The institutional development and the budgetary analysis of policies for women in Sao Paulo city in 2013-2016

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Abstract

This exploratory study presents an analysis of the development of policies for women in São Paulo city between 2013 and 2016. It is based on a literature review and a documental analysis, with a focus on laws and decrees. The research aims to build a synthesis of the development of policies for women during the government of seven Mayors. The study also presents a more detailed analysis of institutional and budget developments. In addition, it analyses the institutional, budgetary and public workers placement policy development during Fernando Haddad government (2013–2016).

Keywords: Budget analysis. City of São Paulo. Institutional development. Policies for women. Public policies.

Introdution

Feminist studies generated the first debates on possible specific actions of the State aiming to change the structural conditions of women in society (ERGAS 1991). One of the milestones for these changes is the creation of institutional mechanisms for women in the state structure, such as offices and advisory bodies. These institutional mechanisms are responsible for public policies for women. Other important events are the inclusion of women in leadership positions and the establishment of budget resources for public policies towards women.

Debates on the implementation of public policies and the necessary allocation of public resources are a central point that provides women and gender issues with a status of public interest and lead them to integrate the public agenda. A good strategy to achieve governability for specific public policies for women is to create a policy institutionality that presents the adequate vision. For Guzman (2007), the institutionalities — or Organizations of Public Policies for Women — assume a central role within the public administration and other State instances. They stand as a foundation for political power, as well as a spreading point of new ideas and propositions about public policies.

In this context, over three decades, the city of São Paulo had recorded experiences of public policies for women (1989-2016). These policies did not take place continuously. However, there had been an improvement in the institutional arrangement of the bodies

responsible for their implementation. During this period, São Paulo became an important centre for debate and formulation of institutional action in the areas of sexual and reproductive rights, education, sexist violence, employment, income generation and urban planning.

Thus, an exploratory research was developed to study the institutionality of policies for women in São Paulo city. It was focused on the main actions for women in the government of Mayor Fernando Haddad, between 2013 and 2016. The choice of this object of study is justified by an important institutional landmark, which was the creation of the Municipal Office for Policies for Women. This body allowed the women's policy agenda to have its own budget allocation.

The research question is: what were the characteristics of the Haddad government related to policies for women (2013-2016)? The research hypothesis is that it had been a government marked by a set of actions that strengthened policies for women. The objective of the research is to bring up elements of the Haddad government (2013-2016) that present characteristics related to policies towards women. These elements focus on the following aspects: hierarchical, budgetary, programmatic, institutional and public policies.

For the development of the research, documental and bibliographic analyses were carried out. They allowed the construction of the presented assumptions. The main sources of data were laws and decrees of the municipality of São Paulo, the Information and Social Interest Reports system of the Court of Accounts of the Municipality of São Paulo (sistema de Informações e Relatórios de Interesse Social do Tribunal de Contas do Município de São Paulo), the public accountability portal of the Municipal Office of Finance of São Paulo (portal de prestação de contas públicas da Secretaria Municipal da Fazenda de São Paulo), the 2013–2016 Goals Programme (Programa de Metas de 2013-2016), as well as the Integrated System of People and Skills Management (Sistema Integrado de Gestão de Pessoas e Competências).

In order to contribute to the background of the studied government, the first chapter contains a description of the main milestones of policies for women in the city of São Paulo between 1989 and 2012. A historical framework presenting the development of public policy bodies over a period of 14 years was created. The research was based on the construction of several charts and tables that help to illustrate the investigated elements. The study results show that there were improvements in the policy agenda for women between 2013 and 2016. However, it was still possible to identify some contradictions.

1. Precedents of policies for women in São Paulo city

Since the early 1990s, the city of São Paulo had experienced several initiatives related to policies for women. Through Decree No. 29,663 of 1991, Mayor Luiza Erundina (1989 – 1993) established that the Citizenship and Human Rights Office would be responsible for formulating the policy for the protection and defence of women. In 1992, the Special Coordination for Women was created by Law No. 11,336. It was responsible for policies and projects against gender discrimination and in defence of women's rights. The Special

Coordination for Women carried out studies on the situation of women in São Paulo city and articulated public policies towards women with other government agencies. The Coordination did not have its own budget. Thus, it was relying on resources from the Municipal Government Office.

Law No. 11,336 of 1992 enabled the creation of public bodies to protect women victims of violence. Also, Decree No. 32,355 of 1992 made possible the creation of Casa Abrigo Eliane de Grammont, which is an institution specialized in assisting women victims of violence. The same decree created a shelter named Casa Abrigo Helenira Rezende de Souza Nazareth, which served as a protective environment for women who were victims of domestic violence and whom lives were at risk. This institution was managed by a multidisciplinary team of professionals prepared to assist women victims of violence. In addition, Luiza Erundina created the Legal Abortion programme at Arthur Saboia Hospital. It was the first government initiative to execute abortions for women who were victims of rape or going through a risk pregnancy. (MADEIRO; DINIZ, 2016). Between 1989 and 2007, the Arthur Saboia Hospital performed 337 procedures for termination of pregnancy: 230 for rape, 74 for fetal malformation, 27 for risk of maternal death and 6 for pregnancy maintenance (PEREIRA, 2009). According to the DATASUS Information System on Mortality (SIM), in 2020, illegal abortion was the fourth cause of maternal death in Brazil.

Between 1993 and 1996, Paulo Maluf was the Mayor of São Paulo. During the 4 years of his government, there was a weakening in policies for women. Maluf suppressed the Special Coordination of Women through Decree No. 33,168 of 1993. As a result, Casa Abrigo Eliane de Gramont managed to keep on working, but Casa Abrigo Helenira Rezende de Souza Nazareth needed to suspend its activities (BUGNI, 2016). From 1997 to 2000, Celso Pitta, a politician allied with Paulo Maluf, was Mayor of São Paulo. In 1998, Pitta reinstated the Special Coordination for Women through Decree No. 37,744, which also created the Special Coordination for Black People.

In 2001, São Paulo had a woman as Mayor: Marta Suplicy. She was in charge from 2001 to 2004. This period was marked by an improvement in public policies for women. Law No. 13,169 of 2001 increased the status of the Special Coordination for Women, bonding it to the Municipal Government Office. The Coordination became responsible for supervising the institutions for women victims of violence. This law set Casa Abrigo Eliane de Grammont and Casa Abrigo Helenira Rezende de Souza Nazareth as permanent organizations. Previously, they were both pilot projects (SÃO PAULO, 2001).

The Special Coordination for Women had gained a more structured administrative organization and developed a proactive agenda to promote gender equality policies. The institution also had five managers in charge of the execution of policies towards women, as well as its own budget. The Interoffice Commission for Women was also created, responsible for promoting policies for women with other government bodies. In 2001, Casa Abrigo Helenira Resende de Souza Nazareth resumed its activities after 8 years. (BUGNI, 2016)

The Suplicy government stimulated participatory public spaces related to public policies for women. Institutional mechanisms were created to allow women's participation in the Forum of Representatives of Subprefectures. São Paulo municipal government also organized feminist celebrations for the International Women's Day and promoted the 1st

Municipal Conference on Policies for Women in August 2002 (BUGNI, 2016). This Conference contributed to the formulation of the 1st National Plan for Women's Policies (FARAH, 2004).

Table 1 - Body in charge of public policies towards women in each city government, from 1989 to 2012.

Period	Mayor	Actions
1989 - 1992	Luiza Erundina	- Special Coordination for Women
1993 - 1996	Paulo Maluf	- Suspension of Special Coordination for Women
1997 - 2000	Celso Pitta	- Resuming of Special Coordination for Women
2001 - 2004	Marta Suplicy	 Bonding between Special Coordination for Women and Municipal Government Interoffice Commission for Women 1st Municipal Conference on Policies for Women

Source: Developed by the authors.

José Serra government started in 2005. In 2006, Serra reduced the status of the Special Coordination for Women by linking it to the Office of Participation and Partnership through Decree No. 45,712. With this, the Special Coordination for Women also lost its budget autonomy. Bugni (2006) highlights that no budget related to this coordination was executed in 2006.

In 2007, Gilberto Kassab became Mayor of São Paulo city. An important achievement of his government was the budget re-establishment for the Special Coordination for Women. As a result, resources were applied to public policy centres for women. In 2008, São Paulo joined the National Pact to Combat Violence Against Women. Then, the city became one of the 20 municipalities of the programme. This allowed for implementing several innovations in the police stations and places of care for women victims of violence. (BUGNI, 2016)

2. Institutionalization of public policies for women

Fernando Haddad was Mayor of São Paulo between 2013 and 2016. He had contributed to the development of public policies for women. With Haddad, governmental bodies were also created in order to be responsible for these public policies and enhance their institutionalization. Another important point was the establishment of budget guarantees for public policies towards women. The Special Coordination for Women was transformed into the Municipal Office for Women's Policies. This allowed public policies for women to have a body with greater administrative autonomy and a specific budget allocation.

On January 1st of 2013, the first day of his government, Haddad issued Decree No. 53,685, which provided for the creation of a Municipal Office for Women's Policies. On May 27 of 2013, Law No. 15,764 was enacted. It created the Municipal Office for Women's Policies. The law established the office's structure and assigned responsibilities such as advisory, coordination, articulation and implementation of public policies for women. Also, the full social, political, economic and cultural integration of women in the city of São Paulo was set as a guideline.

In addition to these attributions, Article 100 of Decree No. 53,685 established that the Municipal Office for Women's Policies would also be responsible for: 1) advise the municipal public administration on public policies for women; 2) develop a plan to promote gender equality; 3) articulate transversal and cooperation policies with national and international organizations; 4) implement economic autonomy programmes for women, policies to protect women in situations of vulnerability and the Municipal Plan for Women's Policies; 5) establish actions to strengthen the participation of women in partnerships with public and private institutions; 6) ensure transversality in partnerships with other municipal bodies and entities. (SÃO PAULO, 2013c)

The office's basic structure was divided into two parts: one responsible for actions to combat violence and the other for the promotion of women's financial autonomy. The office was in charge of supervision of the following structures:1) Casa Eliane de Grammont; 2) Casa Abrigo Helenira Rezende de Souza Nazareth; 3) Women's Assistance Centre (Centro de Atendimento à Mulher); 4) Women's Reference Centre (Centro de Referência da Mulher); 5) Centres for Women's Citizenship (Centros de Cidadania da Mulher). It should be highlighted that there were five citizenship centres for women in the following regions: Parelheiros, Itaquera, Perus, Capela do Socorro and Santo Amaro. (SÃO PAULO, 2013c)

One of the Office's commitments was to keep a permanent channel of participation and social control in public policies for women. For this, a specific advisory service was created, which was responsible for establishing relationships with social movements and civil society organizations working with women's rights. Decree No. 53,685 established that public policies in the areas of education, culture, leisure, sports and health would be accompanied by specific initiatives for women. The Law also considered the need to take into account the diversity among women, regarding age, race, sexual orientation and disability. The need for specific actions for indigenous women was also highlighted. (SÃO PAULO, 2013c)

The creation of a Municipal Office for Women's Policies entailed a specific budget attribution for this activity. Thus, a specific budget unit was created for the promotion of public policies for women, which allowed a budget planning for this public policy. The resources destined to public policies for women became part of the Annual Budget Law of São Paulo city as of 2014. Budget resources allocated to public policies for women were also included in tax management reports. This made it possible to discriminate public policies for women based on the budgetary resources used.

Decree No. 54,660 of 2013 established the Interoffice Committee on Women's Policies, which received the name of Conexão Mulher (Woman Connection). The Committee had 20 representatives from municipal bodies and was responsible for ensuring

that gender policies were implemented by the several municipal sectors. The Interoffice Committee on Women's Policies was responsible for preparing the Municipal Plan for Women's Policies and developing the resolutions of the Municipal Conferences on Women's Policies.

Table 2 - Institutionalization of public policies for women

Regulation	Goal
Decree No. 53,685/2013	Provision of an Office for Women's Policies
Law No. 15,764	Creation of Municipal Office for Women's Policies
Decree No. 54,660	Establishment of Committee on Women's Policies (Conexão Mulher)

Source: Developed by the authors from bibliographical and legislative references of the article

3. Main policies towards women between 2013 and 2016

The City of São Paulo has a government tool called Programa de Metas (Goals Programme). It enables a detailed follow-up of the city's public policies for a period of four years. As a result, this programme is one of the main government planning instruments in the city of São Paulo.

In the Programa de Metas (Goals Programme) of Haddad government (2013–2016), 123 goals were highlighted. A large amount of them was directed to policies for women. The 1st axis of this programme focused on the commitment with social and civil rights. It contained a set of actions directed to women. Goals 40, 41, 59 and 60 provided for actions aimed at solving women's problems. Table 3 shows the objective and the percentage of fulfilment of each goal.

Goals related to women's policies were fully or partially achieved. Regarding Goal 40, the municipal government adhered to the "National Pact to Combat Violence against Women" and to the federal government's "Women Living Without Violence Programme". The adhesion induced the transfer of federal resources for the implantation of the Casa da Mulher Brasileira, a reference centre that will bring together specialized services of assistance to women. Regarding Goal 41, a reform was carried out to modernize the Casa Abrigo Helenira Rezende de Souza Nazareth, allowing an increase in the number of families staying there (SÃO PAULO, 2016).

Table 3 – Goals of the 2013–2016 Goals Programme (Programa de Metas) aimed at promoting policies for women

Goal	Objective	Fulfilment
Goal 40	Install 1 Brazilian Women's House in São Paulo	50%
Goal 41	Install 1 Shelter House and 1 Passage House to expand the protection services to women victims of violence	75%
Goal 59	Create and implement the Municipal Office for Women's Policies	100%
Goal 60	Restructure the 5 Women's Citizenship Centres, redefining their operating guidelines	100%

Source: Programa de Metas (Goals Programme) 2013-2016

Regarding Goal 59, the Municipal Office for Women's Policies was created by Law No. 15,764/2013. The action plan was established in 2013, in order to enhance the execution of this new body. Target 60 was fully achieved: five Women's Citizenship Centres (CCM) and two Women's Reference Centres (CRM) underwent modernization reforms.

The two Women's Reference Centres involved were Casa Eliane de Grammont and Casa Brasilândia. As for the five Women's Citizenship Centres, they were located in the following regions: Perus, Santo Amaro, Parelheiros, Capela do Socorro and Itaquera (SÃO PAULO, 2016).

In the period between 2013 and 2016, other actions that were not provided for in the Goals Programme were carried out. One of them was the Project of Creation of Solidarity Economy Productive Groups (Projeto de Formação de Grupos Produtivos de Economia Solidária). This Project aimed to develop women's economic autonomy and served a total of 300 women. A cultural education for women was also provided through corporal expression, personal defence and African culture workshops.

Decree No. 56,021 of 2015 established that at least 30% of public transport professionals in São Paulo and 50% of the members of municipal councils for social participation should be women. A mobile service unit was developed for women victims of violence. It visited 280 neighbourhoods in the city of São Paulo, providing 450 individual consultations and 23,000 general orientations. (SÃO PAULO, 2016)

Between 2013 and 2016, the City of São Paulo carried out actions to promote the political participation of women. This period was marked by the expansion of participatory institutions with women. Decree No. 56,021 of 2015 established the participation of a minimum number of women in all municipal participatory councils. Decree No. 56,702 of 2015 created the Municipal Council for Women's Policies, which was run exclusively by women.

Eight municipal conferences for women were held in 2015. These conferences had different themes around frequent problems for women in Brazil, as follows:1) Immigrant Women; 2) Working Women and Labor Relations; 3) Lesbians, bisexuals, transvestites and transsexuals; 4) Women in a situation of prostitution/prostitutes; 5) Elderly Women; 6) Women with Disabilities; 7) Women – Youth; 8) Policies for Women (SÃO PAULO, 2016).

Through Ordinance No. 14 of 2016, the City of São Paulo established the Regional Forums for Women's Policies. The forums are bodies for discussion and proposal, as well as monitoring policies for women. Five forums were created, one in each region of São Paulo city: Centre, North, South, East and West. The forums had a total of 775 members who acted as representatives of women in São Paulo city (SÃO PAULO, 2016).

4. Budget analysis of policies for women in the city of São Paulo between 2014 and 2016

A specific budget unit was assigned along with the creation of an office for policies towards women. Thus, the policies for women gained a higher status, being part of the budget planning and execution instruments. From an analytical point of view, this allowed a more transparent resource raising for policies towards women. The budget analysis only covers the period from 2014 to 2016 because the Office for Women Policies was yet not created in 2013.

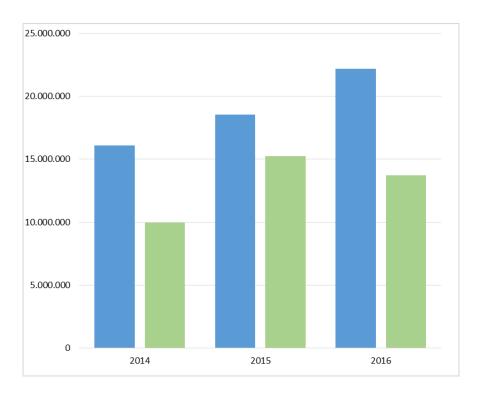
Table 4 - Relation between the budgets of the Office for Women's Policies and São Paulo City Hall in nominal values.

Year	City Hall budget	Office budget	Percentage
2014	50,569,325,587	13,666,413	0.027%
2015	51,393,748,121	17,466,865	0.034%
2016	54,407,300,347	22,179,438	0.040%

Source: Municipal Finance Office of São Paulo

There are two fundamental points in any budget analysis. The first one is that the Brazilian budget system is divided into three parts of planning: Multiannual Plan (PPA), Budget Guidelines Law and Annual Budget Law (LOA). The second point is that public expenditures have four main types of budget classifications: 1) institutional classification, which presents the amount of resources allocated to each government agency; 2) functional classification, which presents the amount of resources allocated to each area of public policy; 3) programmatic classification, which presents the amount of resources allocated to each government programme; 4) classification by economic category, presenting the amount of resources destined to capital or current expenses. (GIACOMONI, 2010)

Graph 1 - Total budget allocation and execution in the Office for Women's Policies between 2014 and 2016.



Source: Municipal Finance Office of São Paulo and IRIS/TCMSP

By converting the Office for Women's policies budget figures to real values based on the Broad National Consumer Price Index of the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IPCA/IBGE), it is possible to identify two important characteristics. The first one is that, between 2014 and 2016, the amount of allocations to the Office increased yearly. The second is that the budget execution value in all these years is always lower than the budgeted amount. It should be noted that all expenses made during the accounting year were considered as executed. The highest percentage of budget execution in relation to the budgeted amount was seen in 2015: 82.2%. In 2014 and 2016, the percentage of executed budget was 61.9%.

Table 5 - Percentage of budget execution of the Office for Women's Policies

Year	Allocation	Execution	Percentage of execution
2014	16,074,445	9,949,666	61.9%
2015	18,563,784	15,259,011	82.2%
2016	22,179,438	13,728,753	61.9%

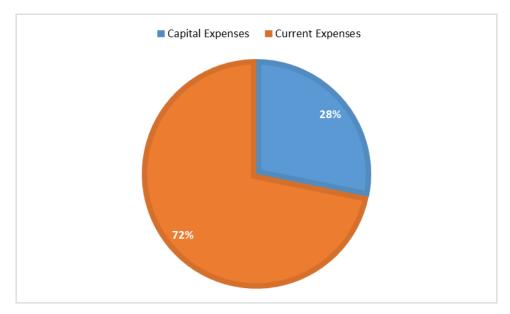
Source: Municipal Finance Office of São Paulo and IRIS/TCMSP

Table 6 - Allocation of current and capital expenses of the Office for Women's Policies in Real Value

Year	Office Allocation	Current Expenses	Capital Expenses
2014	16,074,445	11,860,186	4,214,259
2015	18,563,784	11,294,163	7,269,621
2016	22,179,438	17,654,075	4,525,363
Total	56.817,667	40,808,424	16,009,243

Source: Municipal Finance Office of São Paulo

Graph 2 - Percentage of current and capital expenses in relation to the total budget allocation of the Office for Women's Policies between 2014 and 2016.



Source: Municipal Finance Office of São Paulo and IRIS/TCMSP

When the budget of the Office for Women's Policies is analysed from the perspective of the classification of expenditure by economic category, it is possible to identify that the percentage of capital expenses was considerably lower than current expenses.

When adding up the budget allocations for the Office between the years 2014 and 2016, 72% corresponded to current expenses and 28% to capital expenses. Considering that the Brazilian average is a proportion of 85% of current expenses and 15% of capital expenses, the Office's percentage of capital expenses was around twice higher.

5. Analysis of temporary public servant positions at the City Hall of São Paulo between 2013 and 2016

To better understand women's affirmation policies between the years 2013 and 2016, a survey on how many women held positions was carried out. According to Law 16,024 of 2008, public servant positions are related to direction, consulting and superior assistance. These positions allow free designation and dismissal. It is important to analyse the positions occupied by women in order to confirm that they are present in leadership positions.

Table 7 - Initials of the positions at São Paulo City Hall

Initials	Position			
AA	Position in Artistic Activities			
ATC	Trust Position in Tax Administration			
CAD	Deputy Controller			
CG	General Inspector (Corregedor Geral)			
CHG	Chief of Office			
DAI	Intermediate Manager and Advisor			
DAS	Chief of Superior Assistance			
FGC	Rewarded Functions of Metropolitan Civil Guard			
PRA	Functions of Municipal Attorney			
QPE	Functions in Education			
SAD	Deputy Secretary			
SBP	District Deputy Mayor			
SEA	Deputy Executive Secretary			
SM	Municipal Secretary			
SUBPREF	Mayor			
SUBVICE	Deputy Mayor			

Source: Integrated System of People and Skills Management

Since these positions are usually distributed in a discriminatory way by the Mayor, the quantity of woman that occupy leadership positions at a certain time is a key indicator. It shows how much these women are being valued in their professional environment and in the political and administrative structure of the City Hall.

This analysis is based on data extracted from the Integrated People and Skills Management System on October 6 of 2020. The data only refer to the direct public administration temporary civil servants. Therefore, employees of the indirect public administration were not included in this analysis.

The reference collection is always December 31st of each year: 2013, 2014, 2015 and 2016. All positions in direct public administration commission between the years 2013 and 2016 were considered, taking into account gender and position category.

The City of São Paulo has 16 categories of temporary positions. The initials and specifications of each are shown in Table 4. Some of these categories are divided into subcategories, shown in Table 5. In total, there are 45 subcategories of temporary positions.

Table 8 - Positions of São Paulo City Hall with subcategories

Position initials	Subcategories	Number of subcategories
AA	AA-01, AA-03, AA-04, AA-06, AA-07, AA-10, AA-11, AA-17, AA-18 e AA-19	10
ATC	ATC-1, ATC-2, ATC-3 e ATC-4	4
DAI	DAI02, DAI04, DAI05, DAI06, DAI07 e DAI08	6
DAS	DAS09, DAS10, DAS11, DAS12, DAS13, DAS14, DAS15 e DAS16	8
FGC	FGC1, FGC2, FGC3, FGC4, FGC5 e FGC6	6
PRA	PRA01, PRA02, PRA03, PRA05 e PRA06	5
QPE	QPE03A, QPE07A, QPE11A, QPE13A, QPE15A e QPE17A	6

Source: Integrated System of People and Skills Management

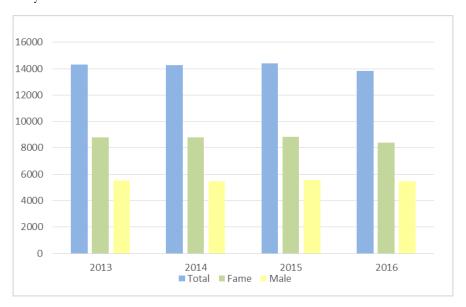
Table 9 – Number of temporary positions according to gender between 2013 and 2016

Year	2013	2014	2015	2016
Female	8,789	8,782	8,853	8,376
Male	5,515	5,472	5,565	5,463
Total	14,304	14,254	14,418	13,839

Source: Integrated System of People and Skills Management

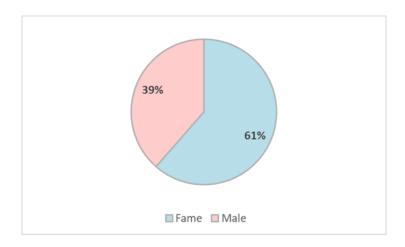
As presented in Table 5, the number of women that held a temporary position between 2013 and 2016 was higher than the number of men. The year with the highest number of women in temporary positions was 2015: 8,853 women. With this, it is possible to affirm that, in absolute numbers, the City of São Paulo had more women than men occupying temporary civil servant positions between 2013 and 2016. In this period, 61% of these positions were occupied by women, against 39% by men.

Graph 3 - Number of men and women that occupied temporary civil servant positions at São Paulo City Hall between 2013 and 2016



Source: Integrated System of People and Skills Management

Graph 4 - Percentage of people that occupied temporary civil servant positions between 2013 and 2016



Source: Integrated System of People and Skills Management

An important point is the number of women and men who occupied the functions of Municipal Secretary and Chief of Office between 2013 and 2016. These two positions are strategic for municipal management. This way, it is noteworthy that these positions were predominantly occupied by men. Between 2013 and 2016, on average, the positions of Municipal Secretary were occupied 19% by women and 81% by men. For Chief of Office, during the same period, the positions were occupied 22% by women and 78% by men.

Table 10 - Municipal Secretaries and Chiefs of Office between 2013 and 2016

Year	201	13	201	14	201	.5	20	16
Gender	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Municipal Secretaries (SM)	5	22	5	21	4	24	7	20
Chiefs of Office (CHG)	11	48	12	48	15	44	15	46

Source: Integrated System of People and Skills Management

From the analysis, it was possible to observe that, even though women occupied most of the temporary civil servant positions, they were under-represented in strategic functions such as Municipal Secretary and Chief of Office. During the period from 2013 to 2016, out of the 16 positions, women were the majority in only five. One position, the General Inspector (Corregedor Geral), was occupied one half of the period by a woman and the other half by a man. The 10 remaining positions were occupied mostly by men during the period.

Among the five positions with a majority of women, the three with a higher number of Female civil servants are: Chief of Superior Assistance (DAS), Funcions of Municipal Attorney (PRA) and Functions in Education (QPE). Because these three categories are subdivided, a specific analysis was carried out on an individual basis. The aim was to investigate the representation of women in the higher subcategories.

Regarding the Functions in Education (QPE), it was possible to verify a greater predominance of women in all six categories. A hypothesis is that these positions are related to Education, which is an area that concentrates more women. As far as the Chief of Superior Assistance (DAS) category is concerned, the five lower subcategories presented a larger number of women. One of the three higher DAS subcategories has the same proportion between both genders; the two other have a larger number of men than women. As for the Functions of Municipal Attorney (PRA), which has six subcategories of positions, it was possible to observe that the higher the level of the subcategory, the lower proportion of women.

Conclusions

Given the existing structural and historical problems, the study of public policies and public institutions for women acquires great importance in Brazil. The State presents itself as an important instrument for confronting women's problems. That is, it organizes and carries out actions. Therefore, this work tried to present relevant aspects of the history of institutions for women in the city of São Paulo and a detailed analysis focusing on the 2013 to 2016 period. This time frame was chosen because the Municipal Office for Women's Policies was created in 2013. After this milestone, women policies gained budget autonomy.

A view of the institutional development of policies for women between 1989 and 2012 allowed us to present a perspective of the main events of the City of São Paulo in this area.

Policies for women integrated the political agenda in 1990 during the government of Mayor Luiza Erundina. She created the Special Coordination for Women and allocated resources for these purposes. Public facilities for legal abortion and for the protection of women victims of violence were also built.

Paulo Maluf government was marked by an attenuation in policies for women, specially with the activity suspension of the Special Coordination of Women's Policies. However, in the government of Mayor Celso Pitta, the activities of this Special Coordination were resumed. In the government of Marta Suplicy, the Special Coordination of Women's Policies gained a greater status. Also, the Interoffice Commission for Women, as well as the Municipal Conference on Policies for Women, were created. When José Serra was in charge as Mayor, the budget execution of policies for women was suspended. It was reinstated afterwards, by Gilberto Kassab during his government.

An important milestone of Fernando Haddad government, between 2013 and 2016, was the creation of the Municipal Office for Women's Policies. This institution acquired a set of important attributions, such as advising other bodies on the issues related to policies for women. In addition, the Office was responsible for carrying out actions to strengthen the participation of women in institutions. In order to support this objective, the Interoffice Committee on Policies for Women was also created.

During this period, a number of public policies for women were also registered. The Goals Program (Programa de Metas) considered four goals related to policies for women. Two of these goals were fully achieved and two partially. Other relevant events were the Project of Creation of Solidarity Economy Productive Groups and the establishment of a minimum percentage of women as public transport workers and city council members. Several participatory institutions oriented towards women were also created: Municipal Council for Women's Policies, Municipal Conference on Policies for Women and Regional Forums for Women's Policies.

In addition to administrative innovations, the Municipal Office for Women's Policies allowed the agenda of policies towards women to be part of the budget planning, just the same way than other municipal bodies. This innovation allowed to do the budgetary and financial monitoring of the policies for women's execution. An important fact concerns the budget allocation of the Office for Women's policies, which had its highest percentage in 2016: 0.040% of the municipal budget. The highest percentage of budget execution was reached in 2015, corresponding to 82.12% of budget allocation. Another relevant data is the expenditure profile: 72% in current expenses and 28% in capital expenses. The capital expenses percentage represents almost the double than usual level.

As far as temporary civil servants are concerned, it was possible to observe that the majority of positions is occupied by women. However, there is a much higher proportion of men in strategic positions, such as Municipal Secretary and Chief of Staff. Even in the categories that are more occupied by women, higher positions are usually held by men. The

only exception is the Education category that traditionally concentrates a larger number of Female professionals.

The exploratory analysis of this study did not aim to exhaust all research possibilities in the field of public policies and institutions for women in São Paulo city, from 2013 to 2016. The idea was to create a general framework with important aspects, such as budget and civil servant position analysis. Further interviews may bring up new explanatory elements. Also, an analysis of the 2017 onwards period could provide relevant information on whether this policy will continue. Despite the limitations of the study presented in this work, some contradictions are worth to be mentioned. Some examples are the lack of women in more strategic positions and the low percentage of budget allocated to policies towards women. Even though, the period from 2013 to 2016 had been a milestone in institutional development and public policies for women in the city of São Paulo.

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