The background features a stylized cityscape with various buildings represented by blue and white grid patterns. A prominent building on the left is a tall, curved structure with a dense grid. Other buildings are scattered around it, some with different grid patterns. The background is light blue with a network of thin lines and circular nodes, suggesting a digital or social network theme.

Ciências Sociais Aplicadas: Entendendo as Necessidades da Sociedade 2

**Luciana Pavowski Franco Silvestre
(Organizadora)**

Luciana Pavowski Franco Silvestre
(Organizadora)

Ciências Sociais Aplicadas: Entendendo as Necessidades da Sociedade 2

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APRESENTAÇÃO

No e-book “Ciências Sociais Aplicadas: Entendo as Necessidades da Sociedade”, apresentam-se artigos e pesquisas que mantêm relação com demandas da sociedade contemporânea, a partir de estudos realizados nas diferentes regiões do Brasil, representando a diversidade territorial, bem como, as singularidades e elementos que as conectam.

Apresentam-se ainda, três artigos em espanhol, sendo estes de cursos de graduação e pós graduação do Uruguai, México e Espanha e um em inglês do programa de Pós-Graduação da Universidade de Brasília. Tais artigos mostram-se pertinentes e contribuem para as discussões e análises que são apresentadas aos leitores a partir do campo das Ciências Sociais Aplicadas.

São ao todo cinquenta artigos divididos em dois volumes. Os artigos foram organizados em seis seções, conforme segue: **Tecnologia e Comunicação**, sendo esta a primeira seção, em que são abordadas as relações existentes entre a tecnologia e a comunicação com os processos de trabalho, políticas públicas, inovação nos processos de gestão e de conhecimento; O **Comportamento Organizacional**, título que nomeia a segunda seção, apresenta-se de maneira expressiva nos artigos que também tematizam os processos decisórios e de gestão de conhecimento no setor empresarial, com valorização do capital humano e da função social das empresas; **Cidadania e Políticas Públicas**, aborda pesquisas realizadas entorno das políticas de saúde, de atendimento às crianças e adolescentes, da educação, da questão agrária, da segurança pública e das políticas tributárias na lógica de cidadania e garantia de direitos; **Estado e Sociedade**, aborda as relações estabelecidas entre estes, apontando para a importância e impacto dos movimentos sociais para a definição de pautas que contemplem os diferentes interesses existentes na sociedade de classes; *Os artigos que compõem a seção Trabalho e Relações Sociais* debatem o grau de satisfação de acesso ao trabalho em um contexto de terceirização e precarização das relações estabelecidas através deste e por fim, em **Estudos Epistemológicos** apresentam-se dois artigos que analisam perspectivas diferentes do processo de construção do conhecimento.

Os artigos apresentam pesquisas de envergadura teórica, as seções mantêm articulação entre si e contribuem para a divulgação e visibilidade de estudos e pesquisas voltadas para as necessidades e desafios postos para vida em sociedade no atual contexto social, econômico e político.

Luciana Pavowski Franco Silvestre

SUMÁRIO

CAPÍTULO 1	1
A INTERNAÇÃO E O ACOLHIMENTO INSTITUCIONAL COMO DESAFIOS NO ATENDIMENTO EM SAÚDE MENTAL À POPULAÇÃO EM SITUAÇÃO DE RUA	
Rayoni Ralfh Silva Pereira Salgado Marta Fuentes-Rojas	
DOI 10.22533/at.ed.2451925061	
CAPÍTULO 2	14
INFORMAÇÃO AOS USUÁRIOS E ACOMPANHANTES SOBRE OS SEUS DIREITOS E DEVERES E OS SERVIÇOS OFERECIDOS DENTRO DA UNIDADE DE PRONTO ATENDIMENTO	
Lavinha Soares Santos	
DOI 10.22533/at.ed.2451925062	
CAPÍTULO 3	18
CONSIDERAÇÕES SOBRE A QUESTÃO AGRÁRIA NO BRASIL: UMA MANIFESTAÇÃO DA “QUESTÃO SOCIAL”	
Monica Pereira	
DOI 10.22533/at.ed.2451925063	
CAPÍTULO 4	29
ESTUDO DE CASO SOBRE A COMUNICAÇÃO GOVERNAMENTAL RELATIVA À CRIAÇÃO DO MINISTÉRIO DA FELICIDADE DO DUBAI E DOS EMIRADOS ÁRABES UNIDOS	
Diamantino Ribeiro Jorge Remondes António Pedro Costa	
DOI 10.22533/at.ed.2451925064	
CAPÍTULO 5	45
A RELAÇÃO ENTRE A COMUNICAÇÃO NÃO VIOLENTA E A MEDIAÇÃO DE CONFLITOS	
Carolina Portella Pellegrini Simone Régio dos Santos Zaionara Goreti Rodrigues de Lima	
DOI 10.22533/at.ed.2451925065	
CAPÍTULO 6	58
O DIREITO PENAL DO INIMIGO À LUZ DO GARANTISMO PENAL	
Mariana Hazt Lencina Cândida Joelma Leopoldino	
DOI 10.22533/at.ed.2451925066	
CAPÍTULO 7	74
DO CÓDIGO DE NUREMBERG AO CÓDIGO DE ÉTICA MÉDICA BRASILEIRO: O PRINCÍPIO DO CONSENTIMENTO INFORMADO E A CONDUTA ÉTICA MÉDICA PELOS ESTUDANTES DA UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DO RIO GRANDE - FURG	
Gilberto Leonello Carolina Corrêa Soares Natália Ongaratto da Rosa Stéfani Wontroba Bandeira	
DOI 10.22533/at.ed.2451925067	

CAPÍTULO 8	84
DISPOSICIONES Y POLITICIDAD EN LA CO-CONSTRUCCIÓN DE NARRATIVAS BIOGRÁFICAS: EL TRABAJO DE LA REFLEXIVIDAD	
Mabela Ruiz Barbot	
DOI 10.22533/at.ed.2451925068	
CAPÍTULO 9	96
GERENCIALISMO: A RESPOSTA NEOLIBERAL PARA A GESTÃO DAS POLÍTICAS SOCIAIS	
Evandro Alves Barbosa Filho	
Maria Izabel Rêgo Cabral	
DOI 10.22533/at.ed.2451925069	
CAPÍTULO 10	110
ESTUDO ESTATÍSTICO DA QUANTIDADE DE CONTRIBUINTES QUE DECLARARAM O IMPOSTO DE RENDA NO PERÍODO DE 2012 A 2015	
Cristian Carlos da Silva Coelho	
Gabriel Ribeiro de Abreu	
Arlane Lopes Chaves	
Luana Sousa Almeida	
Lilane de Araújo Mendes Brandão	
DOI 10.22533/at.ed.24519250610	
CAPÍTULO 11	124
OS BENEFÍCIOS DA GESTÃO TRIBUTÁRIA NA GERAÇÃO DE INFORMAÇÕES FISCAIS	
Thaynara Keila Oliveira	
Jerson Krack	
DOI 10.22533/at.ed.24519250611	
CAPÍTULO 12	140
ESTADO E SOCIEDADE CIVIL NO BRASIL NA SEGUNDA METADE DO SÉCULO XX	
Marclin Felix Moreira	
DOI 10.22533/at.ed.24519250612	
CAPÍTULO 13	151
REDES SOCIAIS E MOBILIZAÇÕES PÚBLICAS. O MOVIMENTO DE “15 DE SETEMBRO” EM PORTUGAL	
Isabel Babo	
Célia Taborda Silva	
DOI 10.22533/at.ed.24519250613	
CAPÍTULO 14	166
REPENSANDO A PERCEPÇÃO DA VELHICE ALIADA À DISCUSSÃO DE CLASSE E HEGEMONIA	
Juliana de A. F Doronin	
Giovanna de Aquino Fonseca Araújo	
DOI 10.22533/at.ed.24519250614	

CAPÍTULO 15	174
LAVA JATO E SEU IMPACTO NA RENTABILIDADE DAS ESTATAIS BRASILEIRAS	
Elisandra Bochi Turra	
Sandra Maria Coltre	
Gilmar Ribeiro de Mello	
Lirane Elize Defante Ferretto de Almeida	
DOI 10.22533/at.ed.24519250615	
CAPÍTULO 16	190
MULTILATERALISM AND NATIONALISM IN THE 21 ST CENTURY: CONSEQUENCES TO GLOBALIZATION FROM THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT PERSPECTIVE	
Hugo do Valle Mendes	
Juliano Vargas	
Joanilio Rodolpho Teixeira	
DOI 10.22533/at.ed.24519250616	
CAPÍTULO 17	209
SATISFAÇÃO NO TRABALHO: UMA ANÁLISE TEÓRICA	
Joseane da Silva Rodrigues	
Darliane Ribeiro Caldas	
Rochele Kaline Reis de Medeiros	
DOI 10.22533/at.ed.24519250617	
CAPÍTULO 18	220
A PESSOA COM DEFICIÊNCIA E O TRABALHO: ESTUDO DE CASO COM JOVENS DEFICIENTES INTELLECTUAIS E A PERSPECTIVA DE INSERÇÃO NO MERCADO DE TRABALHO	
Carmelinda Parizzi	
DOI 10.22533/at.ed.24519250618	
CAPÍTULO 19	232
ANÁLISE DO CENÁRIO DO TRABALHO MANUAL NO CORTE DE CANA-DE-AÇÚCAR, A TERCEIRIZAÇÃO DA MÃO DE OBRA E A PRECARIZAÇÃO DAS RELAÇÕES DE TRABALHO	
Pedro Afonso Martini Dreyer	
Liliane Vieira Martins Leal	
DOI 10.22533/at.ed.24519250619	
CAPÍTULO 20	245
AVALIAÇÃO DOS PARÂMETROS CORPORAIS DE ZELADORAS DE UMA UNIVERSIDADE ESTADUAL NO PARANÁ	
Marina Daros Massarollo	
Francieli do Rocio de Campos	
DOI 10.22533/at.ed.24519250620	
CAPÍTULO 21	249
DINÂMICA DO EMPREGO FORMAL NO SETOR PRODUTOR DE SOJA NO ESTADO DE MATO GROSSO NO ANO DE 2017	
Erico Souza Costa	
João Gabriel Pagnan Zanette	
Mayara Pereira de Souza	
DOI 10.22533/at.ed.24519250621	

CAPÍTULO 22	260
ECONOMIA SOLIDÁRIA E COOPERATIVISMO: FORMAS DE ORGANIZAÇÃO DO TRABALHO NA COOPERATIVA MISTA DOS PRODUTORES RURAIS DO PROJETO DE ASSENTAMENTO TARUMÃ MIRIM (MANAUS-AM)	
Michele Lins Aracaty e Silva Epaminondas da Silva Dourado	
DOI 10.22533/at.ed.24519250622	
CAPÍTULO 23	276
FIART: UM ESTUDO DA FEIRA INTERNACIONAL DE ARTESANATO COMO ATRATIVO DE PROMOÇÃO DA CULTURA POTIGUAR	
Fernanda Louise de Brito Gonçalves Layanna Pinheiro da Silva Maria Rafaella Marques de Paiva Patrícia Daliany Araújo do Amaral	
DOI 10.22533/at.ed.24519250623	
CAPÍTULO 24	284
COMO SE PLANIFICAM, TRATAM, ANALISAM E INTERPRETAM NARRATIVAS ? A ABORDAGEM COMPREENSIVA-QUALITATIVA “PROCESSOS DE REQUALIFICAÇÃO SÓCIO-IDENTITÁRIA”	
Maria de Fátima Costa Toscano	
DOI 10.22533/at.ed.24519250624	
CAPÍTULO 25	298
QUALITATIVE EPISTEMOLOGY AND THE STUDY OF SUBJECTIVITY: ALTERNATIVE EPISTEMOLOGICAL PATHS IN QUALITATIVE RESEARCH	
Andressa Martins do Carmo de Oliveira Thamiris Caixeta	
DOI 10.22533/at.ed.24519250625	
CAPÍTULO 26	308
MODERNIDADE BRASILEIRA, DESIGUALDADES E SOFRIMENTO ÉTICO-POLÍTICO	
Rui Maia Diamantino Raimundo Mentor de Melo Fortes Filho	
DOI 10.22533/at.ed.24519250626	
SOBRE A ORGANIZADORA	332

MULTILATERALISM AND NATIONALISM IN THE 21ST CENTURY: CONSEQUENCES TO GLOBALIZATION FROM THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT: Based on a sustainable development perspective, this paper aims to discuss the consequences of the resurgence of nationalist wave to the globalization process, an issue that is threatening multilateral approach in the 21st century. Firstly, it presents a literature review of sustainable development and globalization concepts. Then it exposes some of the impacts of the process of globalization itself, supported by selected empirical evidences. Finally, it critically examines some specific issues of contemporary globalization in the context of the antagonistic movements between multilateralism and nationalism. It is considered that the most important issue nowadays with regard to sustainable development and

globalization does not address how far we are to succeed in them, but how to prevent us from moving farther and farther from them. In this vein, when the threat of a new era of nationalism is imminent, attention should be paid to the multilateral approach, linking it to the construction of a new human-centered paradigm in socioeconomic thinking as an alternative to the environment as a whole.

KEYWORDS: Globalization. Environment. Multilateralism. Nationalism. Sustainable Development.

MULTILATERALISMO E NACIONALISMO NO SÉCULO XXI: CONSEQUÊNCIAS PARA A GLOBALIZAÇÃO A PARTIR DA PERSPECTIVA DO DESENVOLVIMENTO SUSTENTÁVEL¹

RESUMO: Com base na perspectiva do desenvolvimento sustentável, este artigo pretende discutir as consequências do ressurgimento da onda nacionalista para o processo de globalização, questão que tem ameaçado a abordagem multilateral no século XXI. Primeiramente, é apresentada uma

1. This chapter is a result of the studies developed by the research group of "Growth and Distribution" (Universidade de Brasília – UnB), certified by the National Council of Science and Technology (CNPq-Brazil). The second author thanks the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES-Brazil) for financial support and the third author acknowledge financial support from CNPq. All contact must be addressed to brazil.juliano@gmail.com

revisão de literatura sobre conceitos de desenvolvimento sustentável e globalização. Em seguida, expõe-se alguns dos impactos do próprio processo de globalização, apoiados por evidências empíricas selecionadas. Finalmente, examina de modo crítico algumas questões específicas da globalização contemporânea no contexto dos movimentos antagônicos multilaterais e nacionalistas. Considera-se que a questão mais importante hoje em dia em relação ao desenvolvimento sustentável e à globalização não diz respeito ao quão próximos estamos de consolidá-los, mas como evitar que nos afastemos cada vez mais deles. Nesse sentido, quando a ameaça de uma nova era de nacionalismo é iminente, deve-se atentar para a abordagem multilateral, vinculando-a à construção de um novo paradigma centrado no ser humano, como uma alternativa socioeconômica para o meio ambiente como um todo.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Globalização. Meio Ambiente. Multilateralismo. Nacionalismo. Desenvolvimento Sustentável.

1 | INTRODUCTION

The emergence of a renewed nationalist wave in the recent political processes in many parts of the world caused deep cracks in the very foundations of the international systems approach of global problems, the multilateralism. Sustainable development and globalization are key issues to discuss this matter, since they are at the center of complex problems faced by worldwide community nowadays. Over the last four decades, the debate of these concepts were intense, renovated and used by academia, public and private sector.

Based on a sustainable development perspective, this paper aims to discuss the consequences of the resurgence of nationalist wave to the globalization process, an issue that has threatened multilateral approach at least since the economic and financial crisis of 2008. Examining the literature of sustainable development and globalization process, the statistical panorama and the context of international trade, as well as its socioeconomic impacts, we hope to contribute to the dialogue of the global society course, assuming that the theme is controversial. This proposal do not appoint concrete conclusions and solutions, but underline the risks of the rise of nationalism to all humanity in relation to its own existence and to the environment as a whole.

Besides this introduction and the concluding remarks, the structure of the article has three sections. The first presents a literature review of sustainable development and globalization concepts, extended to globalization ideology. The second exposes some of the impacts of the process of globalization itself, supported by selected empirical evidences in what concerns economic growth, income distribution, inequality and international merchandise trade. The third critically examines some specific issues of contemporary globalization, pointing out the difficulties and uncertainties arising from the emergence of 21st century nationalism worldwide, which has limited the multilateral approach to global issues – especially with regard to sustainable development.

2 | CONCEPTS OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND GLOBALIZATION: A LITERATURE REVIEW

There is a vast and specific academic literature on sustainable development and globalization. In order to clarify our understanding of these concepts, and aiming to frame the theoretical view adopted throughout the article, this section presents a brief review of it.

2.1 What is Sustainable Development?

In the 1970s, most of agencies perceived that the classical concept of development – understood then as economic growth – would cause a collapse of all natural systems. A new development cornerstone was needed, one that would take into account both economic growth and equitable distribution of resources. Economic growth in itself is not enough; the development is only real if it increases the quality of life.

United Nations, by the World Commission on Environment and Development, first introduced the term sustainable development in 1987 through the report “Our Common Future”, also known as Brundtland Report. The Commission prepared it stating that critical global environmental problems are the result of the high proportion of poverty in the South Hemisphere of the globe and the non-sustainable patterns of consumption and production in the North. The primary definition of sustainable development was the one that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to reach their own needs.

In addition, the same report states that the pursuit of sustainable development demands concrete attitudes from all developed and developing countries. By that, there cannot be a unique solution for it, since economic systems are different among countries. Each nation have to evaluate the implications of their policies and actions.

The first statement of the concept was as simple as embracing. In a review of a collection of texts presented in a symposium about the challenges of sustainable development, Drummond (1999) faces it as almost a contract between generations, with the serious problem that the future generations will never be here to sign.

Since 1987, the concept was re-visited by many scholars that tried to improve it by detailing, focusing on specific issues, or adding other dimensions to it. In this sense, Bret (1997) analyzed the sustainable development as a result of a geopolitical process. He defends the idea that the territorial design of national states (including their maritime and oceanic borders), is defined by political, military and cultural factors, and confers on each of them an almost necessarily unbalanced repertoire of natural resources.

Therefore, its sustainability potentials vary due to exogenous factors like its biophysical ecology. The author argues that this has contributed to increase inequalities between peoples and countries since the political sharing of the planet creates compartments with unequal potential, each part confiscating for its own advantage the

benefit of their physical peculiarities.

Park *et al.* (2012), emphasizing economics, described sustainable development as a system that can endlessly develop towards greater benefit for people, greater efficiency of resource use and balance with the environment that is friendly to people and other species. In its turn, the World Bank (1992) described it with the laconic phrase “sustainable development is development that continues”. Nonetheless, Pierantoni (2004) affirms that the definition of sustainable development may be difficult to understand and may have different meanings depending on the analyzed literature of the concept being used.

Significantly wider descriptions of it exist instead. In 1992, the Rio de Janeiro declaration on Environment and Development described the expression as long-term continuous development of the society, aimed at satisfaction of humanity’s need at present and in the future via rational usage and replenishment of natural resources, preserving the environment for future generations.

For the purpose of this paper, we assume the concept of sustainable development used by United Nations (1987), in which it encompasses three fundamental approaches: economic, social and environmental development, which are interrelated and complementary. In other words, sustainable development is a certain compromise among those three dimensions, allowing for the well-being of the present and future generations and planet.

2.2 What is Globalization (Ideology)?

Often used with little formal accuracy, the word globalization appeared in the international setting at the end of the twentieth century to explain the fast structural changes of the period, since the expansion of cable television to the currency exchange crisis, the failure of economic models and so on. frivolous usage of the term has provoked an abusive use of the famous expression that “globalization brings opportunities and risks”. This expression hides, almost invariably, the incapacity of clearly defining the nature of the phenomenon.

Beginning by rescuing the introductory discussion of Al-Rodhan (2006), the notion that globalization cannot be comprehended by a tight concept, precisely defined in time, not even as a process that has a clearly marked beginning or end. Globalization involves economic integration processes, transfer of policies to beyond national borders, transmission of knowledge, a sort of cultural homogenization, among other aspects. It is a fluid concept that carries several connotations, such as progress, development, stability, integration and cooperation, as well as regression, imperialism and instability.

Steger (2003) discuss the dimensions that are present in the globalization definition through the parable of the blind and the elephant. It is a meeting between blind men and an unknown animal. Since they do not know what an elephant is, each one comes into physical contact with a distinct part of it.

As a result, the man who touches the elephant’s snout describes it as a live

snake; another who contact with its enormous feet describes it as huge structured column; a third holds the tail in his hand and insists that it is a flexible paintbrush; the fourth comes into contact with the animal's tusk and declares that it is similar to a robust spear. Thus, every man defends its point of view about what constitutes an elephant, once their definition represents the veracity of their findings, taking them into an endless discussion about the nature of the animal.

Analogously, the academic opinion divides itself among those that argue, for example, that economic processes constitute the core of the globalization concept, while others privilege cultural, political and ideological aspects. There are still those that point to environmental causes in the process of globalization. Just like in the parable of the blind and the elephant, each researcher is partially correct when identifying an important dimension of the phenomenon in question. However, the collective mistake resides in the attempt to reduce a complex phenomenon such as globalization in fragmented approaches of reality.

Al-Rodhan (2006) produced a wide systematization of the definitions already proposed for globalization. The result of his work reveals that from one hundred and fourteen definitions collected, sixty-seven mention the economic dimension, citing the expansion of markets or the sale of goods and services. Although these definitions also include policy and social dimensions, it is clear that the notions of globalization has a strong economical bias.

Considering that this article proposes to shed a light on the environmental and socioeconomic consequences of the globalization process, the definition of globalization adopted is that proposed by Al-Rodhan (2006), which is ample to consider the dimensions cited previously. The author states that globalization is a process that encompasses the causes, course and consequences of transnational and transcultural integration of human and non-human activities.

Specifically in what concerns globalization ideology, this discussion gain new lineation with the emergence of neoliberalism with references to the elections of Margaret Thatcher in the United Kingdom (UK, 1979) and of Ronald Reagan in the United States of America (USA, 1980). Both governments' implemented liberal policies and deregulation in their own countries and used foreign policy instruments to promote it in the rest of the capitalist world.

According to Grau (2012), in the neoliberal model the State is transformed into the big villain of economic development and the recipe is: i) domestic market deregulation and the elimination of barriers to the entry and exit of capital; ii) submission of companies to global competition, eliminating the foment policies; iii) flexibilization of social clauses removal.

The rise of neoliberalism was a fundamental determinant for economic globalization. The liberation paved the base for the process of globalization through commercial barrier reduction and the loosening of regulatory norms in the economic activity. In this sense, the interests that move globalization can be personified in the

big transnational companies and international banks of advanced countries, owners of the financial capital and goods-services production, which search the extension of their consumer markets.

According to Glatzer (2012), the literature on globalization includes many impassioned ideological arguments, both for and against it. Most of these arguments, however, lack empirical support while some of the existing research findings are contradictory. Amavilah *et al.* (2014) states that those in favor of the globalization wave see it as an opportunity for economic growth and social development, while those against perceive it as a threat to economic prosperity, political sovereignty and cultural integrity. Both are important theoretical perspectives, with the second serving as the main argument for the resurgence of nationalism movement.

3 | GLOBALIZATION PROCESS AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

The previous literature review about sustainable development and globalization suggests that, when coming across with these processes, the creation of knowledge on both areas emphasized on establishing its conceptual contours and understanding to what extent it perpetuated itself along the commercial, social, cultural and environmental integrations that occurred in a global scale.

Moreover, approximately forty years of documentation and research on globalization allow access to official databases and analyzes from all parts of the world. From this background, this section illustrates how globalization has changed the economy, the society and the environment since then. The first part focus on socioeconomic aspects, while the second examines international merchandise trade.

3.1 Globalization and sustainable development: socioeconomic evidences

Returning to the concept of sustainable development, we underline that it presents three complementary dimensions: environmental, economic and social. They should be taken altogether to analyze the process of globalization in an integrated manner, with a holistic perspective. It is not trivial to find examples in empirical literature about the consequences of globalization in a segmented way by each dimension, since the three dimensions are fused with one another. From this perspective, the description of the impacts of globalization is fluid.

Ravaillon (2018) contrasts the production of two economists, François Bourguignon e Branko Milanovic, both dealing with the questions of social and economic inequality as consequences of the globalization process. They see it as the main cause of the increase in social inequality inside countries, as well as the decrease in inequality among them, giving predominance to the latter. In his own words, Ravaillon (2018, p. 627) describes that:

the popular argument is that global economic integration has shifted relatively low-skilled jobs from the rich world (driving up its contribution to the within-country component of global inequality) to labor-abundant low-wage countries (driving down the between-country component of global inequality).

Consequently, in rich countries the critics of globalization report that it caused the mass destruction of jobs and led to a loss in quality of life to practically all, except to part of the population that owns financial and human capital. Reversely, supporters of the globalization process, in developing countries, point to the creation of jobs and insertion of a huge population contingent in the national consumption dynamics as one of its beneficial effects – although in the long run tending to be in jobs subject to strong technological changes, widening, for example, the prospect of wage reduction.

Lakner & Milanovic presents an appealing frame to describe income changes due to the globalization process. They made up a chart (1) plotting the gain in income over 1988-2008 versus the percentile of global income distribution. It is known as the “elephant’s chart”, since it traces the shape of an elephant’s head with its trunk held high. From it, is possible to deduce that both critics and supporters are based on valid arguments and they are both correct when considering their own perspectives – in the sense of the parable of the blind men and the elephant discussed in the second section.

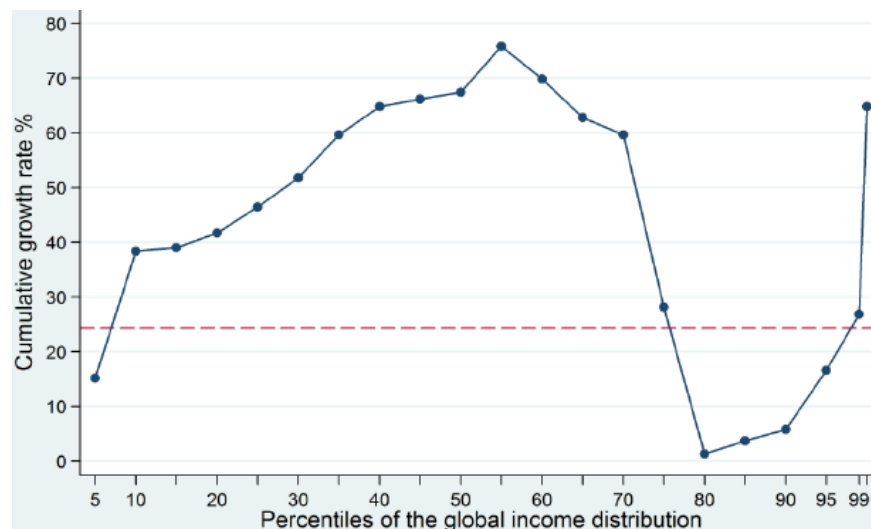


Chart 1 – Global growth incidence curve (The “elephant’s chart”) – 1988-2008

Source: Lakner & Milanovic (2013, p. 31).

Note: the red dashed line indicates the growth rate in the mean of 24.34% (1.1% p.a.).

The “elephant’s chart” shows that almost 80% of global income distribution is where we find the low-income class from developed countries, and it is also where the income change was mostly held down during 1998-2008. The higher income class from developed countries are at the final 1% of the distribution, which registered a high-income change. Under the developing countries’ perspective, it is possible to see the rise in incomes for those near the middle of the global distribution, with a slower growth

for the poorest.

Milanovic's interpretation consider that the highest increase in income is close to the global median, between 45% and 55% of global income distribution, which represents the emerging middle class in the developing world. Those are considered the winners of globalization, while the losers were the (relatively) poor and middle class within the rich world, around 80% of global income distribution.

On the other side, for sustained development equity must be struck among the three pillars of the sustainable development² (Agyeman *et al.*, 2002). Equity is the social key of the sustainable development discourse. It refers to the distribution of goods, life opportunities and freedom from discrimination on the grounds of gender, religion, race, *etc.* In this context, equity calls for the effective inclusion of all three pillars of sustainable development (Wuelser *et al.*, 2012).

Even though assuming this affirmation from a pragmatic view, it does not seems to be complete when considering the three dimensions of sustainability. Depending on the focus that one wishes to prioritize it is not enough to have access to the work place to transform a part of the developing countries' population in winners of globalization, either because it is a less qualified work, or for representing only one aspect in a dimension of sustainable development.

Alvaredo *et al.* (2017), in the World Inequality Report 2018, presents an update of the original version of the "elephant chart" (chart 2). The analysis period goes now from 1980 to 2016, reflecting the consequences of 2008 global economic and financial crisis and the emerging markets of China and India.

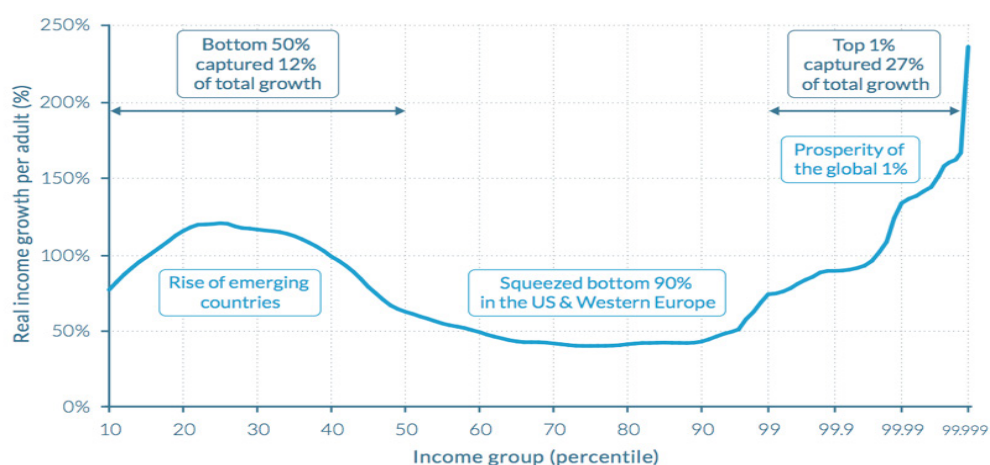


Chart 2 – The elephant curve of global inequality and growth – 1980-2016

Source: Alvaredo *et al.* (2017, p. 13).

² Note that sustained development is pattern of development characterized by a persistent and non-volatile growth rate of its statistical socioeconomic indicators over time while sustainable development is a balanced development between environment, society and economy overtime.

As showed in chart 2, the world inequality grow since 1980. The poorest half of the population has seen its income rise expressively due to high growth in Asia (especially in China and in India). Nevertheless, the rise of inequality within countries shows that the top 1% richest people globally had twice as much growth as the bottom 50% people since 1980. Income growth was almost zero for people with incomes between the global top 1% and bottom 50% groups. This involves European and North America lower and middle-income class.

The increase of world inequality under globalization era was not steady, corroborating the Wisman's (2013) and Piketty's (2013) results on this theme and its relation with income distribution. While the global top 1% income share increased from 16% in 1980 to 22% in 2000, it declined a little thereafter to 20%. The income share of the global bottom 50% has improved not even 9% since 1980. After 2000, a trend break occur caused by a decrease in between-country average income inequality, as within-country inequality has continued to rise.

3.2 Globalization And International Merchandise Trade: Contemporary Numbers

How to measure globalization, once it is a broad concept, complicated to monitor as a whole? Prado (2003) assume that monitoring globalization is possible only by dividing its dimensions. Considering just the international trade dimension, the academic pattern is to consider that if the growth of world commerce is given at an average annual rate higher than the world's gross domestic product (GDP), then we can assert that there is an increase of the commercial globalization.

Moreover, he states that this procedure can be used to measure globalization in a world or regional level, and he ends with the claim that this phenomenon was exclusively regional and explained by economic policies of countries in the region. The name of this process is economic integration. Chart 3 demonstrates the relation, in actual values, between the two variables mentioned previously.

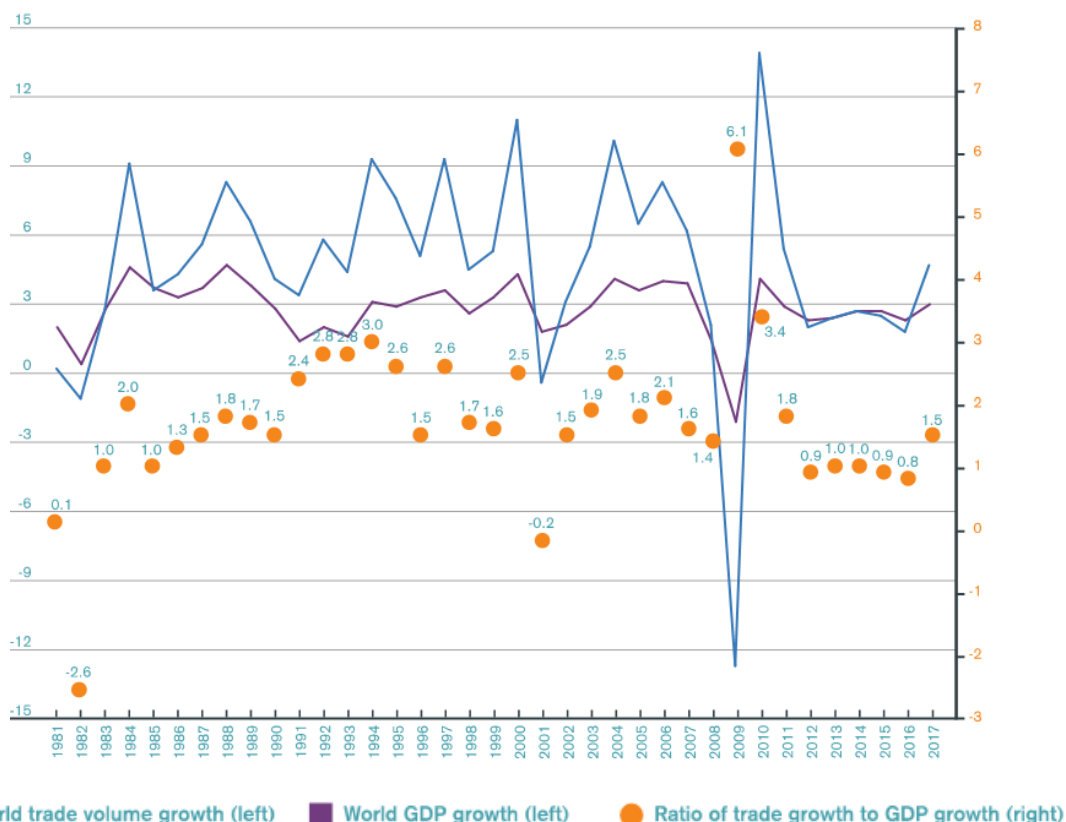


Chart 3 – Ratio of international merchandise trade growth to world real GDP growth 1981-2017 – annual percentage trade

Source: World Trade Organization (WTO, 2018, p. 29).

Note: it was not possible to rebuild this chart using dotted lines – no public database available.

Chart 3 shows that global trade recorded its highest growth rate in six years in 2017, both in volume and value terms. Historically, merchandise trade volumes have grown around 1.5 times faster than world real GDP at market exchange rates. The ratio of trade to GDP growth rose above two in the 1990s but fell back to one in the five years following the economic and financial crisis (2011-2016). This ratio measure rebounded from 0.8 in 2016 to 1.5 in 2017, which is close to the historical average. Stronger trade growth relative to GDP growth was expected to continue at least until 2018 (data still not available), barring major economic shocks.

According to WTO (2018), this economic activity was driven by increased investment spending (particularly in the USA) and rising consumption (notably in Japan). Meanwhile, China and the European Union maintained a steady rate of expansion, providing a solid base for global demand. Growth in trade volume was strong in 2017 despite trade tensions (one of the discussions of the next section).

According to chart 4, the international merchandise trade (in volume terms) grew from 1.8% in 2016 to 4.7% in 2017, its highest level in six years. It is also relevant to notice that the recovery of commodities prices influenced positively these positive results.

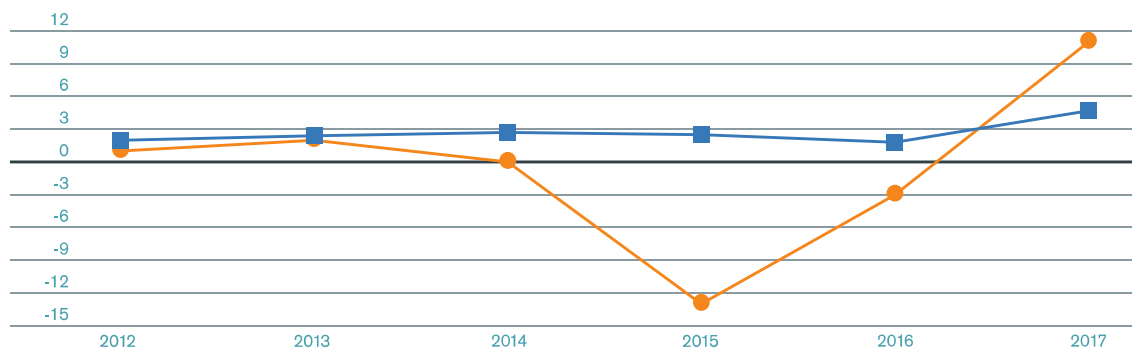


Chart 4 – Volume and value of world merchandise trade – 2012-2017 – annual percentage trade
Source: WTO (2018, p. 10).

Growth in international merchandise trade volume was better in developing economies along 2017. However, exports and imports of developed economies also strengthened during the year, particularly in its second semester. Chart 5 shows that this trend was driven by all regions, apart from the Middle East. Asia recorded the highest increase in trade volume, with growth of 8.1%.

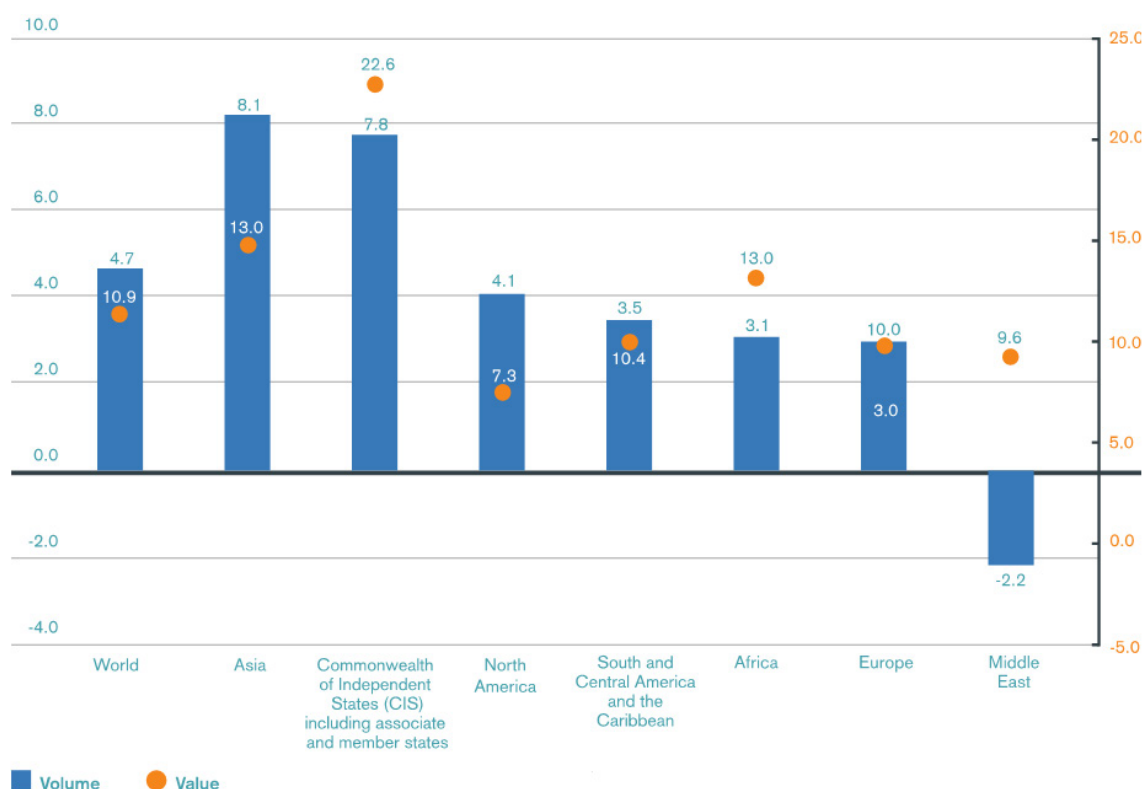


Chart 5 – Merchandise trade growth by region – 2017 – annual percentage trade
Source: WTO (2018, p.10).

Note: international merchandise trade calculated as an average of exports and imports.

The WTO (2018) presents its understanding of several factors that contributed to the revival of world trade in 2017. These include increased investment spending

and higher commodity prices, which raise incomes in resource-based economies and encourage investment in the energy sector. Besides, it is important to mention that USA Dollar values of international trade flows are strongly influenced by exchange rates and commodity prices. On commodities, note that after five years of decreasing or stagnating prices, 2017 showed price hikes for energy (26%) and minerals/non-ferrous metals (24%).

A relevant aspect that must be considered to better understand the international dynamics of international merchandise trade. It is the role played by the international maritime transportation. According to the Review of Maritime Transport (UNCTAD, 2017), more than 80% of the global commerce volume and more than 70% of its value is transported aboard ships, revealing the importance of this sector.

Overall, international merchandise trade growth was also weak in relation to world GDP growth, a trend that has increased since 2008. In addition to economic cyclical dynamics, such as the weakness in global demand and the slowdown in economic activities, the apparent shift in the traditional relationship between GDP and trade also reflects structural factors such as the slowdown in the pace of globalization and supply chain fragmentation (Bems *et al.*, 2013). For example, the share of Chinese imports of parts and components in merchandise exports decreased from 60% in 2000 to less than 35% in recent years.

The information presented so far leads to the understanding that the rise of emerging economies led, in the recent years, to temporary efforts to limit import competition in USA and European Union, but it seems not threaten the overall progress towards an open, ruled-based system. This began to change as the fronts between northern and southern trading partners hardened and the leverage of the industrial countries weakened along with the rising of emerging market economies in global GDP.

This modification, perceived by some as a loss of merchandise share for developed countries, seemed to have contributed to a resurgence of nationalist movements on those countries. At the same time, global problems – in which sustainable development is one of the most important themes – are demanding a stronger multilateral approach on international level. This counterpoint is the object of the next section.

4 | MULTILATERALISM AND NATIONALISM: CONSEQUENCES TO GLOBALIZATION

Here we critically examines some recent issues of living globalization, pointing out the uncertainties arising from the emergence of 21st century nationalism worldwide, which has limited the multilateral approach to global issues – especially with regard to sustainable development. This reveals two sides of the same coin: one addresses global issues multilaterally and the other advocates a nationalist action. These two movements are frontally opposed.

4.1 Multilateralism, Globalization And Sustainable Development: Three Good Examples

According to Linn (2018), after the World War II globalization started took shape reinforced by China and the former Soviet Union (URSS) into the world economy. Since then, and overall after neoliberalism, this was reflecting rapid global connection and economic integration, the development of an international rule-based order supported by multilateral institutions, rapid decline in extreme poverty and a growing recognition of continuing and new global challenges. Nowadays, the approval of the Agenda 2030, the adoption of the Paris Agreement and the International Maritime Organization's (IMO) resolution for 2050 are examples of this³.

The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and its **seventeen** Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) where adopted in September 2015 by the United Nations General Assembly. It offers an important road map for the construction of a new and ambitious international consensus regarding the need for greater cooperation to correct asymmetries and set the foundations for an open, sustainable and stable multilateral system. The civilizing, universal and indivisible 2030 Agenda places human dignity and equality at its center and, consequently, demands the broadest participation by all actors, including States, civil society and the private sector. The resume this initiative is it preamble (p. 1), which says:

this Agenda is a plan of action for people, planet and prosperity. It also seeks to strengthen universal peace in larger freedom. [...] All countries and all stakeholders, acting in collaborative partnership, will implement this plan. We are resolved to free the human race from the tyranny of poverty and want and to heal and secure our planet. We are determined to take the bold and transformative steps which are urgently needed to shift the world onto a sustainable and resilient path. As we embark on this collective journey, we pledge that no one will be left behind. They are integrated and indivisible and balance the three dimensions of sustainable development: the economic, social and environmental.

About the Paris Agreement, note that over the last three decades, the scientific basis for recognition of climate change and its link to human action, in particular CO₂ emissions strengthened and created the *momentum* for a remarkable political consensus around the globe that coordinated action was essential. In December 2015, the United Nations Framework Convention for Climate Change adopted the Paris Agreement, the newest instrument under the Convention supported by 197 parties.

The central aim of this initiative is to strengthen the global response to the threat of climate change by keeping a global temperature rise this century well below 2° Celsius above pre-industrial levels and to pursue efforts to limit the temperature increase even less than 1.5° Celsius. Its projected impacts on the globe are a global public bad, and

3 The technology of blockchain, which supports the existence of cryptocurrencies, is potentially capable of cause a financial paradigm shift worldwide. Its ability to increase the free flow of capital across borders can contribute to reinforce the globalization process. However, considering that this technology is still being studied by the international community, we prefer to mention it here only as a reference for future studies. See, for example, Tridico & Pariboni (2018).

fighting them is clearly a case of global public good. This means that a multilateral approach motivates, coordinates and implements an effective contest against it.

In what concerns the IMO's resolution for 2050, note that maritime transport emits around one billion tons of carbon dioxide annually and is responsible for about 2.5% of global greenhouse gas emissions from fuel combustion. By 2050, depending on future economic growth and energy developments, shipping emissions may increase by between 50% and 250%. This is not in keeping with the internationally agreed goal of limiting the global average temperature increase to below 2° Celsius above pre-industrial levels, which would require worldwide emissions to be at least halved from the 1990 level by 2050 (UNCTAD, 2017).

In April 2018, IMO's Marine Environment Protection Committee (MEPC) adopted an initial strategy on the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions (GHG) from ships, in accordance with an international vision, doing it as soon as possible in this century. The vision confirms IMO's commitment to reducing GHG emissions from international shipping and, as a matter of urgency, to phasing them out swiftly. More specifically, the initial strategy envisions a reduction in total GHG emissions from international shipping which, it says, should peak soon and reduce total annual emissions by at least 50% until 2050 compared to 2008, while, at the same time, pursuing efforts towards phasing them out entirely.

According to UNCTAD (2017), the strategy includes a specific reference to a pathway of CO₂ emissions reduction consistent with the Paris Agreement temperature goals. This is particularly interesting because under the globalization concept, the international merchandise trade represents the most direct impact in terms of geopolitical power for countries on international field. The fact that countries are willing to work toward agreements for reducing GHG reveals that the multilateralism approach is not abandoned. Now we turn to the critical examination of the emergence of 21st century nationalism, pointing out the difficulties and uncertainties it has risen worldwide.

4.2 Nationalism, globalization and sustainable development: three bad examples

Recent years have shown increasing stress in the multilateral system, a movement that have intensified since 2014. As stated by Kohli (2017), in geo-economic and geopolitical arena, the dramatic shift of the economic balance from G7 countries toward the emerging market economies has meant that a bipolarized world (USA-URSS, 1950-1990) came to an end replaced by a single hegemonic nation (USA, in the 1990s). In 1960, G7 countries contributed with 67% of the world GDP, while by 2016 the developing countries represented 56%. By the 21st century, it is rapidly becoming a multi-polarized world (Europe, USA, Japan, South Korea, the so-called BRICS – Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa – and others). Some examples of this trend are the Brexit and the outcome of USA's presidential elections – the commercial war with

China and the withdraw from the Paris Agreement.

Some authors, like Linn (2018), consider that both the British exit of the European Union (so-called Brexit) and the outcome in the US presidential election in 2016 were clearly influenced by the consequences of globalization. The decline of traditional manufacturing industries in the industrial countries, and the resulting pressures on the blue-collar workers have been associated, in the popular mind, with the rise in cheap imports from emerging market economies and this has been the root factor contributing to the rise of nationalist and populist movements in Europe and USA.

One manner of interpreting the Brexit movement is as a national appeal against the European Union and its bureaucracy intervening in the internal affairs of the UK, especially with regard to immigration and economic issues. At the moment, there is an impasse over what will happen: if the UK gets out formally of the concert of European nations or if there will be another referendum to hear again the voice of British society. Regardless of the results, there is no doubt that the Brexit chapter will unfold for decades on the European and world stage.

Regarding the tensions between USA and China, it started concretely from the first half of 2018 ongoing, translating into crescent trade-restrictive measures, covering a wide range of goods. It is expected that these measures, that are already affecting trade, could trigger a cycle of retaliation that will be disruptive for global trade and growth. On the other hand, this unpredictable new scenario represents also an opportunity for emerging economies to take on a growing role and increase their participation on global trade share.

The rise of Asia in recent decades – first Japan, then South Korea and, most recently, China – is one of the factors that has undermined a multilateral approach to trade liberalization is more recently a trend toward protectionism and the economic. It led to the perception of threats to the economies of the established powers in North America (Linn, 2018).

During presidential campaign in 2016, the current US president promised to make trade “fairer” for US and, by perusing the global market, saw the rise of a new trade war evolving old trading partners, US and China. Both countries have initiated a tit-for-tat trade battle by imposing rounds of tariffs on products from the other country. Opinion is now divided in those who see that as an opportunity for increase trade between European Union-China, for example, and those that perceive the situation as a risk for global trade and globalization as well since unilateralism would be the main strategy adopted by those global players.

Nevertheless, in June 2017 US President Donald Trump announced that his nation would cease all participation in the 2015 Paris Agreement on climate change mitigation. Trump stated that “the Paris accord will undermine American economy”, and that it “puts (the USA) at a permanent disadvantage”. The United States is the second-highest emitter of GHG, which puts them under a position of global influencer on climate governance. Their unilateral decision to withdraw indicates that the USA is

becoming a consumer rather than a supporter of responses to global climate change governance, thus negatively affecting the efficacy in implementing the Agreement.

That decision is not merely a climate issue, but is linked with political consequences for relationships among economies. If the USA refuses to fulfill the commitments in its National Determined Contribution (NDC), it will be a bad example for other countries that might reverse their positions or take no actions, harming the cooperation and shocking the global cooperation mechanism.

Given the entire exposition discussed in this article, the question that arise is where are we heading? A surge of nationalist sentiment, uncovered in recent political processes in parts of the world, deep cracks in the very foundations of the international systems and its two major pillars – globalization and multilateralism. At the root of this destabilization of the global institutional system have been several trends ranging from economic crises to deep-rooted imbalances that require solutions at global, national and regional levels. After considering many aspects that puts globalization, sustainable development, multilateral regime and nationalist discourse in a confrontational situation, it is probable that more questions will arise instead of answers, such as:

- I. Will the coming years see an intensified strengthening of nationalist and authoritarian regimes based on discourses of preserving national sovereignty, therefore undermining the will of governments to support a multilateral approach?
- II. Will the multilateral institutions be weakened over time until they are unable to meet the growing global challenges they were created for?
- III. Considering sustainable development, are these threats to the multilateral approach cyclical in nature or will they reflect a longer cycle – especially seeing the fast and profound technological changes we are facing?

In conclusion, Our Common Future (1987) stated thirty years ago what seems to be the most obvious but not easy directive for the pursuing of world sustainable future. Mechanisms for greater international cooperation, which are necessary to ensure sustainable development, will vary from sector to sector and from institution to institution. The unification of human needs requires a multilateral system that respects the principle of democratic consensus and recognizes that there is not only one Earth. As denoted by this paper, the most important issue nowadays with regard to sustainable development and globalization does not address how far we are to succeed in them, but how to prevent us from moving farther and farther from them.

5 | CONCLUDING REMARKS

Based on a sustainable development perspective, this paper examined the consequences of the resurgence of nationalist wave to the globalization process, an issue

that has threatened multilateral approach at least since the economic and financial crisis of 2008. Some considerations must be underlined in the discussions that took place along the paper.

The first is that is very dubious that a single country can develop itself in isolation nowadays. The sustainable development and the globalization concepts are broad and goes beyond economic or financial numbers. That is why the advance on them requires a more integrated direction for international relations, in a way that favors a more equitably distribution of the dividends of socioeconomic progress.

The second is that long-term sustained development and growth will require sweeping changes to create more equitable trade flows. This is particularly important considering that globalization, at least on the international merchandise trade viewpoint, is on an upward trend due to new global players, such as the BRICS – China ahead. At the same time, this represents a loss of share for developed countries in the international arena.

The third is the resurgence of unilateral approach, instead of the multilateral, based on a nationalistic narrative. At first sight, it seems a quicker way of dealing with global problems, but it can bring more difficulties for countries in dealing with complex problems that goes beyond national borders. We hope that the policy makers, under active social pressure, can handle these situations in a satisfactory and responsible way.

Given the above, we must consider a revision of the socioeconomic paradigm itself, due to the disruptive moment that has been consolidating in the wake of the economic and financial crisis of 2008. It is imperative to build credible models (closer to reality), acknowledging the instability of this renewed capitalist mode of production.

The sustainable development and globalization will play decisive roles in our way of life, extending it to planet's life future. The need to formulate and implement appropriate actions gives decision makers a unique opportunity to offer society new and promising possibilities. At this moment, when the threat of a new era of nationalism is imminent, attention should be paid to the multilateral approach, linking it to the construction of a new human-centered paradigm in socioeconomic thinking as an alternative to the environment as a whole.

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