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Panel INCLUSIVENESS-3: Inclusiveness [Part 3]

Designed to be inclusive or exclusivist? Brazilian experiences on territorializing the 2030 Agenda by Development Programs on Gender

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> "I stand on the sacrifices of a million women before me thinking
> what can i do to make this mountain taller so the women after me can
> see farther - legacy" (Rupi Kaur, <u>The Sun and Her Flowers</u>)

Drawing from Brazilian experiences on the implementation of the 2030 Agenda until 2020, this paper aims to critically analyze the development toolkit of international agencies and organizations to promote gender equality in Brazil. The main argument is that a "cosmetic institutional design" built to promote gender inclusiveness and empowerment are less effective and more prone to be affected to political oscillations and crisis, such that of COVID-19. As a consequence, SDG 5 implementation in Brazil by international development projects, such as Britain's Prosperity Fund and UN Women, is striving between success and failure, struggling not leaving '*no one behind*' and keeping the silences and persistent gaps that arise from the global commitment in the 2030 Agenda.

The objectives of this paper are: a) to comprehend the clash between local and global conceptions of development; b) to understand those development programs and the concept of 'design for territorialization' looking through 2030 Agenda implementation in Brazil; c) to evaluate critically the role and interests of external actors (Foreign Governments and International Organizations) and there capability to inform decision making; d) and to capture social movements strategies in Brazil in there mission to fill the gap left from government inaction.

Once we provide our audience with an evidence-based narrative we hope we would instigate people to reflect on recommendations on how to resolve some of the pitfalls connected to SDG implementation on a context of deaccelerate progress and policy induction that we live in Brazil nowadays.

How to frame the 2030 Agenda: Connected Histories

Some recent studies shade some light on different features of SDGs studies, such as paradigm changing (GORE 2015), conceptual understanding (CABALLERO 2019), financing (SACHS 2015; MAWDSLEY 2018), measurement (FUKUDA-PARR; MCNEILL 2019) and origins (FUKUDA-PARR; MUCHHALA 2020).

Our perspective on how to frame the 2030 Agenda and the SDGs is on design for territorialisation. This idea of design refers to the conditions for defining changes in material reality based on the concrete experiences of human beings and their identities and represents an analytical foundation for local and global development projects. The territorialisation could be understood as a process of construction (as soon as it demands participation) and of interaction with the multiple dimensions of a local reality in the sense of producing results driven not by ideologies or political party platforms, but by social demands.

We derived our main concept of 'design for territorialisation' from the notion of pluriverse, that is, "a set of worlds in partial connection with each other" (ESCOBAR, 2016), is based on the relational, non-dualistic worldview that perceives modernity as one among other logics of development.[1] Moreover, it was thought on the frame that we live in a world of many worlds, a pluriverse composed of political practices that interconnect human beings and nature and show heterogeneities and singularities of bodies, places, thoughts, emotions, and actions (CADENA & BLASER 2018).

But why the 2030 Agenda and the SDG? Because the 2030 Agenda is the latest design by the international community and the United Nations to promote development on a global scale in a three-dimensional fashion: economic, social, and environmental. The agreement, made in September 2015, defined a so-called new paradigm of sustainable development goals (SDG) made by targets and measured by tiers of indicators to be achieved in 2030. It established commitments in 17 main areas of expertise or action, from fight against poverty and hunger to the construction of peaceful, inclusive, and just societies and the concretization of partnerships to do that.

Theoretically the 5Ps (Planet, People, Peace, Prosperity, Partnership) made the 2030 Agenda design integrated and universally enough as well as more participatory and "human-centred, encompassing a new setting of guidelines to deal with the planet and natural resources preservation and human rights protection, as well as gender equity and the empowerment of

women and girls. That is why we need to understand this model and critically reflect on global designs limitations to local realities.

It is from this perspective that the critical analysis of the 2030 Agenda framework is incepted here, allowing for a more personal approach to make sense of this endeavour as well as of in-depth understanding about conceptions of promoting development in the Global South (CONNELL, 2011). Our stories, therefore, are connected to the challenge of reimagining the world we live in and hence the relevance of looking critically at Agenda 2030, reflecting on how to face inequalities related to gender.

Therefore, the theoretical and methodological basis of this work is based on a transdisciplinary dialogue that involves studies on development, gender studies, critical discourse analysis, the field of public policies and international relations.

Development studies allow us to understand "Conceptions of Development Promotion". The modernization discourse was gradually being replaced by the development discourse anchored in globalization as a natural phenomenon that requires adjustments, such as those advocated by some governments of the global north and International Organizations. One of the biggest problems with this approach is the persistence of colonizing practices (QUIJANO, 2005) and the insistence on categories such as: superior / inferior, civilized / uncivilized, rational / emotional, guided by reason / guided by instinct, fit to govern / unfit to govern, sovereign / dependent, colonizing / colonized (ZIAI, 2016). Equally, the ethics of international aid and development encompasses a debate on global economy interests and individual (State, OI and personal) responsibilities; coercion or consent, obligatory and discretionary; humanitarian relief and emergencies; and distributive justice and austerity. Moreover, on the differences between growth, prosperity, and happiness (HUTCHINGS, 2010).

In global politics, development studies are increasingly connected to the debate on global governance, which involve broad cooperation processes between multiple actors. "The inclusion of the human rights language in the Charter of UN was a critical juncture that channelled the history of post-war governance" in a deep debate on "norm subsidiarity" (whereby states and regional actors create new norms and understandings of existing global norms) and norm protagonism (the possibility of states and NGO in any location of the globe to innovate and both affect decision making process) (SIKINKI 2016: 121-137).

Considering that gender equity is among the main guidelines of Agenda 2030, this text seeks to carry out analyzes from a feminist lens. With the flourishing of gender studies in the IR, it is possible to identify a diversity of authors (SYLVESTER 2002; WEBER 2005; ENLOE 2016) that reassess the place of women on both the political and personal realms, focusing on how international relations are entangled by the constructions of gender. Furthermore, in gender studies, the perspectives of the subject's positionality (standpoint theory) establish the necessary counterpoint to universalist views and knowledge production (HARDING, 1993; HARAWAY, 1995), which is especially important in the countries of the Global South (CONNELL, 2016). This approach considers the experiences lived in the knowledge production process, which contributes to the development of realistic and non-abstract views on social and political relationships that involve different social markers of difference, such as gender. Our experiences are lived in geopolitically situated bodies. To this end, the author defines gender as "a matter of social embodiment", which also has relevant effects on the geopolitics of knowledge (CONNELL, 2016).

We must temper our assessments of what development in Agenda 2030 is from a critical reading. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) focus on the relationship between language and society that amplify the impacts of "texts to our understanding of reality" and as "components of situated social practices" that could in fact influence realities by driving different "forms of social action" (RESENDE 2012). Likewise, we need to understand how "social knowledge influences the constitution and change of lexical and textual meanings (…) the stocks of knowledge of past epochs and discourse formations that are thinkable and utterable against the backdrop of our own epistemes" (PERNAU & SACHSENMAIER , 2016).

The relevance of this text lies precisely in being a contribution of the Global South, specifically drawing from the Brazilian experience, to the analysis of public gender policies aimed at development with an evident intersection with the Agenda 2030 and the SDGs. As noted by Nakamura et al. (2019), "European nations dominate SDGs research, with North America and the Asia & Pacific region contributing less, but roughly similar output. Africa, the Arab States, and Latin America are, by contrast, small participants, despite the fact that SDGs are key concerns in these regions".

The approach of the Global South establishes not only a geographical position of the actors but seeks to understand the social and economic problems from which they emerge, the social structures that constitute them. To produce reliable and bodily situated narratives on the

social markers of difference, "theories of the south" make an important contribution (CONNELL, 2007). "Gender is a fundamental category because it institutionalizes interests, involves the distribution of wealth and defines identities and relationships. Gender relationship patterns must be studied to understand the changes in the social structure and the role of social struggles in this regard. Connell (2007), the colonial encounter must be considered as an explanatory element in the formation of masculinities in colonial societies in the periphery, marked by social relations of violence and struggles for independence. Gender and class structures are created in a unique way in colonial societies and not simply modified or imported (MARTINS, 2018, 50).

Framing the 2030 Agenda can be achieved by public policies analysis intersecting with social movements theorization acting between the global and the local, between understandings about the dynamics emanating from global politics and our understandings about how we are affected locally. On the other hand, depends on an understanding of a connected histories between rationalities and subjectivities resulting from the experiences of the authors and author with the themes that touch upon the discussions presented. For Picq (2016) "every new move inevitably raised questions on the arrangements between life experiences and scholarship (...) It is not only center and periphery that are related and relational. Life and scholarship are too. (45) The path chosen here was to reconcile conventional approaches with autobiographical and auto ethnographic approaches, which very recently have been recognized in the field of IR as ways to see and understand the world in which we are inserted and are part of (INAYATULLAH, 2020).

Building the Context on territorializing development by Programs on Gender

The search for development has become central to international relations since the mid-twentieth century, in the post-war context, replacing the very notion of modernization. Due to the need to rebuild the countries affected by the great wars, a path of economic growth has been trodden by the increase in industrialization and international trade. This facet of globalization, connected States, companies and international organizations through projects and programs to finance actions to overcome poverty and promote a type of development. This development model based on industrialization and the intensive use of natural resources drew attention to its negative consequences for the environment from the 1960s (with the emergence of the environmental movement), in the 1970s (with the multilateral mobilization in Stockholm that would trigger a series of world conferences), and 1980 (awakening the international

community on the planetary limits and the elaboration of reference documents aiming at environmental preservation actions for future generations).

Society's claims for another globalization (SANTOS, 2001) grew in the 1990s. The type of development advocated until then only worsened inequalities, especially in peripheral countries, pressured to follow Western development patterns, as well as contracted many debts in that period, weakening their economies. Some adverse effects of globalization for peripheral countries are explained by the fact that they had already undergone their industrialization boom and, if the pace of development slowed down, those who would suffer from an incomplete growth and industrialization process would be the peripheral countries, perpetuating patterns of oppression that have always suffered.

The Rio 92 Conference consolidates the concept of sustainable development, and the link between economic growth, environmental awareness, and social concern. Based on these three pillars, the United Nations launched a bold global development platform around the Millennium Goals (MDGs) at the 2000 Conference. With the Rio + 20 Conference and other processes to review specific agendas that had converged in the "decade of the conferences" in the 1990s (children, human rights, population and development, women, housing, finance) a special moment for relaunching this global development agenda was created, which was then created between 2012 and 2015, resulting in an "improved version of MDGs". Then, a new platform is negotiated with 17 objectives to be achieved by 2030, based on the motto of "leave no one behind".

The Brazilian government was sluggish to understand that it needed an agenda implementation strategy that clearly understood what was meant by each of the things that Agenda 2030 and the SDGs meant. Only in 2019 is defined, for example, what it meant to "leave no one behind": "to affect public policies, private actions and cultural changes that fight inequality in an integrated way" (Cadernos 2019).

In the negotiation process for the creation of the Global Goals, SDG 5 was not questioned itself, continuing MDG 3, which addressed gender disparity in education and the expectation of reaching a deeper problem of the persistent inequalities affected and discrimination suffered by women and men. Girls in multiple political, economic, social dimensions, with spillovers into the environmental sphere.

SDG 5 was built around eight goals and in the Brazilian case it was up to IPEA to make a kind of adaptation of what was globally agreed with the national reality (CADERNOS 2019). Therefore, there is the emergence of an expanded concept of gender equality that would take into account that "for the effective reduction of inequality and gender discrimination, it is necessary to see them as phenomena pervaded by racial inequality, by the life cycle, for territorial and regional segmentation and for capacity building, among others" (CADERNOS 2019). Thus, when comparing Brazil's commitments to the global one, there is a concern in the country to expand the scope of the goals to face the truth of reality, much more complex and fragmented. In particular, by assuming the need to declare the cut in terms of "intersections with race, ethnicity, age, disability, sexual orientation, gender identity, territoriality, culture, religion and nationality, especially for rural girls and women , forest, water and urban peripheries ". In goal 5.a that speaks of 'national laws', Brazil sought to specify "through credit policies, training, technical assistance, land reform and housing, among others", again focusing on "women from the countryside, from the forest, waters and urban peripheries". And in goal 5.c that talks about "Adopting and strengthening public policies and legislation" to promote gender equality, there was concern in pointing out that this happens "at all federative levels" (CADERNOS 2019).

Gender Equity in Brazil

The conquering of equal rights for men and women in Brazil has been a struggle. Although the feminist movement in Brazil has a long history, starting in the end of the nineteenth century, the principle of gender equality in Brazil was only guaranteed in the Constitution of 1988. The movement of the suffragettes had a huge reverberation in the country, influencing women to question the lack of the inclusion of women in the public life, through vote and the right to work. The biggest leader of this trend was Bertha Lutz, the Brazilian woman known for being the one who fought and conquered the inclusion of gender equality in the UN Human Rights Charter (PINTO, 2003).

This movement has great effects, such as the conquering of the right to vote to women in 1932. In a second moment, the movement was also joined by scholars, working women and others to start to question male dominance and to talk about sexuality, divorce and the right for education. However, the 20th century in Brazil was quite turbulent, as the country had a couple of periods governed by dictators and that has also affected the way women could express themselves and fight for their rights. That is, while the feminist movement was in full speed in

Europe and the US, with the decade of the 70s being considered the decade of women at the UN, Brazil was still in a dictatorship. Still, inspired by the movement abroad, women still managed to gather up strength and organized several events to discuss inequality and the role of women in the dictatorship society. Women participated in the resistance and many were tortured and killed in that period (PINTO, 2003).

With the redemocratization, Brazilian women had to reinvent themselves to understand how to fit in this new scenario, so they had a strong role in the amnesty movement, as well advocating for better conditions of living, the indigenous and homosexual rights, the creation of daycares in universities and others. It was around that period that the feminist academic movement in Brazil started to get stronger. Due to the turbulent times the country was going through, Brazilian academic production on women had a high political bias and tried to study the peculiarities of the Brazilian women, as the feminist production at the time, and still today, was very focused on European and north-American women (CORRÊA, 2001).

It is important to point out that, since the feminist movement in Brazil was highly influenced by the movements in other parts of the world, it was a predominantly white movement. It started within the higher levels of society, with the conservative white women and then it slowly got to the lowest and middle-class women. Black women, however, were ignored for nearly all the first 100 years of feminist movement in Brazil. While white women were claiming the right to work and be a part of the public side of the society, black women had to start working as children to generate income to their families. That brings attention to the historical lack of intersectionality of the movement, especially in a country where more than half of the population is not white. It was not until the end of the 20th century that black women started to have some space in the discussions, which was very important for the advances in domestic violence issue, since it was a strong claiming made from them (DAMASCO; MAIO; MONTEIRO, 2012).

The current situation in Brazil has changed a lot since then. In terms of health and education, it even happens a phenomenon in Brazil that is the "reversed equality" in some areas, which means that women have more access to health and education systems than men. The country has one of the most advanced laws against violence against women, the Maria da Penha Law, which serves as an example for many countries in Latin America. In the political participation side, Brazil has a law that establishes 30% quotas for women in the parliament, to ensure political parties will include women in their composition. However, the reality is

quite alarming, considering that, even with these laws, Brazil is still the fifth country with the largest feminicide rate in the world and (GONÇALVES, 2019) as of June 2019 women represents only 18% of the members of the parliament (WEF, 2020).

In the last few years the poverty rates have been increasing, thus affecting even more women, since the largest portion of the poor population in composed by women (WORLD BANK, 2018) and the highest unemployment rate is among them (ILO, 2016). Brazilian women spend an average of 23,8 hours weekly for unpaid domestic labor, while men only spend around 10,5 hours weekly (RAMOS, 2018). That has been become even more evident with the COVID-19 crisis, as women are having to spend even more hours taking care of their home and family and, therefore, can't have the same dedication to work as men have (MENA, 2020).

Silences, instrumentalizations and a cosmetic approach?

The UN member states have developed the Addis Abeba Action Agenda, a resource mobilization guide to help countries in the fulfillment of the agenda. In this guide, the three main ways of financing are public investment - not very effective in the case of Brazil, which we will discuss briefly -, private investment and official development assistance (ODA). The private sector has had a increasing participation in the struggle to achieve gender equality throughout the years. Many of the big companies have gender advisors in order to try and make their work environment more "women friendly" and many of them also contribute financially to institutions that work with gender issues (SALAZAR et al, 2016). That is the case of UN Women, the United Nations entity focused on achieving gender equality, that is partially financed by the private sector in Brazil, working with companies such as Avon, Ford and Coca Cola (UN WOMEN, 2015).

The curious thing about UN Women is that it is a hybrid, because it is financed by private sector as well as receives ODA funds and receives public investment - which hasn't occurred much in the case of Brazil. The organization way of revamping women's rights is quite interesting, because their projects draw directly from the SDG agenda, CEDAW and the Beijing Platform of Action, therefore, it is very aligned with the international standards and priorities. In Brazil, the areas that UN Women focus on are (1) Leadership and Political Participation; (2) Economic Empowerment; (3) Ending Violence Against Women; (4) Peace, Security and Humanitarian Action; (5) Governance and National Planning and (6) Global

Norms. It is visible that the organization has a much broader scope to deal with inequality issues and, therefore, can be more efficient (UN Women, 2019a).

An interesting fact, though, is that, even though the SDG agenda itself does not include much of racial and ethnicity issues, the Brazil Country Office has included it in their portfolio interventions focused on the issue. That is quite important since it tackles a truly relevant, but still neglected aspect of gender-based policies, which is intersectionality. The term is understood as the analytical approach to gender considering how other vulnerabilities overlaps it, creating other forms of inequalities. For example, UN Women Brazil is the chair of the Gender, Race and Ethnicity Working Group, which is an interagency group that discuss interventions that can be made in the UN system as a whole to be more inclusive towards marginalized groups. Additionally, the organization has a lot of integration with Black women movements and indigenous and quilombola women. (UN WOMEN, 2015)

The issue, though, is that UN Women's mandate is highly focused on advocacy, capacity building activities and communication, not so much on the operationalization of their projects. Therefore, the organization sometimes depends on NGOs, UN Agencies, and other institutions to actually put their plans into action, which can lead to frustration and not effectiveness, depending on the capacity of the institution chosen. Another issue is that the organization relies heavily on the country openness and cooperation to have actual results. With political and economic context in Brazil it has become increasingly hard to operationalize actions in the country, because it might create conflict with the current government. Besides that, part of their budget also depends on the contribution of the countries to the UN, which has been also decreasing. Thus, the work of UN Women ends up being quite vulnerable and dependable of each country political circumstance to whether they will be able to perform a relevant work, especially considering Brazil's history of instability.

That is a smaller risk in the case of another ODA funded program, the British program Prosperity Fund (PF), a £1.2 billion development programme, with the objective of assisting medium-average countries, providing expertise and technical assistance (HM GOVERNMENT, 2018a). Also drawing from the SDGs, this fund has a big gender component in its formulation, as it follows the British "Gender Equality Act", and the fact that the United Kingdom has well-established gender policies it is more unlikely to suffer regressions in this sense and lose funding on the matter. Also guided by the SDG agenda, PF has a different

approach than UN Women's, because it does not have a dedicated project for gender but includes it as a cross-cutting matter (HM GOVERNMENT, 2018c).

In Brazil, the areas in which the fund has projects on are (1) Trade; (2) Energy; (3) Green Finance; (4) Future Cities; (5) Education/Skills and (6) Health (FOREIGN & COMMONWEALTH OFFICE, 2017). But what does it mean to have gender as a cross-cutting subject in this project? It means that all of them have to have a gender component in their planning, design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. The framework of the fund states that each area can have three levels of gender contribution, the first one being minimum compliance - to do no harm -, the second one empowerment and the third one transformation. The idea of the fund is great, because it ensures that, in the very least no regression shall be made during the projects and the whole programme is supported by a big structure that has been thoroughly formulated to be applicable to several countries of the world, with very structured frameworks for monitoring and evaluation, that is critical for the success of a policy (HM GOVERNMENT, 2018c).

However, it also faces problems with the lack of intersectionality. The fund expresses several times in their materials the inclusion of marginalized groups, but there are no specific plans for race and ethnicity issues. It is delegated to each project manager of each country to, in the formulation of the project, to analyse the social context they are in and decide how to address the social problems within. Thus, there is not a guarantee that they will be addressed or if it will be addressed properly. Additionally, there is an issue with the cross-cutting aspect of the project, since gender aspects can be more easily connected with some subjects, such as education, than others, like trade. In this situation it creates a problem that the projects that have less connections with gender issues are more likely to stop at the "do no harm" level of commitment and go no further than that, due to difficulty to insert gender in a more profound way. But then, if that happens, is this project really contributing to the 2030 Agenda? The SDG 5 clearly aims in its targets to the progress of gender equality, so if the project is only doing no harm, then no progress is actually being made. In that sense, it opens the possibility of programs to use the SDG 5 slogan in their projects, but not really contribute to the agenda, which would be an only "cosmetic" adhesion to it.

These two examples and the context of multiple features lead us to a single understanding: to unveil the silences and the instrumentalization of the Agenda 2030 in relation to the gender issue. In fact, the institutional design – procedures and methodology of

formulation, implementation, and evaluation – built to implement gender inclusiveness and empowerment policies is being instrumentalized in a "cosmetic way", affecting SDG 5 implementation in Brazil and other parts of the world. So, to comprehend the possible advantages and risks these development programs present to territorializing the 2030 Agenda in Brazil depends both on identifying methodological gaps as well as mapping the role and interests of the social movements in order to shade some light on the clash between local and global conceptions of development.

The SDG 5 construct: questioning the "leaving no one behind motto" and silences within

Goal 5 aims at reaffirming the principles set out in the Convention to Eliminate Every Form of Discrimination Against Women and the Beijing Platform, making sure every country is working towards eliminating gender inequalities and empowering women and girls. Composed by nine targets and fourteen indicators, it differs from the MDGs in many ways, such as the amount of targets and the way they are organized, being an important one in relation to leadership and participation, since it does not focus solely on the participation of women in national parliaments, but also urging for women to have full and effective participation in all levels of political, economic and social life (ONU Brasil, 2017).

This effort was extremely important to strengthen women's movements in their advocacy efforts towards better policies for women, as the UN is a powerful and respected institution within the international system. As the agenda is quite broad, since it is supposed to be used for all UN countries, it is the responsibility of each country to translate the targets to their own reality and adapt the indicators. Therefore, the process created a big movement in each country to stop and think about the situation on their country and develop a plan, what gives a big push on the development of public policies in favor of women's rights.

However, the agenda still presents some issues that have been there since the MDGs. Although the process of formulation of the SDGs was more open and inclusive than the previous one, one of the main problems is the fact that is still not based on a human rights perspective, meaning that, even though it is treated as highly important issue, women's rights to equality is not yet fully seen as a human right. By not doing this recognition, the battle against inequality lose a powerful advocacy tool, which makes it harder to make rulers around the world to be held accountable (SEN, Gita. n/d).

The motto "Leaving no one behind" means that the benefits of sustainable development must reach everyone (UN WOMEN, 2010). This initiative is based on the human rights principles of equality and non-discrimination, recognizing that multiple and intersectional inequalities often prevent full enjoyment of rights for specific groups. As we read the phrase "leave no one behind", it is fair to imagine that the agenda would try and include all forms of oppression in a way to leave no inequality unattended. Therefore, it is quite disappointing that the agenda lacks to properly address race issues, for example. It does say in the first target to "end all forms of discrimination against all women and girls everywhere", however, for many countries not always the gender perspective is the most substantial oppression in the life of a woman (SPSSI, n/d).

In the case of Brazil, black women still face much more challenges than white women and, in the case of racism, there can be no major advances without the inclusion of men in the debate, as they are highly influenced by this. Nevertheless, there should be disaggregated data and separated targets involving race in every goal, in order to ensure the black movement has tools to fight for their rights and respect. This also occurs with regards to women with disabilities, migrant and refugee women, indigenous women and others. Although it is recognizable that the agenda has to be broad in order to be applicable to every context, it also silences these very important issues that also have a strong relation to gender inequality. The UN has made issue briefs on these matters, but it is critical to understand that the agenda will never be fulfilled unless governments feel accountable for these issues (SPSSI, n/d).

Another relevant dimension refers to the synergies established between SDG 5 and the other SDGs, which is something very relevant to understand territorialization of the agenda. Serving as an inspiration to the PF, the 2030 Agenda has included a gender dimension in all goals. Therefore, it has given the topic much more importance and has awarded it a cross-cutting dimension that can help with advocacy and the advance of the agenda. Thus, the different policies applied by governments on matters such education, partnerships, environment, and others will all have to take into consideration how to address the gender issues on such matters (UN WOMEN, 2018a).

However, it is important to point out the fact that the gender aspect has a different relevance within the goals. For example, the education goal has much more goals than the life under water goal. That is understandable, given that the connections between gender and education are much obvious than between life under water. The issue, though, is that some of

them do not even have indicators on gender, making it harder to push institutions and governments to take this dimension into consideration on the policy-making process. This is especially important since policies that do not consider gender can increase the risks of increasing inequalities, instead of contributing to its end (UN WOMEN, 2018a). So, it is relevant to ask again: are all goals promoting gender equality and working towards it? Or only the ones that are easier to link up with gender? It is worth the reflection that the way the agenda was built is actually making it possible for projects to appropriate on the gender slogan in a cosmetic way, but not having substantial results and, therefore, silencing women once again.

Both initiatives that were analyzed here - aiming to promote gender equality and that try to supply the strategic interests of women - have striking differences in terms of focus and scope. While one organization deals specifically with gender issues - UN Women -, the other incorporates this into the scope of other themes - Prosperity Fund. This issue is central to the discussion, since by dividing the focus of a project on more than one theme, mainly gender being the secondary theme, it creates the risk of neglecting the agenda during the implementation of the project. Furthermore, a lesson that remains is that something that should always be taken into account in all projects that are committed to the gender agenda is to ensure that intersectionality is contemplated and that the projects respect the social and cultural context of each country, in order to ensure proper implementation in the sense that no minority is left behind in the quest for development.

How is Brazil implementing the SDGs and the 2030 Agenda?

The SDG agenda, as mentioned before, has been a great conquering on the gender issues, even with its silences. However, there is one big question that may be the most important one. Where would the money to pay for those policies come from? The goals, of course, serve as a tool for raising awareness and making the issue more visible, but the truth is that the goals are never going to go anywhere without proper funding. And it is a lot of money for that many goals. As mentioned, public investment is one of the pillars of the financing of the agenda. But, as you can imagine, not all countries are going to have enough money to fund all this changes or not all countries have these goals as priorities as well. Some of them might be easier to identify funds in every country because they are part of the foundation of a country, such as education and infrastructure (SALAZAR, 2016).

But what about gender? Is it considered a priority for all countries? As you can imagine, the answer is no. The nordic countries have always been considered pioneers in the gender cause, having put gender in the center of their policy making for some time now, but for countries like Brazil, the scenario is a bit different (WEF, 2018).

Brazil has made great improvements in this matter in the last decades, mainly due to the advocacy from women's movements, but still have big challenges to overcome. The problem is that the current government does not intend on making gender a priority. There is an ministry focused on women's issues, the Ministry of Women, Family and Human Rights, but it is the ministry with the lowest budget of them all. Its budget is 36,3% lower than the second lower budget, which is the Ministry of Tourism (BRESCIANINI, 2019). Moreover, the ministry is not solely focused on women, it also deals with family and human rights issues, so the budget gets even lower. The fact that the women's issues are also combined with family and human rights is also a point to be looked after, because it makes it look like women is not only not a human right, but it is connected to the scope of family. That can be dangerous association considering the women are the traditional responsible for care of their families and household and it can reinforce those stereotypes that the feminist movement has been working so hard for a century to disassociate from (SECRETARIA DE ESTADO DA MULHER, n/d).

In the description of the branch of the ministry that is focused on women, it says that one of their main priorities is to contribute for the fulfillment of the SDG 5 (SECRETARIA DE ESTADO DA MULHER, n/d). However, it says that the focus of the policies is on ending violence against women and economic emancipation of them, which only fulfills two of the targets from the SDG 5. Not only does it mean that many issues will be left out, but to make it worse, the focus, which is ending domestic violence, has lost nearly all of the funds allocated to it. The main program from the government was the "Casa da Mulher Brasileira" (House of the Brazilian Women, in english), which it was supposed to be an unit containing several public services to provide support to women who are physically and psychologically offended. The design of the project, created during ex-president Dilma Rousseff mandate, held great expectations to have really positive results, but between 2015 and 2019 the budget for it went from R$119 million (around 20 million euro) to R$5.3 million (around 900 thousand euro), a reduction of 95% of the budget (LINDNER, 2020).

The assessment of the implementation of Agenda 2030 and SDG 5 in Brazil is very negative and worrying. Institutional changes with the recent changes in government between

2015 and 2018 (3 presidencies); extinction and merger of bureaucratic organizations; triggering of "new administrative processes" with different teams, different objectives and performance times. The decision-making process related to gender is messed up, public development policies reduce specific budgets and reduce their workforce, loss of ministerial status: "what was observed during the 2016-2018 triennium was a significant change in policies for women and / or paralysis of what was being done" (CADERNOS 2019).

Three intervening variables are shown to be powerful in influencing the results of the 2030 Agenda territorialization process, creating real difficulties for the programs designed by governments and international organizations to reach their objectives fully. First, the political changes and ideological reorientation that profoundly affected public policies in different areas of development. It is possible to empirically verify this change through a critical analysis of the speeches of the Brazilian government authorities.

The minister of Women, Family and Human Rights, Damares Alves, is one of the ministers from the government that most get involved in polemics, such as saying that the official policy for fighting against teenage pregnancy is sexual abstinence (BARBOSA, 2020), that the cartoon "Frozen" is a bad influence on children because, in her interpretation, the main character Elsa is gay and saying girls should wear pink and boys should wear blue. among many others. That shows that not only the ministry does not have the proper budget nor the proper leader with priorities aligned with international standards such as CEDAW and the SDG Agenda itself (O GLOBO, 2019).

Second, the emergence of the COVID-19 crisis. In the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, the notion that social isolation was a social option for all was crystallizing. For example, women represented 70% of health and social work professionals and about 90% of nursing professionals, working on the front lines in the fight against the coronavirus. In addition, almost 60% of women worldwide work in the informal economy, with much less chance of staying at home. Furthermore, during the crisis, complaints of domestic violence and the search for shelters in countries such as Argentina, Canada, France, Germany, Spain, the United Kingdom and the United States grew..[2]

In Brazil, complaints of domestic violence have increased by almost 20% since the beginning of social isolation measures in some Brazilian states, demanding solutions such as the implementation of a Human Rights BR application that allows registering complaints of

violence against women, children, the elderly, in addition to people with disabilities, traditional peoples and the LGBTQI + community. - National Secretariat for Policies for Women, Federal Government. And the mobilization of resources by OI to confront COVID-19, which includes actions related to sexual and reproductive health and prevention of violence against women.[3]

At the local level, in the Brasília/DF, a region in which at least 50% of households in the FD are headed by mothers, the mobilization of civil society would fill the vacuum left by affirmative actions by the local and federal government. For example, Central Única das Favelas (CUFA) in partnership with Data Favela and Instituto Locomotiva launched a campaign called "Vale Mãe", which includes mothers in the Federal District with R$ 120 for two months of assistance in times of social isolation. Points out Celso Athayde, founder and general coordinator of Central Única das Favelas (CUFA), "the most fragile of society are favela residents. The most fragile among the favelados are women. And the most fragile among women are mothers".[4]

Third, the role of social movements in promoting human right of women a way to cast for attention on the 2030 Agenda and SDG 5. To expand the legitimacy of the State and as a response to popular demands and pressures, innovations in the field of public policies emerged in the last decades of the 20th century aimed at expanding the instruments of social participation. These are initiatives aimed at increasing the connection between elected and voters that enable the transition from a model in which the government official does what he thinks best to a participatory or deliberative model in which citizen representations are considered not only in the electoral process, but make up the decision-making process. Social participation is based on the notion that criteria of formal representativeness are not enough to represent (LAVALLE; HOUTZAGER; CASTELLO, 2006), even though representation is impossible but necessary in mass democracies (YOUNG, 2006).

To get out of this paradox that makes direct democracy in contemporary democracies unfeasible, given that it is absolutely impossible for people to lead and participate in all decisions that affect their lives, Young (2006) proposes a model of "representation as a relationship", which it seeks to overcome the representative intentions of substituting social actors, and therefore understands democratic deliberation in processes mediated and dispersed in space / time, as well as the decentralized character of mass democracies on a large scale. profound heterogeneities present in the field of identities, considering that there is no collective

will and that, considering temporalities and social dynamics, demands vary and fluctuate according to the geopolitics of bodies (CONNELL, 2015; 2016).

Therefore, a theory of social participation from the perspective of women's human rights and intersectional gender and race relations needs to consider that development, as an objective of the State and of nations, requires the collective production of diagnoses about the way inequalities are structured and reproduce. They must consider, for example, the point of view of women (HARDING, 2002), in all its plurality, regarding their objective conditions of life, their experiences with work and the possibilities of realizing their human potential.

Since some of the main social problems have women as the most vulnerable groups, public policies, from the perspective of guaranteeing human rights, cannot ignore or dispense with a social group subject to precariousness and repeated subordination. For example, it is worth noting that unemployment is a phenomenon that has a higher incidence among women than in the male group. In a recent survey, 14.2% of women were unemployed, while 11% of men were in this situation (PNAD / IBGE, 2018).

Therefore, women's experiences are absolutely essential as elements for political decision-making. Public policies, in this sense, are not synonymous with government policies. It is clear that government decisions are part of the public policy spectrum. However, in this spectrum are the judicial and legislative policies, the actions derived from international cooperation and the initiatives of non-governmental organizations.

This notion of public policy can be identified with multi-activity, since it considers as relevant all the actors that participate in the dialogical and interpretative flows of social problems. Thus, public policy cannot be defined based on vertical relations, in which governments merely communicate their decisions to the affected populations. This is also not a matter of public consultation processes, in which social groups are heard before or during the implementation of the policies, what is conventionally called participatory public policies. It is, therefore, about defining the public problem from the perspective of the people who experience it and considering public policy as the set of actions that people perform together, in flows of public experience. In the multifactorial perspective of public policies, there is a non-state-centered view that has, on the contrary, an "(…) anchoring of a socio-centered view of public policy processes, from which emerges the notion of multi-activity, as a new theory

of the articulation between actors, who, in turn, are also involved in such processes, modelling and being modelled by them" (BOULLOSA, 2019, p. 95).

UN Women in Brazil acts, to a large extent, in line with the multi-stakeholder view of public policies. Civil society is among the main sectors for the articulation, formulation, implementation and evaluation of public policies promoted and activated through international cooperation.

The Civil Society Advisory Group (GASC) acts strategically with this international organism and is composed in accordance with what the feminist and women's movements understand as representative. This council comprises members of feminist and women's organizations and networks and specialists in the thematic areas of the entity. "The GASC is composed of 15 members with a recognized and proven track record and experience in areas related to gender equality, women's empowerment, and women's human rights, originating from feminist and women's organizations and networks, as well as from others grassroots civil society organizations and networks, committed to the values of the United Nations " (UN WOMEN, 2020).

For the purposes of Agenda 2030, continued work with civil society organizations presents itself as the possibility of achieving its objectives. With regard especially to SDG 5, focused on gender equity, its effectiveness depends on broad processes of dialogue and consultation aimed at understanding the plurality of experiences of women in the countryside, in the city, in the forests, in black, white women , indigenous, incarcerated, lesbians, transsexuals, among other identities.

The 2030 Agenda, in this sense, represents an opportunity to expand the public arena, especially in countries and contexts where social participation has not been fostered by governments, as is the case in Brazil. Through Agenda 2030 it is possible to produce a type of public policy in which governments do not take the lead or the centrality of decisions. In addition, it is possible, through communication and social mobilization campaigns, to bring together international organizations, companies and public organizations with local actors, producing a focus on the territory and on the concrete needs and demands of women's lives.

FINAL REMARKS

The "legacy" of the 2030 agenda and the SDGs are still in the realm of dispute. In Brazil, gender equality does not achieve gender equity, which includes a set of aspects of greater complexity; In this sense, Brazil seeks to expand the global mandate by adapting its goals in a more inclusive way. On the other hand, the recognition by previous governments of this reality and of the social movements, which drew their action agenda, around this expanded concept of gender equity, did not escape the double impact of the COVID19 crisis (which unveiled and deepened inequalities) and the negationist stance of the current government and the dismantling of the human rights and women's rights protection network in particular.

Although necessary and having generated several fruits over time, it is important to reflect that the search for development has also generated several negative consequences, mainly for peripheral countries or the so-called Global South. The Sustainable Development Goals come from a hegemonic origin of the concept of Western development and, to engage most countries in the world, the Agenda was created in a very comprehensive way. Thus, it tends to repeat the colonialist heritage of influencing the least developed countries to follow Western economic patterns. It is a fact, however, that each country has a different historical, social, cultural and economic context and that it is necessary to respect this aspect when talking about development. When this understanding is lacking, there is a risk of worsening inequalities in these countries, as occurred after the Bretton Woods system, with the indebtedness of peripheral countries.

Given this context, when creating initiatives to combat gender inequality, an essential aspect in the search for development, it is necessary to have this concern with intersectionality and with the risks that the development process presents to women's situations. It was seen that, throughout the 20th century, women gradually gained more visibility in international relations and, therefore, gaining space on the development agenda. This process was important, mainly, to generate awareness that in order to achieve a real impact against gender inequality and, therefore, contribute to development, it is necessary to invest in structural changes in the power relationship between men and women.

Thus, it is necessary to go beyond meeting the practical needs of women and invest in reaching their strategic interests - depending on the very plurality of women's groups (white, black, indigenous, quilombolas, etc.). There is an urgent need to hold accountable those who

have vouched for the SDG 5 and ask where the actual results are, they have to present they have contributed to the agenda. The struggle for gender equality cannot stay only in discourse, it must be translated into real action, into progress. Staying the same is not enough.

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[1] According to this perspective, the Western modernity model tries to reconcile opposing forces such as nature and capitalist economy, universalizing concepts and opposing, in a dichotomous way, the rich and the poor. The author considers, alternatively, a relational ontology that characterizes the peoples that are closely related to the place and the territory

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