.

SUS, in turn, is a complex system, formed by all links in the health segment, under hierarchical management by the bodies of the Union, States and Municipalities, with the Ministry of Health as the central manager (Paim 2018). According to the Organic Health Law No. 8,080 / 90, the objective and duties of SUS are: assistance to people, epidemiological surveillance, health surveillance, worker health and pharmaceutical assistance. Bravo, Matos and Araújo (2001) describes a separate scenario in the 1980s, where health reaches the political dimension. With effective participation by the subjects of society and especially those involved in the health system, enabling the inspection of the services provided. This period is also evidenced by the fragility in the performance of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), in the health sector, due to a more refined structure with the implementation of SUS.

Despite all the measures adopted for the actions of policies aimed at health, the NGOs saw the need to create social groups, in the care of specific diseases and social exclusion. These began to act incisively in defense of diverse groups (people with HIV, leprosy, among others); associations of patients and relatives of chronic diseases, such as diabetes, Alzheimer's disease, among others, technical accessory groups and health research and many others (Lima, Silva, and Pereira 2013).

2.2 Public Policy Evaluation Mechanisms

Assessing the impacts of public policy interventions is of great importance, because they influence the dynamics of Brazilian regional development. Baer (2012) considers that the impacts of this dynamic, tend to reinforce the geographical concentration of economic activities, causing transformations and therefore cannot be disregarded. The role of public policy assessments is to understand how they are

successful. Resende (2014) considers that the most important issue to be analyzed is the definition of its objectives and the achievement of its results.

In a more analytical and sophisticated observation, the public policy process is more relevant in five stages: i) perception and definition of problems; ii) agenda-setting; iii) elaboration of programs and decision; iv) implementation of policies; and v) the evaluation of policies and the eventual correction of the action. The two authors differ in some in the evaluation proposal, only in the names of the stages, however, they do not change their meaning (Baptista and Resende 2011; Frey 2009). The construction of the policy cycle follows trajectories, which are built by the phases of the Public Policy process. In these, the political processes, the description of each stage of the process and the agents participating and responsible for the identification phases of the need to implement the policy are identified, up to the evaluation phase (Silva and Bassi 2012).

The policy cycle has seven stages, this includes a different phase, among the authors studied, extinction. For the author, the cycle takes place as follows: Identification of the problem; formation of the agenda; formulation of alternatives; decision making; Implementation; evaluation and extinction (Secchi 2010). The analysis of public policy, through its cycle, is known in the procedural model of analysis, this is also considered the classic model of analysis. In the study of public policies, pointing out that its scope is given by conceptual models of analysis - Institutional, process, elite, rational, incremental, game theory, public and systemic option (Dye 2009). The purposes of these models are: To simplify and clarify our ideas about public policy and policies; Identify important aspects of political and social issues; Help us to communicate, focusing on the essential characteristics of political life; Direct our efforts to better understand public policies, suggesting what is important and what is not; Propose explanations for public policies and predict the consequences (Dye 2009).

Conceptual models and their operationalization. However, it affirms that these models are not considered competitive, to the point of a judgment that classifies it as the best, but although they were not created for the purpose of studying public policy, they offer a different way of “thinking about the policy”: Institutional: Analyzes the policy in an institutional way (Dye 2009). And it considers that there is a policy only after its implementation. It has three essential characteristics: 1. Legitimacy (legal obligations); 2. Universality (points to society); 3. Coercion (the government legitimizes and punishes violators); Process: The conception of the policy taking place through a political-

administrative process, in a conception of a cycle (identification of the problem, organization of the agenda, formulation, legitimation, implementation and evaluation); Group: The formation by integration of “Interest groups” is the relevant point of the model. Individuals who share the same idea, become politicians, and articulate themselves to demand government actions; Elite: The result of the policy is seen as an action of values for the governing elite.

In this theory, an apathetic and ill-informed society about public policies is suggested; Rational: it is recognized for the purpose of maximum social gain, where the costs do not exceed its benefits and, even, the policyholders decide for the policy with the greatest benefit, to the detriment of its cost. This model has obstacles: 1. Difficulty of consensus; 2. Absence of stimulus in the decision, due to corporate objectives and 3. Difficulty in collecting information in collecting information about the policy; Incremental: Continuation policy view, from previous governments, only contributed by increments. Its use is motivated by: 1. Absence of time, information or resources; 2. The legitimacy of the policy and the uncertainty of consequences in its completion; 3. Convenience of political agreements and conflict reduction; Game Theory: Rational choice for competitiveness and interdependence. Its application will give itself in the search for better results. This theory describes the decision procedure in competitive and rational situations; Public option: The policy is viewed as self-interest. This theory is based on the assumption that all public actors (voters, taxpayers, candidates, legislators, bureaucrats, parties), seek to maximize their benefits; Systemic: implies the articulation of institutions and activities aimed at meeting demand. This process also provides for the interrelation of these elements: Inputs are the forms of demand and support of the political system; and the outputs that are the results or modifying effects.

The technical aspects will be privileged in this work, therefore, the levels of conception for evaluation will be those of economy and effectiveness, since one of the objectives of this work is to evaluate the actions that recommend migration to the studied municipalities and their economic results. As for the model, although the policy cycle is made explicit, within the evaluation, the focus of analysis will use mixed principles of the procedural model and the incremental model. Analysis methods focused on the objective, that is, plotted from analysis models, are known as “methodology triangulation”. "The articulation between structured strategies, in which it was agreed to dominate methodological triangulation, can expand the evidence base, allowing the formulation of

more valid interferences on the effect of interventions" (Vieira-da-Silva, Paim, and Schraiber 2014: 75).

2.3 Continuity and discontinuity of public policies in municipal administrations

The challenges faced by municipal political managers are quite diverse with regard to the fragility of the institutional organization, the training of human resources, considered a bottleneck (Coelho 1998). The problem of discontinuity, whether due to the lack of information, the inexperience of managers, the conditions of financial, structural and personnel resources, jeopardize the continuity of public policies, with the need for adaptation by new managers (Longhurst and Spink 1987).

There is a great weakness in academic writing on the issues of continuity and discontinuity of Public Policies in Brazil. Nogueira affirms that "texts that use a clearly defined theoretical tool to analyze the issues, both of discontinuity and continuity, are rare" (Nogueira and Miotto 2006: 7). For the municipalities they are not 30 years old (updated for 2017) and it is very fragmented. This discussion is recent, since it was only after the promulgation of the Constitution, in 1988, article 18, that the municipalities were responsible for local development.

In this sense, the municipalities are identified as the most important public sphere for the development of local actions, assuming the responsibility for their own development, subsidized by their economic vocation, resources and intellectual potential (Dias and Matos 2012). However, the most worrying is the continuity of actions and public management, in the exchange of these actors (mayors / managers), where Nogueira and Miotto (2006: 7) ratify: "It is interesting to note that the [problem] occurs in the question of administrative discontinuity". And that the disorder is motivated by the change of politicians and managers at management levels. And still:

[...] the discontinuity is manifested in the interruption of projects, works and actions, and in the reversion of priorities and goals. Such disruptions are usually deemed to be undesirable, as they would result in the loss of accumulated knowledge (or institutional memory), in the reversal of advances, in disbelief or demotivation on the part of those involved, and also in a probable waste of invested public resources (Nogueira and Miotto 2006: 7).

Based on these arguments, a parenthesis can be created when stating that a research work, with a temporal cut to previous government administrations, can be compromised, because the change of management people results in an interruption based on unexperienced experience, leaving the successor management based on quantitative data and little memory. Spink (1987) adds:

The expression ‘administrative continuity and discontinuity’ refers to the dilemmas, practices and contradictions that arise in Public Administration, Direct and Indirect, with each change of government and each change of directors. As a phenomenon, it is manifested by the organizational consequences of filling any number of positions of trust, explicitly or implicitly available for distribution within public organizations (Longhurst and Spink 1987: 57).

For Dimas Estevam, the political discontinuity occurs in a greater intensity, in the exchange of governments, mainly in opposition parties, and ratifies saying that “this exchange in the political command raises doubts about whether or not there will be continuity of the previously developed policies” and provokes still the loss of the political history already developed (Estevam 2010: 1). In the municipalities of Cabo de Santo Agostinho, Caruaru, Igarassu, Tamandaré and Petrolina, the chosen party behavior, during the period surveyed and the effective date of the survey, may experience loss in the occurrence of the facts.

3. Methodology

This research can be considered as descriptive. Descriptive research is interested in the discovery and observation of phenomena, seeking to describe, classify and interpret them (Oliveira 2013). From the point of view of technical procedures, the study used bibliographic, documentary and field research. Bibliographic, because, for the theoretical-methodological foundation, it was carried out by means of secondary data, using theses, books and scientific articles, about the main guiding concepts. Documentary, since it uses databases, statistical sources, reports and other documents. The main sources of data are: the Institute of Applied Economic Research (IPEA), Department of Informatics of the Unified Health System (DATASUS), Ministry of Health, Ministry of Labor, Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), the data from the State of Pernambuco. Auxiliary documents obtained in the field research, such as booklets, folders and others, are still part of this base.

To carry out this study, primary, qualitative data (interviews) were used. Although these approaches differ, they do not cancel each other, but complement each other. The qualitative nature allows the contribution of a rational and intuitive character, capable of allowing a better understanding of phenomena (Godoi, Melo, and Silva 2010). To meet the objective, which uses secondary data, taken from the Transparency Portal, in the period from 2010 to 2018, to bring and confront specific spending on Public Policy, in the municipalities of Caruaru, Petrolina, Igarassu, Cabo de Santo Agostinho and Tamandaré. The managers were classified by letters: A, B, C, D, E. The interviews were

conducted from a pre-established script, with fourteen questions, being questions one to seven, about general administration and question eight to fourteen, focusing on public health programs. The determination for the number of five municipalities studied was due to the geographical dispersion found by the sample determination criteria, selected due to the strong relationship with the object of this study, to analyze the evolution of the notification of pathological diseases in the Brazilian, regional, Pernambuco and Brazilian comparison. municipalities in the sample; to analyze the financial aspects, of the expenses for the execution of the actions, originated from the public policies.

Thus, the analysis and evaluation of the content of the interviews were contributed by the techniques of Bardin (2009), where the topics of the triangulation are the categories, the script is the questions, and the answers are the object of analysis. The evaluation took place by numbering the similar characteristics, which are controlled by the method, for the interpretation phase, with the practice of analyzing responses to open questions.

4. Results

The municipalities selected for this research have heterogeneous characteristics and understanding the profile of each one is fundamental for the contextualization of this work. Geographically, the municipalities belong to different mesoregions, except Cabo de Santo Agostinho and Igarassu, which both belong to the Metropolitan Region; Tamandaré, belongs to Mata Sul; Caruaru to Agreste Central and Petrolina to Sertão do São Francisco.

4.1 Administrative management of the secretariats

The administrative management of the health secretariats identifies how the secretariats perceive their physical structure; of personnel; financial and political management. For Saraiva (2006), public health policies, in a more operationalized evaluation, are understood as:

[...] a system of public decisions aimed at actions or omissions, preventive or corrective, aimed at maintaining or modifying the reality of one or several sectors of social life, through the definition of objectives and performance strategies and allocation resources to achieve the established objectives (Saraiva 2006: 29).

The major concern for any service is the resources, financial, infrastructure and human resources, which present themselves as an obstacle to any management, including public policies. Mendes (1996), analyzing through the incrementalist current of public policy, already evidenced the collapse of the health crisis in Brazil, due to low resources

spent, in order not to allow an adequate system to meet the needs of the population. In addition to the questions raised by Mendes (1996) and Saraiva (2006), the interview with a specific manager in one of the municipalities, says that it goes beyond these aspects and much more than the prevention information or even planning public policies.

“The disorganized development of the trade sector ends up producing a culture of sub-job registries and thus a lot of insecurity and informality, as well as little or almost no labor rights, with degradation of preventive health, as all the time is used for productive work.” (Saraiva 2006: 33).

In the perception of the manager's speech, it is possible to point out that preventive policies are practically impossible to have their effects reached by a population, where infrastructure policies do not have a satisfactory effect.

4.2 Challenges of Municipal Health Management

The subcategory “Challenge” comes in first analysis before the interpretation of the categories established by Viera-da-Silva, as it has elements that make up all the categories described below and is a post-established category. When asked the interviewees about the challenges faced for the health management of the municipalities, they were cited: disease control / prevention; scarcity of resources or difficulty in using them; little availability of human resources; poor physical structure or lack of equipment / supplies; difficulties with management, difficulties with managers; difficulties in developing actions; that is, all categories were cited, as noted:

Manager A: “decrease compulsory reporting, contagious infectious diseases”, “reduce disease index”. “[Financial] resources are lacking”.

Manager B: “[...] make management understand the importance of investing in prevention.”, “[...] make managers understand that we must have access to resources, so that we can invest in prevention ”. “[...] availability of professionals ”, “[...] we are the 7th in AIDS cases [...] even so, we have this structural difficulty ”, “[...] we work in this building here, it is not viable ”, “[...] receives a resource from the Ministry of Health, but it has the difficulty of the managers' own understanding regarding the use of these resources ”. “[...] difficulty due to the secretariat's own organization chart”. “[...] The coordination makes a plan, but sometimes it gets lost”. “[...] not being able to carry out a larger campaign, with greater visibility” [...], “you always have to fight for material, equipment”.

Manager C: “[...] do public health with few resources”.

Manager D: “is to work with prevention and health promotion”. “[...] degradation of preventive health”. “[...] culture of sub-registries”. “[...] population [...] migrates [...] from other cities to seek care in the municipality”.

Manager E: “[...] plan on top of health indicators”. “[...] the management as a whole, the financing blocks make it difficult [to use resources]. “[...] The worst of all is the lack of resources”. “[...] if you think about the ministerial transfer, you would only operate in the red”.

"[...] human resources, insufficient professionals for the development of actions". "[...] one of the biggest challenges is structural". "[...] we found contracts closed and we had to renew all of them". "[...] programming to articulate actions". "[...] issues of planning, monitoring of actions".

Understanding the challenges considered by managers, helps to understander what is the volume of demands that might not be aroused in more targeted questions. Within the category many issues were dealt with and as most repeated within the work, are the financial, structural, personnel and preventive conditions.

4.3 Priorities of the Municipal Health Secretariats

The priority subcategory is analyzed in question 2: What is the secretariat's priority scale? This question brought answers about disease and contagion control; human Resources; physical structure; management and campaigns:

Manager A: "[...] we have a very good service because we have 8 family health teams and we have 100% coverage of the territory with trained doctors and nurses".

Managers B, C, D and E have primary care as a special priority, that is, prevention.

Manager B: "[...] normally the secretariats run after urgencies and emergencies and then come to prevention, she doesn't see much as a priority", "[...] the secretariat is always putting out the fire"

Manager C: "[...] primary care would be the focus". "[...] do not let the population get to specialized care, always working on prevention". "[...] provide the best for the community and the municipalities". "[...] project for the implementation of decentralization of rapid decentralized tests".

Manager E: "[...] improve health indicators". "[...] improve the epidemiological situation".

Manager A presents an opposition to the other managers, in relation to his staff, informing that this is complete and that he has excellent health care, not exposing any priority scale for health problems in the municipality. This reality does not apply to other municipalities, as the lack of staff is pointed out as a problem in the implementation of policies.

In the informal conversation with the interview, it became evident that it was impossible for responses to be made to previous managers (opponents). The current management had some data published on previous actions but did not express having contact with the previous management, for possible clarifications with former officials. This can leave the interpretation that when the mandate ends, the social responsibility of the old management ends. During the interviews, some statements can help to understand the "problem" caused by the change in management (which can be assessed as a loss or

a gain for the health of the municipalities, as the current management may or may not be more effective than the previous one).

It was argued by the interviewees that the secretariat was in the process of starting over, trying to set up and evaluate strategies to “continue” with the actions. And yet, the teams needed to get used to the new work methods, requiring training so that the situation was adequate. The secretariat envisioned the need for a mapping to carry out the necessary actions. What is observed in these speeches is that there is a pause in the actions so that the management is placed and thus, it can proceed with the strategic actions of the secretariats. The loss of information due to the change of managers, to the detriment of the change of party of governors, was treated separately as the problems of continuity and discontinuity of public policies. What is observed is that this problem is frequent in public administration and the loss of identity and previous management experiences is drained.

5. Conclusions

The major concern for any service are the resources, financial, infrastructure and human resources, which present themselves as an obstacle to any management, including public policies. This is no different for the municipalities in Pernambuco studied in this research, the low resources spent do not allow an adequate system that meets the needs of the population. The budgetary resources are considered insufficient for a broader coverage of the reduction in the number of notifications of diseases, the cuts in financial resources caused by the change of title in management compromise the progress of actions and decisions.

As for prevention actions, it was one of the most repeated questions as challenges considered by managers, only one of the interviews points to efficiency in terms of personnel, the others report insufficient personnel, vehicles, information materials, information, distribution and time of the employees. health teams.

The lack of staff is pointed out as a problem in the effectiveness of public policies, there is a difficulty of communication between the appointed members and the previous responsible for possible clarifications as to the progress of the strategic actions of the secretariats, this due to the political position that ends up hampering this relationship, leading to problems of continuity and discontinuity of public policies. The political discontinuity is pointed out with greater intensity in the exchange of governments, mainly in opposition parties, this exchange in the political command raises doubts about whether

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or not there will be continuity of the policies previously developed. In this way, there may be a loss of the experience lived in the occurrence of the facts.

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RESEARCH NOTE¹

Social engagement in the creation of brand-new Brazilian universities as an opportunity for local interconnection with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)

O engajamento social na criação das novíssimas universidades brasileiras como oportunidade de interconexão local com os Objetivos do Desenvolvimento Sustentável (ODS)

Ives Romero Tavares do Nascimento² 
Maria Elisa Huber Pessina³ 

DOI: [[10.22478/ufpb.2525-5584.2021v6n2.57092](https://doi.org/10.22478/ufpb.2525-5584.2021v6n2.57092)]

Received: 01/01/2021
Approved: 03/08/2021

Abstract: The objective of these Research Notes is to present a proposal for scientific research that aims to analyze the interconnections of agendas and premises that permeate the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the creation of the “brand-new” Brazilian federal universities, both understood as development strategies. To this goal, it will use the qualitative approach to triangulate secondary data contained in specialized bibliography and documents from official entities in Brazil and international development agencies. Conforming the results, it is expected that the convergences between the national and the international actions for regional and sustainable development will be established, focusing on the institutional design of the “brand-new” federal universities in Brazil.

Keywords: Sustainable Development Goals; brand-new federal universities; development strategies.

¹ A autoria agradece à Pró-reitoria de Pesquisa, Pós-Graduação e Inovação da Universidade Federal do Cariri (PRPI/UFCA) e à Fundação Cearense de Apoio ao Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico (Funcap) pelo apoio institucional e financeiro.

² Universidade Federal do Cariri – E-mail: ives.tavares@ufca.edu.br.

³ Universidade Salvador (Unifacs) – E-mail: mariaelisahp@yahoo.com.br.

Resumo: O objetivo destas Notas de Pesquisa é apresentar uma proposta de investigação científica que tem como cerne analisar as interconexões de agendas e premissas que permeiam os Objetivos de Desenvolvimento Sustentável (ODS) e a criação das novíssimas universidades federais brasileiras, compreendidas ambas como estratégias de desenvolvimento. Para tanto, apoiar-se-á na abordagem qualitativa para triangular dados secundários constantes de bibliografia especializada e documentos de órgãos oficiais do Brasil e de agências internacionais para o desenvolvimento. Espera-se, ao final, que sejam estabelecidas as convergências entre as ações nacionais e as agendas internacionais de desenvolvimento regional e sustentável, com foco no desenho institucional das novíssimas universidades federais do Brasil.

Palavras-chave: Objetivos de Desenvolvimento Sustentável; novíssimas universidades federais; estratégias de desenvolvimento.

1. Introductory notes

This Research Note presents the design of a scientific investigation that aims to analyze the possible mutual learning relationships between the scheduling of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), on an international level, and the creation of the so-called “newest” Brazilian federal universities, as a national and localized proposal for development processes based on the logic of participation and social engagement in the construction of public policies.

This research originates from the confluence of debates and actions between researchers from the Federal University of Cariri, in Ceará, and the Universidade Salvador, in Bahia, who have been dedicated to understanding the extent to which it is possible to establish theoretical-empirical connections between national and development-oriented international organizations (territorial, sustainable and other connections).

The prior investigation that originated this study is ongoing and aims to analyze the creation of the four “newest”⁴ Brazilian federal universities (Federal University of Cariri [UFCA], Federal University of Southern Bahia [UFSB], Federal University of Western Bahia [UFOB] and Federal University of South and Southeast of Pará [Unifesspa]) as a territorial development strategy. In this context, emphasis has been placed on the action of multiple actors in the process of implementing the national public

⁴ These four institutions were considered “newest”, at the time, as they were the last ones created by Reuni between 2012 and 2014. To find out more, it is recommended to read the report “The democratization and expansion of higher education in the country: 2003 – 2014” (In Portuguese: A democratização e expansão da educação superior no país: 2003 – 2014), available [on this new website](#).

policy that instituted these universities: the Program for Supporting Plans for Restructuring and Expansion of Federal Universities (Reuni).

Among the many findings of the prior investigation, attention has been drawn to the fact that Brazil's institutional action reveals an alignment between the concept of development guided by the centrality of local, regional and territorial issues and the agendas and guidelines of International Cooperation for the Development, with the strengthening of access to education (at different levels) as one of its main pillars.

Therefore, this Research Note presents the design of an investigation that will analyze to what extent the interconnection between Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) - the current agenda of International Cooperation for Development - and the creation of the newest federal universities finds a place in the construction of new organizational forms of higher education, since these institutions were imbued with a pedagogical and administrative commitment to interrelation with the territories where they were installed. And this represents a possible inspiration for the scheduling of international cooperation for development inserted in national public action.

By way of structure itself, this Note is arranged in five parts: in addition to these introductory notes, brief comments are made in Items 2 and 3 on the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and their international context and the new institutional format molded to the newest federal universities of Brazil, respectively. The Item 4, in its turn, demonstrates how the research perceives the interconnection between these two themes. Then, Chapter 5 presents the methodology and timeline defined for the investigation in question, while Chapter 6 informs what the expected results are. At the end, the references of the works cited throughout the text are displayed.

2. The SDGs and the international context

The programmers of International Cooperation for Development (ICD) first appeared after the Second World War as a strategy of the then recently created Bretton Woods institutions - and the UN, at the San Francisco Conference of 1945. The 1945 United Nations Charter, which formally established the United Nations, listed the objective of "employing an international mechanism to promote the economic and social progress of all peoples" (UN, 1945, Chapter IX).

International Development Cooperation is understood by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) as international actions that have the objective of helping other countries in their efforts for social and economic progress. The

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OECD recognizes as actors of International Development Cooperation: States, Individuals, Civil Society (Non-Profit Organizations), Multilateral Organizations, Philanthropic Foundations and the Private Sector (OCDE, 2019).

The International Cooperation for Development represents a relevant part of the relations between states, guided by values and interests of a specific vision of the world and of development itself. It is marked by its historical character, develops itself as a function of international relations and has imperative discourses and trends in each era on development, possible to observe by following its forums and consensus (Ayllón, 2007).

In this sense, at the expiration of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in 2015, the development agenda was renewed with the establishment of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) at the United Nations Summit on Sustainable Development. The document Transforming Our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development announced 17 Goals and 169 targets, which can be measured through 230 verifiable indicators, to be met by 2030, “leaving no one behind”, which involve diverse themes such as: poverty eradication, food security and agriculture, health, education, gender equality, water and sanitation, energy, sustainable economic growth, infrastructure, reducing inequalities, sustainable cities, sustainable patterns of consumption and production, climate change, protection and sustainable use of oceans and terrestrial ecosystems, peaceful, just and inclusive societies and partners in implementation (ONU, 2015).

The SDGs incorporate innovative elements in their design, highlighting the integration of the three dimensions of sustainable development: economic, social and environmental. It prioritizes the fight against poverty and hunger, but with a strong anchoring in the defence of human rights and the call for the reduction of inequalities within and between countries, as a primary element.

The SDGs make a strong call for global solidarity that integrates all development actors (Gil, 2018). Thus, the 2030 Agenda has been implemented through formal and informal mechanisms: traditional donors - the Development Assistance Committee (DAC/OECD); developing countries - the G-77, the BRICS and regional groups; and emerging global governance structures such as the G20; and networks of civil society, business and academic organisations (Gil, 2018). According to the OECD (2020), the scale and complexity of the present sustainable development challenges call for a multi-

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stakeholder approach that draws on contributions from all parts of society - government, private sector and civil society.

Among the 17 SDGs, two can be highlighted as the opportunity for direct interconnection with the Brazilian development experience through the expansion and internalisation of higher education. The first of these is Sustainable Development Goal 4: Quality Education - ensuring access to "inclusive, quality and equitable education and promoting lifelong learning opportunities for all" (ONU, 2015a). This Goal expresses the importance of access to and permanence in education at different levels (including university education) as a driving force for empowerment, freedom (and liberation) and access to employment and income generation as keys to the realisation of human rights, sustainability and development.

In addition, it can be seen that Brazilian universities (especially public ones) have been urged to connect with foreign networks to carry out their teaching and research actions, primarily in a movement of internationalization of higher education personnel. Thus, channels for analytical studies on the social, economic, political and institutional reality of countries have been increasingly created. These initiatives may produce knowledge for the adoption of state actions aimed at "Reducing Inequalities" "within and among countries", which is characterised as SDG 10 (ONU, 2015b).

One of the marks of the brand new Brazilian federal universities was the need to promote regional and international integration in the design of these institutions (Ministério da Educação, 2014). It can be seen, a priori, that their consolidation as a successful experience may represent an action aimed at its consolidation and strengthening, since human education, regardless of the level, can be a strand to settle inequalities (SDG 10) and free people through access to income and freedom (SDG 4).

Not only the Goals (and the targets and indicators that derive from them) will be analyzed, but also guidelines dear to international organizations for the implementation of the 2030 Agenda, such as the concept of localization. According to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the previous experience of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) brought evidence of the importance of "localization" for the achievement of the SDGs, understood as: (i) awareness raising and engagement of local actors, (ii) accountability mechanisms, (iii) participatory planning and service delivery, (iv) local economic development and (v) partnerships (UNDP, 2017).

Thus, after these initial considerations about the SDGs, we move on to analyse the approximations in which its objectives and guidelines can be perceived in Brazil's experience with the structuring of its brand-new federal universities. This is, therefore, the object of the next section.

3. The context of the newest federal universities

If in the international context the SDGs points to the need to promote integration, reduce inequalities within and between countries and quality education, among others, as principles for development, at the national level Brazil has adopted the territory as a unit of analysis and management as the locus for the implementation of public policies that integrate higher education and other economic, environmental, cultural and social initiatives, for example. This was the motto for the establishment of Reuni, which provided opportunities for the internalization of higher education in the country.

Thus, it was up to Brazilian political-institutional action to enable the incursion of federal institutes and universities towards spaces not covered by the country's large urban centers. This assertion would be guaranteed from the institutional articulation that federal universities have when relating to other local actors with goals to make their teaching, research and extension activities. This relationship, in turn, would enable the implementation of four axes that are opportune to territorial development: reduction of regional asymmetries; inclusion in local dynamics; approximate relationship between curricula and social demands; and regional and international integration (Ministério da Educação, 2014).

This was the format adopted by Reuni in its last and third phase, when the principle of regionalized education prevailed, "as it starts from the reality of life, with its limits and potential, and builds knowledge for the modification of this same reality, considering people as knowledge producers" (Baptista & Campos, 2013, p. 99, free translation). In this scope, talking about regionalization of education, especially higher education, would give to the university institution, under Reuni, the possibility of taking over the territory (or region) beyond a simple indication of the place of its installation, facing the chance to take on local needs and potential in its political, pedagogical and administrative design. This, therefore, was the peculiarity that four ones considered newest federal universities took on.

However, for the regionalizing factor of education in these institutions could be possible, the process that created the universities had to innovate. For this reason, other

social actors who are generally on the sidelines of such initiatives were integrated – since, in Brazil, traditionally it is only up to the State (and some public and political agents) to act in this type of action. Thus, the institutional innovation that established the newest federal universities was given when representatives of civil society and private initiative, in addition to other public agents, were called to participate. Whether through Work Groups (UFCA) or the organization of Social Forums (UFSB), for example, multiple and diverse social actors have imprinted their interests and motivations in these newest universities, to a greater or lesser degree.

4. Research convergences

Regardless of the scale of action, it is a fact that the participation of multiple actors was crucial for a socially centered process (Boullosa, 2013; 2019), in the implementation of Reuni, ensure that the newest federal universities were aligned with local dynamics, reducing asymmetries and integrating as planned by the Federal Government at that time. However, more than having channels through which people could participate, it was the engagement of these same individuals that prevailed and was decisive for these institutions to assume the commitment to their territories beyond the indication of their place in their own names.

Therefore, if the newest federal universities, which were born in a context of regionalized education that had as its justification the integration, dynamization and regional (and international) dialogue with an objective to the development this spaces, what can be inferred is that the engagement of multiple and diverse social actors was the amalgamation of national development projects were interconnected to local processes of participation and observation of social, environmental, economic and political-institutional dynamics, for example.

In this context, the same discussion can be directed to the SDG agenda and inspire two convergences with the experience of creating the newest federal universities in Brazil. The first one concerns the fact that the SDGs represent an international effort aimed at the development of countries, guided by the prescriptive and guiding discourse for the political action of its signatories. However, it is questioned to what extent this standardization could not represent a top-down conformation vis-à-vis the local perspective of sustainable development when it encourages bottom-up actions to consider aspects of the territory (culture, society, environment and politics, among others). What fundamental aspects for the success of this observed local development experience do not

find equivalents in the SDGs, their goals, indicators and their main guidelines, for example?

Second, the debate on a possible connection between the international development agenda, within North-South and South-South Cooperation, for example, raises a very tenuous approach to the case of the establishment of the newest Brazilian universities when considering the need to have social engagement so that both objectives – even if on different levels – can be achieved. In this case, the national experience of creating regionalized universities as agents for inducing development, which contain participation rates, can be an inspiration for concrete actions for the realization of the SDGs, *mutatis mutandi*, by different countries around the globe. After all, different development proposals, when faced with international actors, must consider participation so that it effectively occurs (Castro & Silva, 2017). Thus, for this and other answers to be given, the methodological path presented in Chapter 5, which follows.

5. Proposed methodology and schedule

The task of determining the methodological path of a scientific research depends, above all, on the body that its object assumes. In the case of the investigation in *focus*, the search for possibilities of intersection between the SDG agenda and the creation of the newest Brazilian federal universities can represent a challenge, given the need to identify the interconnections between the two distinct experiences in materiality and temporality.

As they are eminently diverse phenomena, discussing how the two experiences are connected can represent a methodological difficulty - in terms of data collection and analysis techniques -, after all, it contrasts with an international and generalist initiative to schedule actions aimed at the sustainable development of countries with a concrete and localized experience of a national State in favor of the expansion and internalization of its public higher education network.

To resolve this issue, we started with the contributions of the work of Chankseliani and McCowan (2020), who discussed the relationship between the SDGs and higher education. In particular, they locate two very important points in this relationship: a) the fact that there is an engagement with issues related to the development of societies, such as the expression of the so-called “third mission” of the university as a human institution; and b) the presence of universities socially and regionally engaged in development processes, listing examples in countries such as South Africa, China, Sudan and Brazil.

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For the investigation proposed in this Research Note, the perspective of creating the newest federal universities will be joined as a dimension of analysis.

Thus, Chankseliani and McCowan (2020) present a university format that Almeida Filho and Souza (2020) present as necessary in a world where social problems are increasingly aggravated: the concept of a prototype university. For this reason, the two authors propose that the university should assume a proactive format of action in society that would extrapolate training for work and contain extension, research and culture actions aligned with citizenship, ethics, respect and engagement with the development processes.

Based on this idea, therefore, the methodological path provided for the research is based on the qualitative approach, given the need to know the phenomenon of the newest federal universities in the portion that touches the international discussion of the SDGs. This is due to the qualitative approach offering conditions to deepen the analysis of empirical objects that are unfeasible for a purely numerical discussion (Gibbs, 2009).

Next, Data Triangulation will be used as a methodological bet for the “confrontation” of three groups of secondary data (Flick, 2009; Gibbs, 2009): a) specialized national and international bibliography; b) official documents of Brazilian government agencies; and c) compositions on the SDGs within the framework of the United Nations and international development agencies.

Table 01 presents the proposed schedule:

Table 01: Activities and Schedule

		Year of 2021											
Activities	Responsibles	Schedule (months)											
		01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12
Start of activities	Research coordination	X											
Establishment of a study group	All team	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Selection and systematization of complementary bibliography	Scientific Initiation Scholarship	X	X										
Document collection and systematization - document research	All team			X	X								
Systematization and analysis of data	All team					X	X	X					
Preparation of scientific articles and partial research report	All team								X	X	X	X	

Completion of the research and delivery of the final report	All team																		X
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Source: own elaboration, 2021.

6. Expected Results: A Research Agenda

The provocations arising from the initial comparison between the performance of countries, in an outward movement, looking at the SDGs as a design opportunity for political action under an international agenda; and in an action aimed inwards, in very typical experiences such as Brazil, with territories sometimes viewed as a unit of analysis and as a management unit, they give space to research designed with the purpose of finding the interconnections between these two agendas (and praxis) of development.

Within the discussion on the action of International Cooperation for Development (ICD), particularly in South-South Cooperation, Brazil already has some experiences linked to the creation of public and federal universities as the motto for such theoretical-empirical connections. In addition to the case of the University of International Integration of Afro-Brazilian Lusophony (Unilab), with *campuses* in Ceará and Bahia, and the Federal University of Fronteira Sul (UFFS), with campuses in Paraná, Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul, the Federal University of Latin American Integration (Unila) stands out as a very illustrative experience.

For Abi and Pereira (2019), the creation of this university was a political effort to promote the interiorization in Brazil and integration with Latin America through a proposal to create public places in higher education as a development aspect in light of macro-regional opportunities of the Southern Cone Common Market (Mercosul). But, anyway, this research goes further and will highlight how this political-institutional action inspired, to some extent, the creation of the newest ones (UFCA, UFSB, UFOB and Unifesspa) based on the principle of regionalized education in national territories. Reuni itself, according to Arruda and Gomes (2015), would have already been the result of an international movement aimed at the democratization of higher education in Brazil, even if it is open to criticism regarding different issues related to the political motivation for this.

Thus, as a result, two types of products are expected:

a) Intangibles: the possibilities for intellectual and scientific improvement of professors-researchers and scientific initiation scholarship holders who are linked to the base research of this study circulate; opportunity for methodological exchange between

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scholars from two Brazilian states; and strengthening the inter-institutional research practice in the country;

b) Tangible: the production of, at least, two scientific articles that will publish the findings of this investigation is expected.

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