Social movements and the 2030 Agenda: the correlation between the progressist agendas and the Sustainable Development Goals

Movimentos sociais e a Agenda 2030: a correlação entre as agendas progressistas e os Objetivos de Desenvolvimento Sustentável

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ABSTRACT

Since World War II, as of the Declaration of Human Rights, several social movements have undergone restructuring, encompassing multiple agendas that have solidified as catalysts for broad social and political changes. The social movements also played an important role in defining the current global agendas, such as the 2030 Agenda. To highlight the protagonism of social movements in the current Sustainability Agenda, this research presents progressist movements that emerged from the late 1940s, establishing a correlation with the 17 Sustainable Development Goals of the 2030 Agenda. A narrative literature review was conducted, integrating definitions, concepts, and guidelines of the social movements. The results demonstrate the considerable role of social movements in reshaping the civilizational process that led to significant societal advancements across various fronts, including gender relations, racial, labor, and environmental issues.

Keywords: SDG; sustainability; environmental history.

RESUMO

Desde a Segunda Guerra Mundial, a partir da Declaração dos Direitos Humanos, vários movimentos sociais passaram por reestruturações, abrangendo múltiplas agendas que se solidificaram como catalisadores de amplas mudanças sociais e políticas. Os movimentos sociais também desempenharam um papel importante na definição das atuais agendas globais, como a Agenda 2030. Para destacar o protagonismo dos movimentos sociais na atual Agenda da Sustentabilidade, esta pesquisa apresenta um levantamento de movimentos progressistas que surgiram a partir do final da década de 1940, estabelecendo correlação com os 17 Objetivos de Desenvolvimento Sustentável da Agenda 2030. Foi realizada uma revisão narrativa da literatura, integrando definições, conceitos e diretrizes dos movimentos sociais. Os resultados demonstram o papel considerável dos movimentos sociais na reformulação do processo civilizacional que levou a avanços sociais significativos em várias frentes, incluindo relações de gênero, questões raciais, de trabalho e meio ambiente.

Palavras-chave: ODS; sustentabilidade; história ambiental.

Introduction

The significant progressist historical transformations were propelled by social struggles, a praxis that surpassed the so-existing social theories. Social movements (SM) are associated with progressist agendas aimed at articulating practical activity (movement action) and theoretical understanding (movement conception) as a unified whole, aligned with the goal of social transformation as defined in the early works of Marx and Engels. However, defining SM is a complex task. In their diverse definitions, SMs share the commonality of collective struggle with the purpose of social transformation. Lins and Santiago (2021), drawing on authors such as Gohn (1997), highlight the polysemic nature of SM, possessing a diversity of theoretical paradigms, mobilization forms, and organizations.

Despite the challenge of theorizing these SMs, their undeniable importance as protagonists of changes across various sectors of society is acknowledged (Gohn, 1997). Historically, the motivation of SMs is rooted in discontent with reality. Initially, SMs were explicitly recognized in work relations from a struggle class-based perspective (Favero, 2003). Movements advocating for improved working conditions amid the opposition between capital and labor emerged from industrial societies, marking a crucial turning point in history by emphasizing class struggle, challenging the bourgeoisie-proletariat dichotomy, and contributing to the political organization of the proletariat (Favero, 2003).

The rise of SMs, an essential element in guiding and promoting change, occurred in the 1960s, with new perspectives on development gaining prominence (Gohn, 1997). The term "development," which originated in Europe during the 18th century and was initially regarded exclusively as an economic phenomenon until the 1930s crisis, also began to be considered in a social context (Favero, 2003).

The protagonism of SM in constructing new development agendas acknowledges and considers other dimensions of life beyond economic and market terms (Favero, 2003). Feminist, environmental, pacifist, and human rights agendas (Gohn, 1997) are part of the reconfiguration of the civilizational process through various fronts of struggles and achievements, including international debates such as environmental issues, which constitute the Sustainability Agenda (Lins and Santiago, 2021). Major international collaborations, influencing national agendas, are shaped by SMs in sustainability discussions. Achievements in rights, translated into public policies and democratic advances, materialize in the sustainable development agenda, culminating in the contemporary 2030 Agenda (Lins and Santiago, 2021).

The 2030 Agenda comprises 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and 169 stipulated targets based on national and international agendas. These agendas were worked on and institutionalized by new SMs in the 1960s, representing an epistemological earthquake, as Zibechi (2005) describes, which drew attention in the 21st century. However, they are different from the origins of SMs in the 20th century that laid the groundwork for social changes and activism. They open space for new forms of action, knowledge, and paths that can overcome co-loniality. SMs stimulate participatory methodologies, fostering a new world's genesis (Streck and Adams, 2012).

The term "sustainability" only began to appear in scientific studies linked to SMs in 1993. Before that, Viola (1987) pointed out a series of studies demonstrating the centrality of the theme as a guiding principle for innovative forms of development through political ecology. The influence of these new actors and worldviews from the Global South on contemporary movements raises two critical questions: "How do we study global movements without falling into the traps of methodological globalism and epistemic extractionism? How do we reconcile the diversity of struggles with the global dimensions of a movement?" (Pleyers, 2024, p. 1). These are not questions we could answer in this analysis, but they are raised here because our results and reflections can help deepen your understanding.

Many gaps regarding SMs and sustainability need to be filled. Considering the 2030 Agenda as the current Sustainability Agenda, our analysis focus is on the correlation between the SMs and the SDGs. Regardless of the multiple dimensions of the SMs or the different field approaches specific to knowledge, it is understood that SMs represent, in their diversity, a set of elements that are incorporated by the 2030 Agenda.

Our fundamental question is: What is the correlation between the agendas of the SMs and the SDGs of the 2030 Agenda? Considering the pluralism of social manifestations and agendas, which emerged between 1940s–1960s and developed from that period, we wanted to know how much these agendas culminated in a multidimensional and multi-representative agenda. We start from the hypothesis that there is a close relationship between the various agendas of the different SMs and the SDGs, and this aspect represents a gap in discussions related to SMs as well as in the context of discussions on sustainability and the implementation of the SDGs. Without going into specific theoretical discussions of theories of SMs or sustainable development, we wanted to provoke a debate about possible links, in a view that the SDGs' synthesis has a social and political base that also comes from grassroots movements in society.

Overview of social movements: origins, definitions, theories, paradigms, and epistemologies

The primary concepts used for the analysis of SMs are centered around the research of Gohn (1997, 2008) and Touraine (1977), focusing on the characterization of SMs; Touraine (1977), Melucci (1989), and Castells (2000), addressing theories about SMs; and Viola (1987) and Fernandes et al. (2021), contributing to the history of sustainability.

The clarification of "what is a social movement" is provided in various ways, including by the same authors who update the concept as the organization of these SMs transforms. The key concepts about SMs in the literature involve the definitions of Touraine (1977), Melucci (1989), Castells (2000), and Gohn (2008), convergent on an approximate definition. The most recent one, by Gohn (2008), defines SMs as "collective so-

cio-political and cultural social actions that enable different forms of the population to organize and express their demands" (Gohn, 2011, p. 3).

There is no consensus in the scientific literature about categorizing SMs. However, to establish a correlation between their agendas and the 2030 Agenda, the classification proposed by Gohn (2008) was used to create the categories of analysis. The author defines three currents and respective agendas. The first is the cultural-identity current, formed by subjects and themes that were previously invisible, such as women, young people, the Indigenous population, and black individuals. This current addresses issues related to social, economic, political, social, and cultural rights. The second category refers to movements for better living and working conditions in urban and rural areas, with demands for land, housing, food, health, transport, leisure, employment, and wages. The third category encompasses movements that operate in sociopolitical and cultural networks: collective spaces such as forums and councils.

Concerning paradigms and theories on SMs, classical theories prevailed until 1970, after which they were labeled contemporary. The main models (Gohn, 2008) highlighted are American or European. In the former, the lens emphasizing the organization and mobilization of resources by social actors prevails, while in the latter, the structures of SMs predominate.

In classical theories, influenced by the American model and the psychosocial tradition of the Chicago School, individuals in SMs were often considered irrational, and these movements had little interference in political systems. In European models, with Marxism as a classic example, SMs were characterized by a focus on the labor movement, union struggles, and an instrumental approach to construction (Gohn, 2008).

In sociology, which seeks to understand the transformations of SMs over the years and the cross-cutting nature of their agendas, novel contemporary theories have emerged. The resource mobilization theory is an American example that explains SMs regarding collective emotions, meaning, organization, and structuring processes and resources. As a European example, new interpretations of SMs emerge, highlighting the innovative forms of organization in attempts to change societal value orientations and strengthen third-sector institutions (Gohn, 2008). Gohn (1997) emphasizes this scenario's need for Latin American paradigms.

Significant contributions regarding epistemological issues related to SMs include Streck and Adams' (2012) exploration of SMs and epistemological reconstruction in a context of coloniality. Epistemologies of the Global South and SMs are intertwined, as the promotion of other forms of knowledge and dialogue among different peoples and cultures are legitimized by these movements, which give voice to new knowledge. Similarly, the movements incorporate other epistemological supports (Streck and Adams, 2012).

Social movements and the sustainability agenda

Notably, some movements, such as the Feminist Movement, had their agendas represented in the 2030 Agenda, including specific development goals. Based on the historical panorama presented and the classification proposed by Gohn (2008), it was possible to understand which movements most directly influenced the 2030 Agenda. They are labor movements, feminist movements, identity movements, environmentalist movements, peace and anti-war movements, ethnic and nationalist movements, racial movements, religious movements, civil rights movements, and plural movements.

The enthusiasm of civil and environmental rights movements characterized the period from 1940 to 1970. "Within social movements, law reformers typically view the law as a resource or strategy for achieving desired social change" (Coglianese, 2001, p. 1). A series of publications, conferences, policies, and legislation resulted from the mobilization of SMs, which generated a political movement.

The timeline is divided into three periods: 1940–1960, 1970–1990, and 2000–2020. Figure 1 illustrates some events we call the "reconfiguration of the civilizational process" between the 1940s and 1960s. Considering that the events presented contributed to specific SMs, following the categorization presented in the previous topic in which ten types of movements were defined, the following acronyms were adopted for each movement: LM: labor movements; FM: feminist movements; IM: identity movements; EM: environmentalist movements; PM: peace and anti-war movements; and ENM: ethnic and nationalist movements.

Thus, sustainability does not exist in isolation but is integral to the historical context following the war (Kniess et al., 2022). In this post-World War II scenario, the United Nations (UN) formation is a significant milestone in international discussions. The Conference on International Organization in San Francisco, United States (USA), in 1945, was the event that marked the establishment of the UN (ONU, 1945). Its negotiation history and contemporary accounts attribute gender equality in the United Nations Charter to the role of two of the four female national delegates, Minerva Bernardino from the Dominican Republic, and primarily the Brazilian Bertha Lutz[1] (Acharya and Plesh, 2020). The only woman in the Brazilian delegation, Bertha Lutz, led the inclusion of gender issues in the foundational charter of the organization (Acharya and Plesh, 2020).

In 1945, diplomats met to form the UN and discuss the creation of the Global Health Organization. At the International Health Conference, which took place in New York (USA) in 1946, the Constitution of the World Health Organization (WHO) was agreed upon by representatives of 51 members of the UN and ten other nations. In 2024, the organization has more than 8,000 professionals, including public health specialists who work in the face of health emergencies, promoting well-being and working to prevent diseases (WHO, 2024).
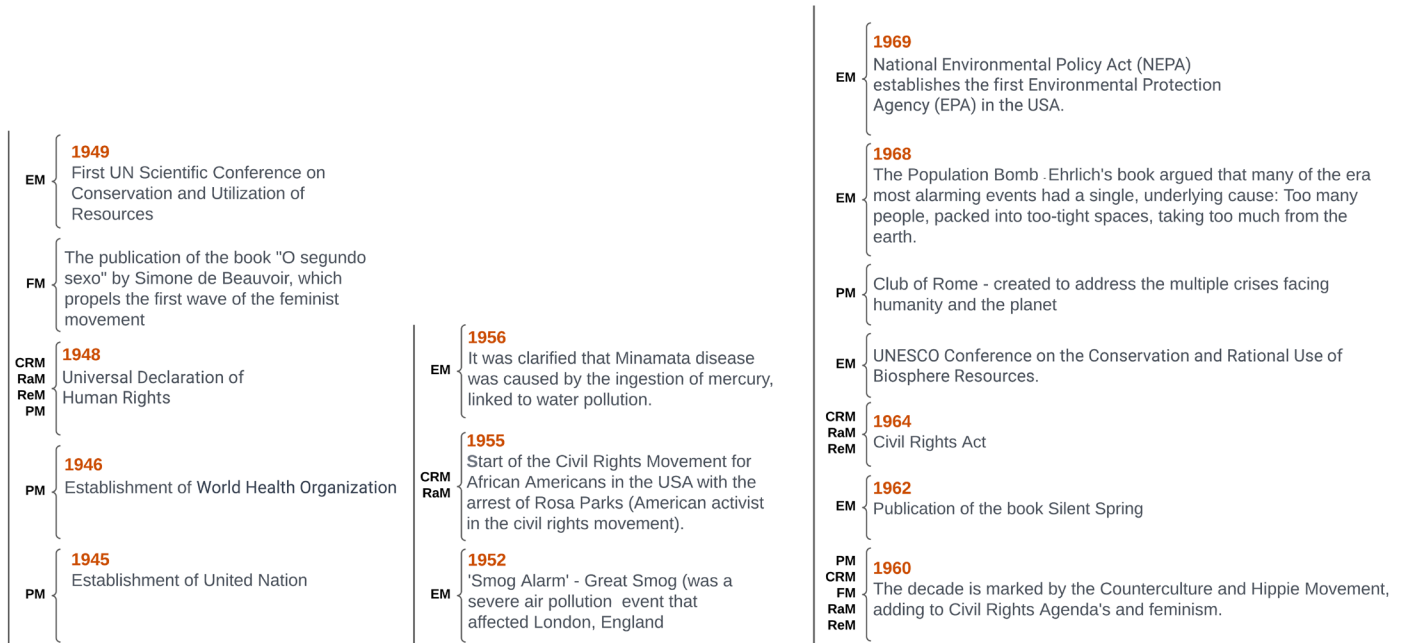
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[1] Bertha Lutz was one of the most significant activists of feminism in Brazil, responsible for the political articulation that led to laws granting women the right to vote and political equality in the 1920s and 1930s.

1949
EM — First UN Scientific Conference on Conservation and Utilization of Resources

FM — The publication of the book "O segundo sexo" by Simone de Beauvoir, which propels the first wave of the feminist movement

1948
CRM RaM ReM PM — Universal Declaration of Human Rights

1946
PM — Establishment of World Health Organization

1945
PM — Establishment of United Nation

1956
EM — It was clarified that Minamata disease was caused by the ingestion of mercury, linked to water pollution.

1955
CRM RaM — Start of the Civil Rights Movement for African Americans in the USA with the arrest of Rosa Parks (American activist in the civil rights movement).

1952
EM — 'Smog Alarm' - Great Smog (was a severe air pollution event that affected London, England

1969
EM — National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) establishes the first Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) in the USA.

1968
EM — The Population Bomb .Ehrlich's book argued that many of the era most alarming events had a single, underlying cause: Too many people, packed into too-tight spaces, taking too much from the earth.

PM — Club of Rome - created to address the multiple crises facing humanity and the planet

EM — UNESCO Conference on the Conservation and Rational Use of Biosphere Resources.

1964
CRM RaM ReM — Civil Rights Act

1962
EM — Publication of the book Silent Spring

1960
PM CRM FM RaM ReM — The decade is marked by the Counterculture and Hippie Movement, adding to Civil Rights Agenda's and feminism.

Figure 1 – Chronology of milestones related to the progressist social movements from the 1940s to the 1960s.
Source: developed based on Viola (1987), Barbosa et al. (2021), Fernandes et al. (2021), and Kniess et al. (2022).
UN: United Nations; FM: feminist movements; EM: environmentalist movements; PM: peace and anti-war movements; CRM: civil rights movements; RaM: racial movements; ReM: religious movements.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948. The female and non-Western representation marked a position in the construction of the UDHR, with names such as Bernardino from the Dominican Republic, Hansa Mehta from India, and Begum Shaista Ikramullah from Pakistan, who advocated for gender equality language in the declaration (Acharya and Plesch, 2020).

In 1949, the first UN scientific conference took place and Simone de Beauvoir's book "The Second Sex" was published. The Feminist Movement gained prominence in the 1950s with the identity reflections from the book, which added to the initial demands of the Suffragettes' Movement in England and Brazil, led nationally by Bertha Lutz—the first feminist wave—in the late 19th century. Bertha, a biologist and founder of the Brazilian Federation for Women's Progress, campaigned publicly for women's suffrage, which was achieved in 1932 (Jardim-Pinto, 2010).

The 1950s, specifically from 1952 to 1956, were marked by the "Smoke" and Minamata disasters in Japan, respectively (Kniess et al., 2022). The decade is also characterized by the beginning of the Civil Rights Movement of Blacks in the United States, protesting against racism and segregation. Prominent were the movements led by Martin Luther King (Guth, 2020) and the nonviolent activism of Mahatma Gandhi (Álvarez Pérez, 2023). Both Luther King and Gandhi brought a spiritual and religious aspect to the SMs they advocated for, being great leaders within the faith they preached.

In the 1960s, the Hippie Movement influenced feminist agendas with nonviolent ideals of counterculture, anti-capitalism, and identity freedoms, adding the agendas of civil rights to black feminism. In the 1960s, there were dictatorships on various continents, particularly in Latin America, where countries like Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay experienced military coups. These authoritarian governments used violence to suppress the population, leading to restrictions on civil liberties, political persecution, and censorship of the media (Fico et al., 2008). Only in the mid-1980s and early 1990s did these dictatorships begin to decline, with a gradual transition to democracy occurring in different countries. SMs in Latin America played a strategic role during this period, both in resistance against authoritarian regimes and in promoting the democratic process (Fico et al., 2008). The second feminist wave (from the 1960s to the 1980s) also had labor agendas through the movement of anarchist ideology workers gathered in the "Union of Sewers, Hatters, and Related Classes" in Europe (Jardim-Pinto, 2010).

In 1962, Rachel Carson published "Silent Spring," which gained significant resonance and is considered a turning point in the interconnections between the environment, economy, and social well-being. In this work, the author draws attention to the creation of laws to control the use of pesticides and promote the use of pesticides that are less harmful to human health and the environment (Carson, 1962). Issues about the impact of population size gained visibility with the publication of "The Population Bomb" by Paul Ehrlich in 1970, showing the connection between the human population, resource exploitation, and

the environment. In the same year, the Club of Rome was established, a study of global proportions to model and analyze the interactions between industrial production, population, environmental damage, and food consumption (Kniess et al., 2022).

Due to its scope, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is an important historical milestone. Its contribution was effective in racial and gender diversity scenarios. Notably, its approval was based on major historical events, including SMs (Aiken et al., 2013).

In 1968, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) conducted the Intergovernmental Conference of Experts on the Scientific Basis for Rational Use and Conservation of the Resources of the Biosphere Resources—the first to articulate elements that today shape the sustainability sciences. Specialists from different areas, such as the biological, physical, and social sciences, technology, and economics, participated. This conference brought the concept of human integration into nature and not as a separate being (Reed, 2019).

In 1969 (U.S. EPA, 1969), motivated by concerns about environmental protection issues, the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) was instituted and signed into law on January 1, 1970. This policy requires the United States federal government to evaluate environmental effects before making decisions and offer conditions for man and nature to exist in productive harmony (EPA, 2024). Figure 2 presents the main events raised between the 1970s and 1990s that are part of the reconstruction of civilization process.

The 1970s witnessed two significant initial milestones: the Indigenous Movement and the Sanitary Reform Movement. In 1971, Greenpeace initiated its operations, disrupting environmental damage through civil protests and nonviolent interference.

UNESCO launched the Man and the Biosphere Programme (MAB) in 1970. It focuses on establishing a scientific basis to improve the relationship between people and their environments, involving economic development strategies that consider environmental and social issues (UNESCO, n.d.). In the same year, the Founex Report was published, which exposed divergences between the attitudes of developing and developed countries regarding environmental protection (Doud, 1972).

Figure 2 – Chronology of milestones related to progressist social movements from the 1970s to the 1990s.
Source: developed based on Viola (1986), Gohn (2008), Jardim-Pinto (2010), and Kniess et al. (2022).
LM: labor movements; FM: feminist movements; IM: identity movements; EM: environmentalist movements; ENM: ethnic and nationalist movements; CRM: civil rights movements; RaM: racial movements; ReM: religious movements.

The United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in 1972 (Stockholm, Sweden) led to the establishment of various national environmental protection agencies and the UN Environment Program. Publications such as "The Limits to Growth" by the Club of Rome warn about the consequences of population growth, societal collapse, and the irreversible disruption of life support systems on Earth. Sustainable development was coined in 1972 and well-accepted as a vision recognizing the interconnection of social, economic, and environmental issues (Kniess et al., 2022).

In 1973, the European Environmental Action Programme was launched—the first attempt to synthesize a single environmental policy for the European Economic Community amid the oil crisis that fueled the debate on growth limits. Outside the European axis, the Chipko Movement emerged in the Himalayan region of India in 1973, inspired by Gandhi's method of non-cooperation, in the provinces of Garhwal and Kumaon (Shiva and Bandyopadhyay, 1986). Originating from an increase in sawmills and the exploitation of forests by British traders, the Satyagraha Movement preceded the Chipko Movement in India's pre-independence period (Shiva and Bandyopadhyay, 1986). Following intense forest exploitation in areas where forests represented the subsistence of communities, the Chipko Movement strengthened as a response to colonial predatory exploitation, influencing forestry practices and highlighting the importance of feminism as a component in the fight for forest conservation. Women engaged in acts of resistance by embracing trees to resist the actions of logging groups, sometimes confronting their husbands, who often worked in the logging activity (Álvarez Pérez, 2023).

The Gay Liberation Movement comprises a series of movements occurring at different times in each country. Highlighted among the strong demonstrations and advancements that took place in the 1970s is the Third World Gay Revolution (TWGR), formed by radical black and Latino activists, and the Argentine organization Homosexual Liberation Front (FLH). In addition to demands related to sexualities, these groups advocated for the liberation of all peoples on a global scale, with a political agenda grounded in social justice (Garrido, 2021).

As a result of recognizing the issues of urbanization and the need for sustainable human settlements, Habitat I, the first United Nations Conference on Human Settlements, took place in 1976, which had, among its results, the Vancouver Declaration on Human Settlements in Canada.

Another significant movement of the 1970s was the Green Belt Movement in Kenya (GBM). It was founded by Wangari Maathai, the first African woman to win the Nobel Peace Prize (2004). The GBM is a movement for environmental conservation, self-empowerment, community, volunteering, accountability, transparency, and honesty

(Muhonja, 2023). In Brazil, this decade is marked by the first phase of ecological movements called the environmentalist period (Viola, 1987).

As part of the various agendas that gained attention in the 1970s, climate issues were considered essential for discussions. The current global concern about climate issues has received greater importance since 1961, with the United Nations General Assembly Resolution. However, it was only in 1979 that the first World Climate Conference took place, known as "a global conference of experts on climate and humanity" (Zilman, 2009).

In 1980, the International Union for Conservation of Nature published the "World Conservation Strategy," a proposed international political change aimed at conservation (McCormick, 1986).

The Third World Network was established in 1984 to serve as the activist voice of the Global South on issues of economy, development, and the environment. In the same year, India became a global protagonist again in the face of the Bhopal disaster, where the leakage of lethal gases killed over 3,000 people, and another 15,000 were injured (Patel and Binjola, 2022).

Other essential movements that mark this period are those advocating land work, such as Via Campesina, Encruzilhada Natalino, Romaria da Terra, Pastoral da Terra, and finally, the emergence of the Landless Workers' Movement in 1984 (locally known as MST — *Movimento dos Sem Terra*; MST, 2022). The pastoral movements are close to the Catholic church; thus, they are religious. Magacho and Cavalari (2019) agree with Acselrad's approach (2010), pointing out that environmental movements aim to redefine social relations among human beings and their interactions with nature. Ribeiro (2017) uses spatial and socio-environmental justice, indicating that these concepts can be applied to traditional communities, such as quilombolas,[2] Indigenous peoples, and *caiçaras*.[3] This theory can also be used to analyze, for example, how an urban community is affected by air pollution. In addition to these, examples supporting this statement include the Rubber Tappers' Movement (locally known as *Movimento dos Seringueiros*), led by the unionist Chico Mendes, and the Movement of Those Affected by Dams (*Movimento dos Atingidos por Barragens*) (Magacho and Cavalari, 2019).

Regarding the MST's actions, besides impacting the country's agrarian and social policy, the movement contributes to agricultural production using sustainable farming practices (Lucas et al., 2023).

In Brazil, the Environmental Movement termed a transition from 1982 to 1985, characterized by the partial convergence and progressist explicit politicization of the two global movements, along with a significant quantitative and qualitative expansion of both. From 1986 onwards, the third period of the Environmental Movement was defined as ecopolitics, when most ecological movements were self-identified as political and actively decided to participate in the parliamentary arena.

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[2] "The term 'quilombo' means a warrior encampment in the forest and was popularized in Brazil by the colonial administration in its laws, reports, acts, and decrees, to refer to the mutual support units created by rebels against the slave system and their reactions, organizations, and struggles for the end of slavery in the country." (Leite, 2008 p. 1).

[3] "Caiçara" is employed to designate traditional fishermen from the states of São Paulo and Paraná, as well as the Southern region of Rio de Janeiro.

During this period, the Interstate Ecologist Coordinator for the Constituent Assembly was founded, facilitating the emergence of the Green Party in Brazil. Environmental entities proliferated in the mentioned states, increasing the number of activists, middle-class involvement, university participation, closer ties with trade union movements, and an increased focus on ecological crises in the media (Viola, 1987). Leff (2002) describes environmentalist groups as non-identitarian to a class, party, or social stratum. However, these environmental movements are articulated with other movements and with political organizations within popular organizations and the working classes, peasants, Indigenous groups, and the middle class. The environmental movements are connected to production conditions and the needs of the population, not solely to the demands of specific groups (Leff, 2002).

In 1987, the Brundtland Report, or Our Common Future, intertwined social, economic, cultural, and environmental issues and global solutions, popularizing "sustainable development." The publication indicates that the poverty of third-world countries and the high consumption levels of first-world countries are fundamental causes hindering equal development worldwide and consequently leading to severe environmental crises. Also, in 1987, in the context of Latin America, Latin women engaged in intellectual and political struggles, creating space for their empowerment within SMs. Latin feminism emerged in the 1980s with the work of Gloria Anzaldua, an author, poet, philosopher, and queer feminist of color who explored the aesthetics of knowledge production, as it is shaped by the transformation of identity, healing, and social justice (Brooks, 2023).

In Brazil, since the beginning of the republic, women have been involved in the struggle for rights (Santos and Thomé, 2020). It is essential to mention the Lipstick Lobby or Women's Lobby, undertaken by the National Council for Women's Rights (CNDM, *Conselho Nacional dos Direitos da Mulher*) during the Constituent Assembly of 1987–1988. This movement achieved a series of advances, reducing inequalities and enabling women to participate more actively in society (Bohn, 2023). It is also worth highlighting the Suffrage Movement, which achieved rights such as the creation of laws on domestic violence and the maintenance of the *status quo* in abortion law and reproductive rights (Santos and Thomé, 2020).

After the end of the dictatorship and the drafting of the 1988 Constitution in Brazil, several SMs came to light in the pursuit of rights. Beyond the environmental, feminist, health, and education movements, it is necessary to highlight the Indigenous Movement, which played a vital role in the constituent assembly and the environmental rights strongly expressed in the constitution (Brighenti and Heck, 2021). The Indigenous people began a historical narrative construction, especially at the end of the military dictatorship (which lasted from 1964 to 1984) and the drafting of the new Constitution in 1988. The "Indigenous assemblies" gave rise to the Indigenous Movement in the country as a new political actor on the national scene and lasted for almost ten years. They occurred in about 13 states, with a focus on those with a more significant Indigenous presence and more occurrences of conflicts. The mo-

bilization instituted one of the major political flags: the demarcation of Indigenous lands. In the 1990s, Brazil took center stage on the international agenda with the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, or Rio-92, in Rio de Janeiro. Agreements were reached on Agenda 21, the Convention on Biological Diversity, the Framework Convention on Climate Change, and the non-binding Forest Principles. The General Assembly created the Commission on Sustainable Development to oversee the implementation of Agenda 21 in the programs and processes of the UN system (Kniess et al., 2022). Ribeiro (2017) points to the expression of socio-environmental justice because of the preparatory meetings for the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, where there was articulation between two social sectors that were only convergent then: the SM and environmentalists. In 1995, the Fourth World Conference on Women was held in Beijing, China.

The negotiations acknowledged that the status of women had advanced, but obstacles remained to realizing women's rights as human rights (ONU, 1995). The Earth Council (Earth Charter International, 1997) convened non-governmental organizations at the Rio+5 Forum in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil; the meeting observed that many organizations and individuals working for sustainability in their communities and sectors continued to operate primarily isolated. Also, in 1997, building on the social struggles of the 1980s and 1990s, the Landless Workers' Movement (MST) broadened the scope of its demands by spearheading the fight for housing and advocating for reform forging a new societal project (Santos and Goulart, 2016). This approach to urban struggles arose from the National March for Agrarian Reform (1997) "when the MST directed some militants to cities in which organized movements already existed, with a view to a possible articulation of rural and urban struggles," becoming an independent movement from the MTST later. In addition to the housing demand movements, another movement from the outskirts took shape, the Unified Central of the Shantytowns (*Central Única das Favelas*, CUFA). Founded in 1999, CUFA is a third-sector institution focused on socio-cultural actions in low-income areas, initially related to the Hip-Hop Movement (CUFA, 2024). This organization allows actions targeted at sustainability to be carried out in these territories, such as the case of the Sustainable Slum Network, a community-based network aimed at strengthening and multiplying sustainability and resilience initiatives in the slums of Rio de Janeiro (Rede Favela Sustentável, 2023). See Figure 3 to access the lists of the participation of SMs that occurred from the 2000s to the mid-2020s, in which they appear fragmented and with less comprehensive agendas.

In the 2000s, the World Water Forum stood out, resulting in the Hague Declaration on Water Security in the 21st Century and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The MDGs emerged at the Millennium Summit, outlining goals set by the UN with the support of 191 nations. Eight objectives, 21 targets, and 60 indicators were created with a focus on the development of the following sectors: the environment, human rights, women's rights, and social and racial equality (ONU, 2000). This context paved the way for the 2030 Agenda and the SDGs with the active participation of civil society.
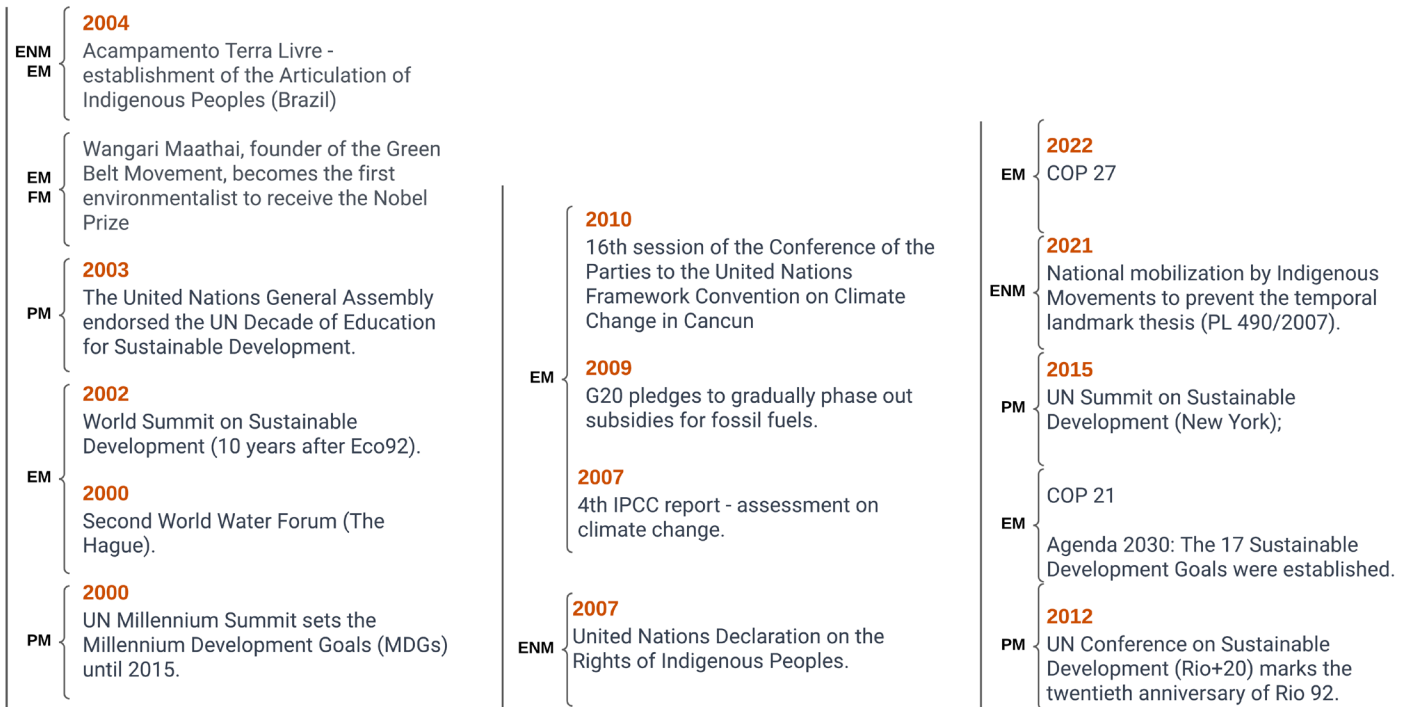
Figure 3 – Chronology of milestones related to the progressist social movements of the 2000s to mid-2020s.
Source: developed based on Gohn (2008), Jardim-Pinto (2010), and Kniess et al. (2022).
UN: United Nations; FM: feminist movements; EM: environmentalist movements; ENM: ethnic and nationalist movements; IPCC: Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change; COP: Conference of the Parties.

In the following years, the World Summit on Sustainable Development took place in Johannesburg (South Africa) in 2002, followed by significant advances such as the United Nations General Assembly on education for sustainable development and the recognition of the founder of the Green Belt Movement receiving the Nobel Prize.

The 2000s were marked by significant progress for Indigenous peoples. In 2004, the Free Land Camp emerged, the strongest and most unified expression of the Brazilian Indigenous Movement, which established the Articulation of Indigenous Peoples of Brazil in the following year (APIB, 2023). In 2007, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples was approved with the votes of 143 members of the United Nations General Assembly in September 2007 (UNESCO, 2009).

In 2007, 2009, and 2010, two critical initiatives focused on climate change issues, influencing significant movements in the following decade, such as the World Conference on Climate Change (COP, Conference of the Parties).

In 2012, the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development (Rio+20) marked the twentieth anniversary of Rio 92. Twenty years after Rio92, Rio+20 aimed to renew the commitment to sustainable development by evaluating the progress of goals proposed at events and previous ones, in addition to addressing new emerging themes.

In 2015, the United Nations established the SDGs. After two years of negotiations, heads of state and representatives of the 193 UN member countries adopted the document titled "Transforming Our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development" (Roma, 2019). In total, 17 goals and 169 targets constitute an agenda that 193 UN member states committed to adopting and fulfilling by 2030 (ONU, 2015). The SDGs represent the most recent agenda for sustainability.

Issues related to the preservation of natural resources continued to be the main themes of forums, such as COP-27, which took place in 2022, whose main objective was to propose targets to reduce greenhouse gas emissions by 2030, with a focus on developing countries (Jia et al., 2024).

The social movements and the sustainable development goals

After the historical construction of the sustainability agenda and the protagonism of SMs, the aim is to relate these movements, through categories, to the current international Sustainability Agenda, the 2030 Agenda. In her work "New Theories of Social Movements," Gohn (2008) presents the main theoretical currents of SMs: the first is the cultural-identity current, formed by subjects and themes that were previously invisible, such as women, youth, Indigenous people, and black individuals. This current addresses issues related to economic, political, social, and cultural rights. The second category refers to movements for better living and working conditions in urban and rural areas, with land, housing, food, health, transportation, leisure, employment, and wage demands.

The third category encompasses movements that operate in sociopolitical and cultural networks: collective spaces like forums and councils.

Notably, some movements have contributed more comprehensively to the construction of Agenda 2030, including specific development goals. An example is the Feminist Movement and its direct connection to SDG 5 on gender equality. From the presented historical overview, an attempt was made to understand which SMs had an impact on social changes in the contemporary historical context, leading to the following categorization of movements: labor movements, feminist movements, identity movements, environmental movements, peace and anti-war movements, ethnic and nationalist movements, racial movements, religious movements, civil rights movements, and plural movements.

Regarding the correlation between these categories and the SDGs, there are difficulties in establishing exact connections. The Labor Movement, for example, correlates with SDG 5 (Gender Equality), specifically in the feminist agenda. Thus, the established correlation should be about the existence of a Labor Movement within the Feminist Movement. The same occurs in other categories of movements, such as the Feminist Movement addressing the labor issues of black women. Thus, according to the needs of society, these movements interrelate in different ways throughout history, and therefore, these categories can be drawn in distinct ways.

Based on the categorization of SMs proposed here, and considering the discussion about SMs from 1940 to 2022, the correlation between SMs and sustainability was established through the 17 Sustainable Development Goals of the 2030 Agenda, which is the most current "result" of the Sustainability Agenda, defined in 2015. This correlation was made based on the essence of these movements and their results in society, in contrast to the content expressed in each SDG. Figure 4 presents the connections between the 17 SDGs and the categories of SMs.

Some movements are close in their agendas, such as the ethnic and nationalist movements and identity movements, or even racial and feminist movements with identity movements. However, the movements were mentioned here individually and collectively to emphasize the parts cited in the text and show that several other collective organi-

zations are embedded in identity movements, including the plural and civil rights movements.

As indicated in Figure 4, the SDGs and the issues surrounding the concept of sustainability are cross-cutting. Considering the correlation between SMs and the SDGs based on the categorization of movements proposed in this research, connections between these movements and the SDGs have been established.

SDGs 16 and 17 were not described in the correlations because they apply in the same way to all movements mentioned herein, which have sought throughout history, peace, justice, and the strengthening of their institutions (SDG 16), as well as partnerships, mobilizations, and means of implementing the rights defended and proposed advances (SDG 17). Movements related only to these two SDGs, such as the peace and anti-war movements, should have been described.

According to each SM, we describe the links established in Figure 4 in the following sections.

Labor Movements (SDGs 1, 2, 5, 8, 9, 10, 16, and 17)

Labor movements contribute to eradicating poverty (SDG 1) by opposing the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, aiming to reduce inequalities (Favero, 2003). Two movements in this category exemplify this—MST, which advocates for agrarian reform to promote access to land for cultivation, and MTST, which works for affordable housing.

These movements are associated with poverty eradication; since the MST engages in the struggle for land and food (Fernandes, 2022), while the MTST addresses poverty related to housing in deprived areas of large and medium-sized cities. MST and MTST generate results through their political articulation, developing group identities of a political nature.

Poverty eradication is a "global challenge and an indispensable requirement for sustainable development" (ONU, 2015, p. 3), foundational in Agenda 2030 and connected to all other SDGs. Eradicating poverty would address issues outlined in SDGs such as Zero Hunger (SDG 2). Simultaneously, achieving SDG 1 (No Poverty) requires, among other measures, meeting SDG 8 (Decent Work and Economic Growth). If SDG 8 is fulfilled, SDG 10 (Reducing Inequalities) will also be addressed.
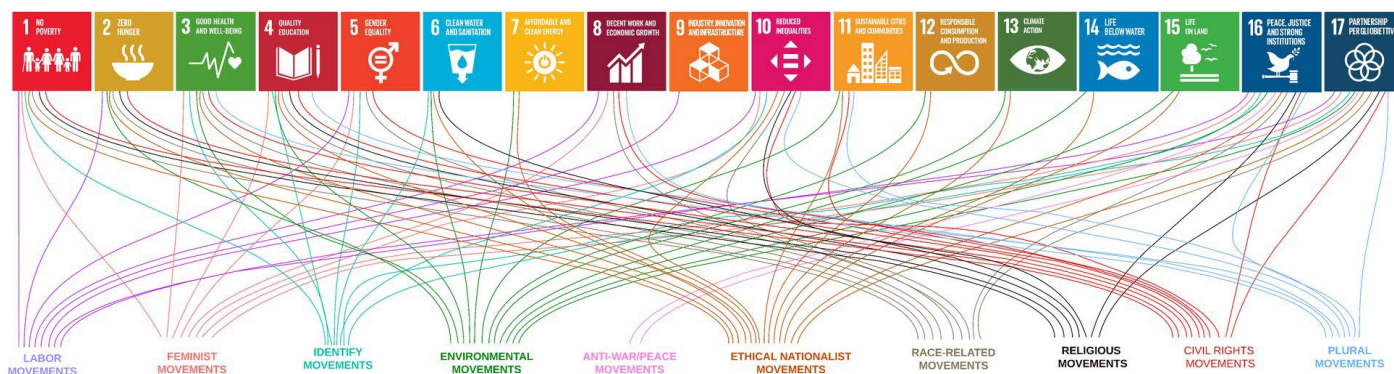

Figure 4 – Social movements and the Sustainability Agenda.

The number of solidarity kitchens run by the MTST in Brazil stands out, providing food to vulnerable groups in 46 territories across the country. This project began during the COVID-19 pandemic and is now essential in the fight against food insecurity in the country (Universidade de São Paulo, 2024).

Thus, the undertaken exercise aims to show that approaching the SDGs in a unitary manner needs to be revised. This applies to SMs as well. While these correlations exist, they are cross-cutting. There is no single and exact connection; they change over history according to the needs presented by the social context.

Another SDG linked to these movements is SDG 2 (Zero Hunger). The guarantee of food security as a social right resulted from the struggles of SMs (Machado et al., 2015). Labor movements seek better wage conditions, a way for workers to increase their purchasing power and access quality food, partially meeting the demands of SDG 2 regarding food security and improved nutrition.

Gender Equality (SDG 5) is also part of the Labor Movement, specifically in the Feminist Labor Movement, advocating for equality in the workplace. Based on Marx's "Capital," Santos (2015) brings up this discussion, stating that work in industry, despite presenting negative aspects for women, allowed for the creation of equality between women and men (Santos, 2015). The quest for better production conditions limits the efforts for better working conditions (SDG 8) since industrial societies (Favero, 2003) and has evolved to encompass labor in rural and urban areas, represented by the right to housing and a dignified means of livelihood, as seen in MST, MTST, and the Rubber Tappers' Movement (the latter connecting SDG 8 with environmental movements as well) (Magacho and Cavalari, 2019).

Regarding the reduction of inequalities (SDG 10), labor movements work toward reducing them, specifically in SDG 10's target 10.4, detailed in Brazil as "Reduce inequality within and among countries through adoption of fiscal, wage, and social protection policies" (ONU, 2015, p. 29). The Central Union of Workers (*Central Única dos Trabalhadores*; CUT, 2023) listed the main rights of workers achieved through union struggles over the years, including the minimum wage, the thirteenth salary, paid weekly rest, and other rules established in the Consolidation of Labor Laws (*Consolidação das Leis do Trabalho*, CLT; Brasil, 1943).

Feminist Movements (SDGs 1, 3, 4, 5, 8, 10, 16, and 17)

In the Feminist Movement, SDGs 1 (No Poverty), 8 (Decent Work and Economic Growth), and 10 (Reduced Inequalities) are interconnected. Brazil's target in SDG 10.2 of the 2030 Agenda is to "Empower and promote social, economic, and political inclusion for all, aiming to reduce inequalities, regardless of age, gender, disability, race, ethnicity, nationality, religion, economic status, or other" (ONU, 2015, p. 29). According to the International Labour Organization (ILO, 2021), inequalities related to access to productive employment influence other social inequalities. Globally, in 2019, 188 million people were unemployed (6% women and 5% men).

In Brazil, the Feminist Movement is linked to developing policies for women's health through collaboration with state institutions, aligned with SDG 3 (Good Health and Well-being). The Women's Health Assistance Program (PAISM, *Programa de Assistência Integral à Saúde da Mulher*) was established in 1980 through the Brazilian Feminist Movement. Feminist struggles sought equality in laws and public policies addressing gender relations and inequalities. The National Policy for Comprehensive Women's Health Care (PNAISM) was created to overcome the previously established logic that women's health was solely based on reproductive issues (Souto and Moreira, 2021).

The education agenda (SDG 4 - Quality Education) is correlated with the Feminist Movement. The level of education influences gender equality (Alam et al., 2023). The Feminist Movement is a crucial driver for SDG 5 (Gender Equality) from the first wave of feminism to the present day. Some notable figures have contributed to achieving the goals of this SDG, such as Bertha Lutz and her participation in UN discussions, Simone de Beauvoir, and the publication of "The Second Sex," "The Union of Hat Makers and Affiliated Classes" (Jardim-Pinto, 2010), and the struggle of Latin American women with Gloria Anzaldua's work in "La Frontera". Additionally, movements like the Lipstick Lobby, Chipko, and the Green Belt led by women involved in the environmental cause (Shiva and Bandyopadhyay, 1986) have gained significant political space for advancing the agenda.

Identity Movements (SDGs 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 16, and 17)

Health and well-being (SDG 3) are essential concerns for movements such as the LGBT community (lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender). The movements have been indispensable for ensuring the right to health and implementing public policies for this group (Kauss et al., 2021). Identity movements, aligned with SDGs 5 (Gender Equality) and 10 (Reduced Inequalities), represent similar approaches. Goals 10.2 and 10.3 aim to ensure social and political inclusion and eliminate discriminatory laws and policies (UN, 2015). SDG 10.2 for Brazil focuses on reducing inequalities, including gender inequality, which is a significant agenda for identity movements, while SDG 5 specifically addresses this issue. The LGBT Movement is fundamentally linked to human rights (Ferreira and Nascimento, 2022), and a correlation can be established with SDGs 1, 4, 6, and 16 in their struggles.

Environmental Movements (SDGs 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, and 17)

All environmental movements have contributed, to a greater or lesser extent, to shaping public policies, legislation, and regulatory bodies in specific areas. SDGs 6 (Clean Water and Sanitation), 7 (Affordable and Clean Energy), 11 (Sustainable Cities and Communities), 12 (Responsible Consumption and Production), 13 (Climate Action), 14 (Life Below Water), and 15 (Life on Land) address issues raised by environmental movements and have been present since the first phase of ecological movements in the 1970s, exposing environmental degradation (Gohn, 2008). These concerns have continued through various environmental conferences organized by the UN over the last 50 years.

Leff (2002) emphasizes that in developing countries, environmental movements are directly linked to production conditions and the population's basic needs.

The Environmental Movement plays a role in preventing environmental impacts, such as Minamata and "Smoke" (Kniess et al., 2022) in Japan, and in the fight for preserving and maintaining biodiversity. In the political realm, water has been a significant topic of discussion. The World Water Forum held in 2000 addressed these issues, leading to the formulation of SDG targets. The emergence of sustainability sciences (Fernandes and Philippi Jr, 2017) and various academic and educational activities in this context, generating societal impact in several aspects, has been part of this movement (Romano et al., 2023). According to Fernandes (2023), these lead to tensions between the established agenda and its dogmas and the progressist agenda.

The issue of hunger (SDG 2) became a prominent debate with the publication of "The Population Bomb" (Ehrlich and Brower, 1970) and "The Limits to Growth" (Meadows et al., 1972). These studies address the interactions between industrial production, population growth, environmental damage, and food consumption to ensure that food production keeps pace with population growth (Kniess et al., 2022). SDG 3 (Good Health and Well-being) has one of its targets (Target 3.9) "Substantially reduce the number of deaths and illnesses from hazardous chemicals, contamination, and pollution of air and water by 2030" (ONU, 2015, p. 22) aligning with the agendas of the aforementioned environmental movements.

Education (SDG 4 - Quality Education) is a critical factor in the Environmental Movement. In 2003, the UN established the Decade of Education for Sustainable Development. Quintas (2004) highlights two significant events: the International Conference on Public Awareness for Sustainability in 1997 and January 1, 2005, designated as the first day of the Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (2005–2014). This translates into various forms of critical, emancipatory, or transformative environmental education, eco-pedagogy, education in environmental management processes, or ecological literacy (Quintas, 2004, p. 7).

Ethnic and Nationalist Movements
(SDGs 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, and 16)

Ethnic movements, considered as indirect contributors to the progressist sustainability agenda in this essay, encompass a range of goals from poverty eradication, reduction of inequalities among nationalities and ethnicities, access to fundamental rights such as health and education, to access to energy and water. Considering the agendas of the Indigenous Movement, in addition to objectives and goals related to human rights (Brighenti and Heck, 2021)—translated into the agenda as SDGs 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 16—they are also related to the fight for the defense of natural ecosystems in their territories, encompassing SDGs 13, 14, and 15 within this single agenda.

Indigenous movements pursue environmental justice (Mohanty and Madhanagopal, 2022). This activism extends across various agendas within the Environmental Movement, including issues related to climate change (Reimann, 2023), opposition to mining (Plotnitskiy and Chowdhury, 2022), and resistance against extractivism, positioning themselves as integral components of the political ecology of the commons (Trinidad et al., 2023).

Racial Movements (SDGs 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 10, 16, and 17)

Racial inequalities have been asserted in Brazil in a debate on social issues (Theodoro, 2014). Racial movements have broad agendas, and their struggles encompass issues related to SDGs 1 (No Poverty), 2 (Zero Hunger), 3 (Good Health and Well-being), 4 (Quality Education), 5 (Gender Equality), 8 (Decent Work and Economic Growth), and 10 (Reduced Inequalities).

In Brazil, these racial movements solely include the Black Movement, which "through its political actions, especially in favor of education, re-educates itself, the State, society, and the educational field about ethnic-racial relations in Brazil, moving towards social emancipation" (Gomes, 2012, p. 1).

Regarding education (SDG 4), noteworthy advances in Latin America include establishing significant educational policies stemming from black activist movements both within and outside educational institutions. The creation of anti-racist legislation in countries such as Brazil and Colombia (Brazil's Federal Law 10.639/03 [Brasil, 1993]; and Colombia's General Education Law, Law 70 [Colombia, 1993]) has provided a framework for the teaching of Afro-descendant education, history, and culture in these countries, contributing to multicultural movements worldwide (Silva, 2022).

It is essential to contextualize these movements alongside the activism of black women. The Black Lives Matter movement continues this activism, punctuated by the Abolition, Suffrage, Civil Rights, and modern feminist movements (Roumell and James-Gallaway, 2021).

Religious Movements (SDGs 1, 2, 4, 6, 10, 16, and 17)

Many religious movements are associated with projects that fall under the responsibility of religious leaders. These projects involve family support and improved food, health, and education conditions and can thus contribute to the 2030 Agenda through SDGs 1 (No Poverty), 2 (Zero Hunger), and 4 (Quality Education).

A stream within religious movements in Brazil (Base Ecclesial Communities, Liberation Theology, Catholic Student Youth) that participated in the construction of the World Social Forum engaged in a radical proposal for social transformation through progressist means (Löwy, 2008). This effort fostered discussions about rights such as health, education, housing, sanitation, accessibility, and inclusion, encompassing SDGs 6 (Clean Water and Sanitation) and 10 (Reduced Inequalities).

Civil Rights Movements (SDGs 1 to 5, 8, 10, 11, 16, and 17)

The Civil Rights Movement (CRM) advocated for equal rights, irrespective of color, race, or religion, through nonviolent means, aspiring to bring about progressist social change (Nimtz, 2021). This movement played a significant role in shaping critical milestones of American democracy, such as the Civil Rights Act (1964) and the Voting Rights Act (1965). These issues relate to the SDGs 1 (No Poverty), 2 (Zero Hunger), 3 (Good Health and Well-being), 4 (Quality Education), 5 (Gender Equality), 8 (Decent Work and Economic Growth), 10 (Reduced Inequalities), 11 (Sustainable Cities and Communities), and 16 (Peace, Justice, and Strong Institutions), as they are interconnected. For instance, reducing inequalities (SDG 10) would ripple effect on the other presented SDGs, contributing to peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development.

Plural Movements (SDGs 3, 4, 8, 10, 11, 16, and 17)

Plural movements involve the participation of different agendas and groups, encompassing struggles for access to health, such as the anti-asylum movement (formerly the Mental Health Workers' Movement), fights for access to education and student rights (Student Movement), and urban mobility movements like the Free Fare Movement, CUFA, and Instituto Sou da Paz (meaning, Institute I am for Peace). The specific correlations of these movements are related to SDGs 3 (Good Health and Well-being), 4 (Quality Education), 8 (Decent Work and Economic Growth), 10 (Reduced Inequalities), and 11 (Sustainable Cities and Communities).

Conclusion

The correlation drawn in this research illustrates a strong relationship between the agendas of the SMs and the SDGs of the 2030 Agenda. Often, the 2030 Agenda appears linked to government and United Nations decisions, but without the reference that it is the synthesis of a long process of civilizational reconfiguration from the post-war period onwards. This process brings together, within the same political scope, demands for civil rights, equity, equality, nonviolence on various topics, democratic openness, and appreciation and respect for all forms of life. In our view, this scope constitutes the progressist agenda, which permeates the various spheres of society, asserting itself in laws, changes in customs, rights, and linguistic expressions, producing constant tension on the *status quo* conservatism.

Therefore, from this reading to a certain extent, we can say that Agenda 2030 is born from society, and governments and science take ownership of it. Although the correlations outlined herein may still need to be completed, they show that the objectives defined in the development agendas incorporate agendas with the same progressist scope. The goals and objectives that comprise the 2030 Agenda are not a mere idealization of a society project but are concrete as they come from collective desires expressed in social struggles that gradually materialize despite resistance and contrary reactions.

The 2030 Agenda institutionalizes and legitimizes the many voices of these movements, and therefore, despite having in its name the time horizon stipulated for the fulfillment of the objectives outlined, this agenda is also a point of arrival, a result of historical struggles, herein pointed out from 1940 onwards.

In effect, the 2030 Agenda and SMs will continue producing new proposals and actions. The SMs point to discontent with reality, and the historical agendas of sustainable development institutionalize some of these demands as necessary elements for countries, governments, cities, and societies to put them into practice. In this sense, just as the agendas of SMs are constantly evolving, sustainable development agendas will also be changed in this correlation.

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