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THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL ACTORS IN THE PROCESSING OF THE NEW FUNDEB

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Abstract: Financing of basic education in Brazil, since 2007, has occurred essentially through Fundeb resources. The prospect of ending in 2020 led to several efforts being launched to formulate a fund, this time, of a permanent nature. In this context, several actors - state or not - fought inside and outside parliament seeking to influence the decision-making process of this policy. Although they have been present in the process of formulating educational policies, the literature is still incipient when it comes to analyzing the participation of social actors. With this in mind, this article aims to analyze the impact of the influence of two social actors on the processing of the New Fundeb: The National Campaign for the Right to Education (CNDE) and Todos pela Educação (TPE). To do so, we will use the theoretical framework of the Economics of Education and Political Science. Furthermore, we will analyze the proposals of these groups for the permanent Fundeb and the speeches defended in communication vehicles. The investigation demonstrated a fruitful theoretical-methodological path for studying the participation of non-governmental actors in public policy processes. With regard to the participation of the groups studied in the processing of the New Fundeb, we consider that there is no monopoly, although the CNDE has demonstrated greater impact on legislation and the TPE greater participation in the media.

Keywords: New Fundeb; Public policy; Social actors.

INTRODUCTION

The Fund for Maintenance and Development of Basic Education and Valorization of Education Professionals (Fundeb) is the main cooperation policy for the redistribution of resources for Brazilian public education (Camargo, 2020). Fundeb was regulated in 2007, effective until 2020, and is made up of twenty-seven state funds, receiving contributions from different federative spheres – municipalities, states and the Union. The collection and application criteria are regulated by articles number: 212 and 212- That of the Federal Constitution. These articles discussed changes as of Constitutional Amendment, number: 108 of 2020, and regulated by laws numbers: 14,113 of 2020 and number: 14,276 of 2021. Such legal provisions gave rise to the current permanent Fundeb, which replaced the first version.

With the prospect of the end of the validity period of this first fund, the processing period for a new Fundeb began. The legislative process began in 2015, with the first phase completed in 2020, resulting in the promulgation of the aforementioned legal provisions. During this period, a strong dispute was observed between two social actors with different educational conceptions and actions: The National Campaign for the Right to Education (CNDE) network and Todos pela Educação (TPE), a business-based non-governmental organization (Cara and Nascimento, 2021).

The CNDE, founded in 1999, established itself as a leading articulator of different social movements in favor of the formulation of the first Fundeb, the National Education Plan (PNE) and the implementation of the Student-Quality Cost (CAQ), and is therefore under the umbrella of the field of defense and promotion of the right to education (Cara and Nascimento, 2021). The TPE, in turn, acts and advocates from the perspective of the right to learn (Cara, 2019a; Carneiro, 2019; Cara,

2019b), which, when linked to economic education reforms, represents a reduction or focus on the first social right inscription in article 6th of the Federal Constitution.

In view of the evident and documented dispute, this article aims to analyze the influence of these two social actors - National Campaign for the Right to Education and All for Education - on the course and result of the legislative process that enacted, through Amendment to the Constitution number: 108/2020 and laws number: 14,113/2020 and number: 14,276/2021, the regulation of the new Fundeb. The aim is to contribute to the understanding of two phenomena: 1) legislative decision-making and 2) the elaboration of decisive public educational policies.

To achieve this objective, the research proposes to collect primary documentary sources of the legislative process related to the matter - public hearings in which members of the two groups studied participated - subjecting them to qualitative analysis of their contents and relating them to the programmatic framework from CNDE and the TPE organization. Knowing that the activities of these groups are not limited to the political-partisan arena, but also compete for ideas and legitimization of the wider public through the media, data will also be collected from newspapers with large circulation regarding the debates held by these actors. The use of these sources assumes that:

Despite the political field presenting a specific configuration, with its own rules and capital (...), communication vehicles become new spaces for dispute and new tools of persuasion, in addition to incorporating other actors in political disputes. (...) the power of communication is central within the political dispute, mainly due to its capacity to produce meanings and meanings (Penteado and Fortunato, 2015, p. 129)

Research into the influence of social actors in Brazilian legislative processes is still at an embryonic stage (Cara and Nascimento, 2021). This aspect tends to make it less evident that the production of educational legal provisions is influenced by different actors other than just state actors, making it difficult to understand how the country finances its population's right to education. In this sense, the rigorous and scientific study of Fundeb actors and legislation is of fundamental relevance. In a seminal way, some works seek to fill this gap (Nascimento, 2019; Martins, 2011), but have insufficient methodological body to bring together the theory of public policy formulation with the theory of legislative process (Cara and Nascimento, 2021). Thus, this research seeks to add elements to this debate that interconnects analytical tools from Political Science and the Economics of Education.

THEORETICAL FOUNDATION: A POSSIBLE PATH

In this section we will make a brief bibliographic review about the basic themes of this work: education financing, legislative process, formulation of public policies and the relationship between these and the media. With this issue, we intend to bring a theoretical framework that brings together elements of Political Science and the Economics of Education, advancing the construction of an analytical field that is still little explored. The aim is to contribute to the understanding of the capacity of social actors to influence educational policies, specifically the Novo Fundeb.

In the Federal Constitution, topics related to the financing of Brazilian education are dealt with in Articles, numbers: 212 and 213, which provide for the linking of resources and the possibility of transfer to private institutions, respectively. The Fund for the Maintenance

and Development of Basic Education and Valorization of Education Professionals (Fundeb), a fund system that aims to collect and reallocate resources for basic education at a national level, was described in Article number: 60 of the Provisions Act Transitional Constitutions. Fundeb came into force in 2007, and is expected to end in 2020. For this reason, in 2015, PEC (Proposed Amendment to the Constitution) number: 15/2015, prepared by deputy Raquel Muniz (PSC/MG), began to be processed, with the purpose of making Fundeb permanent. Public hearings and plenary debates were held in which new proposals to compose the PEC (Proposed Amendment to the Constitution) were brought by different actors, state or not.

Among the groups that actively participated in the legislative process, causing great influence in the composition of the legislation, were ``*Todos Pela Educação*`` (TPE), a business-based organization, and the National Campaign for the Right to Education (CNDE). In 2020, Constitutional Amendment (EC) number: 108/2020 changes the aforementioned articles of the Constitution, and they are regulated by laws numbers: 14,113/2020 and number: 14,276/2021.

The history of education funding policies established in Brazil is surrounded by disputes of interest in the political-partisan arena. To discuss issues related to the legislative process, Cara and Nascimento (2021) bring two predominant traditions in Political Science: functionalist and neo-institutionalist. According to the authors, the latter is currently the hegemonic current. Neoinstitutionalism aims to observe the career objectives of parliamentarians and their interaction with other actors, inside and outside parliament, so that it is possible to explain phenomena of parliamentary life, such as legislative production. The current is divided into three approaches: distributive,

partisan and informational. The distributive approach states that parliamentary action is based on the re-election of its members, meaning that the work of parliamentarians is guided by the distribution of benefits in their electoral district and by meeting the interests of their voters. Therefore, participation in commissions aims to meet these needs. The partisan approach, in turn, as the name suggests, is based on the principle that the party guides the individual action of each parliamentarian, subordinating participation in committees to these guidelines. Finally, the informational approach states that there is an asymmetry between the executive and legislative powers in terms of information – the former being privileged – which would make participation in committees something that would generate a demand for specialization (Cara and Nascimento, 2021).

Santos (2002), studying the legislative dynamics of the period between 1946 and 1964 compared to the post-1988 period, demonstrates that there is currently consistency in party behavior. In other words, it is more common for parliamentarians to act in accordance with what was defined by the majority of the party. On the other hand, when issues of leadership and benches are at stake, the parliamentarian's previous specialization appeared to be more relevant than his loyalty to the party in the post-1988 period. In another work, Santos (2014) points out that, although there is an informational advantage on the part of the Executive branch, most of the members of the Legislative Consultancy (Conle) have higher degrees, which demonstrates that Congress has some degree of expertise. The author says that:

The consultants' task is to generate information, *hard data*, or raw data, in preparing opinions to be assessed by the committees – which is done autonomously [...]

Therefore, what was basically seen was that the system of permanent committees of the Legislature does have a relevant informative role in the decision-making process around public policies (Santos, 2014, p. 35)

Therefore, it is possible to observe the coexistence of different theoretical currents on the legislative process in the Brazilian parliament. Cara and Nascimento (2021) point out that the same occurs with fund policy.

Regarding the production of public educational policies, Cara and Nascimento (2021) bring to the debate three theoretical models that are recurrent in the literature: multiple flows, developed by John Kingdon in 1984; advocacy coalitions, engineered by Paul Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith in 1993; and punctuated equilibrium, developed by Frank R. Baumgartner and Bryan D. Jones in 1993. Using these models, it is possible to analyze the formulation of public policies, seeking to understand which phenomena influence the continuity or change of these policies.

The streams model arises with the aim of explaining the phase of construction of the governmental agenda in the process of formulating public policies. For political scientist John Kingdon, preparing the agenda is a highly competitive moment in which several actors participate (Almeida and Gomes, 2018). Kingdon understands that the change in agenda necessary for the elaboration, implementation and evaluation of public policies is conditioned by a window of opportunities generated by the convergence of the flows of problems (*problem stream*) and solutions (*policy stream*) and the political flow (*political stream*). The political agenda follows a process that is characterized by the recognition of a social problem, by the existence of ideas, among the different actors, that aim to conceptualize these issues and by the presence of a political context - which includes the legislative one - conducive to

decision-making (Gottens, 2013, p 513). An issue becomes a social problem from the moment that public policy makers believe they must act on it (Almeida and Gomes, 2018).

The advocacy coalition model conceives the political process as an open and dynamic system, whose public policy subsystem is an analytical unit. This approach emphasizes the importance of values and ideas, as it is the sharing of beliefs on a given topic that guides the action of the actors that make up the subsystem (ibid). According to Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993 *apud* Cara and Nascimento, 2021), the tendency of subsystems is to maintain stability, unless what they called major disturbances occur - which may have reasons internal or external to the subsystem.

Baumgartner and Jones (1993) analyzed the dynamics of public policy evolution from the perspective of the punctuated equilibrium model, drawing inspiration from elements of biology. According to this model, the trajectory of most public policies is marked by stability with incremental and long-term changes (balance), discontinued by abrupt changes (punctuation) (Cara and Nascimento, 2021; Almeida and Gomes, 2018). According to the authors of this model, after the loss of balance, the system would reorient itself towards new long-term incremental patterns. Therefore, it is in this loss of stability that new actors can emerge, "capable of proposing to the macrosystem a new image of public policy relating a problem to a solution" (Cara and Nascimento, 2021, p. 10).

The advocacy coalition and punctuated equilibrium models are interesting because they include the category of subsystem analysis. According to Capella and Brasil "The concept of subsystems refers to our social institutions and the way they interact with each other and with non-governmental entities

and actors, such as interest groups, the media and policy experts” (2015, p 73). They are, therefore, important theoretical frameworks for understanding the incidence of non-state actors in the production of public policies, as is the case with the Fundeb formulation.

The dispute over legitimacy for the legislative process and for the production of public policies in education causes non-state groups to expand their discourses to a wider public. As Penteado and Fortunato (2015) state, the media's actions can influence the formulation and results of public policies, whether acting from an *agenda setting perspective* regarding topics of great importance to society or even serving as a space for evaluation. of existing policies.

THE NEW FUNDEB: DISPUTES BETWEEN SOCIAL ACTORS

The presence of non-governmental actors in the processing of the New Fundeb was proven to be important, both quantitatively and qualitatively. Social groups, especially education specialists, were active in participating in public hearings, which allowed a great impact on legislation. Teixeira *et al.* (2023) shows that in the 55th Legislature, interest groups and experts stood out in the meetings, which exerted influence on the debates based on the construction of knowledge, contributing to the elaboration of the base text of the law. Among the participation in public hearings, the presence of members of the CNDE and the TPE stands out.

Despite this finding, Gluz and Cara (2023) demonstrate that much of the research in Education still does not consider the participation of actors, especially social actors, in underlying policies as a relevant element. There are few works published in Qualis A and B journals that use this approach, which makes it difficult to understand the way in which

educational policies have been formulated. The analysis that will be presented below aims to advance in this direction and contribute to a better understanding of the phenomena of education financing policies in Brazil.

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN FOR THE RIGHT TO EDUCATION AND ALL FOR EDUCATION: TWO EDUCATIONAL PARADIGMS

To better understand the actions of the CNDE and the TPE, it is important to highlight the educational paradigms under which each group is placed. As Gluz (2021) explains, some authors who research both groups have demonstrated that the CNDE is a network made up of various civil society entities, including movements and unions, and based on the paradigm of the *right to education*. The TPE, in turn, is aligned with the business sectors (despite being a Non-Governmental Organization) and educational reformers, defending the *right to learning*.

These two conceptions oppose each other insofar as they defend two distinct visions of education. According to Cara and Nascimento (2021), the subsistence that acts in defense of the right to learning is linked to the defense of educational reforms. This

It was extracted from the agenda and core of educational policies issues relating to the conditions of teaching, at the same time that it removes the centrality of educational practices based on Pedagogy. Finally, it highlights only one product of education: the learning of certain content obtained through large-scale standardized assessments (Cara, 2019). In other words, remuneration, career policy, working conditions for education professionals, school infrastructure, pedagogical inputs, democratic teaching management and freedom to exercise pedagogical practices – all constitutional issues, determined by the sections of article 206 of the Greater Law – become secondary or – even – fought in public debate, even in

an unequal country like Brazil. (Cara and Nascimento, 2021, p. 17).

The right to education, in turn, is broader and, although the groups that defend this approach have several internal disagreements, they have 6 points of consensus:

The first is the defense of universal, public, free, secular and socially referenced quality education for everyone, from nursery school to high school, from basic education to higher education. The second is the determination of the State's duty to provide education. Third, the purpose of education is the integral training of men and women (Paro, 2012), so that they are capable of reading the world and emancipating themselves (Freire, 2005). Fourth, in full, the fight for adequate financing of public educational policies with the allocation of public resources exclusively to public schools is a priority. Fifth, education professionals must be valued. And, sixth, education management must be democratic. (Cara, 2019).

We start from the idea, defended by the cited authors (Cara, 2019; Cara and Nascimento, 2021) that the right to learning approach reduces the right to education, as it does not consider the breadth of this field - which goes beyond the classroom, measuring results through external evaluations and rankings. And to fully guarantee the right to education, there must be major investments in public education systems. Groups that advocate the right to learning, however, commonly bring up the discourse on the efficiency of public spending, defending low investment in educational policies - as occurred during the Fundeb process.

Looking at the proposals brought by the CNDE and TPE in the public hearings, in addition to the speeches that were taken to the media by members of these groups, it is possible to see in which aspect each of them operates.

INFLUENCE ON PUBLIC POLICIES

As is already known and presented by several authors, the process of processing Fundeb Permanente involved the participation of several non-state groups, including the National Campaign for the Right to Education (CNDE) and Todos pela Educação (TPE). These two actors in particular remained present during the process of processing the fund law, both in debates in plenary and in other spaces, such as the mainstream media. From now on, we will analyze how the influence of each of these groups occurred in the processing of fund policy. Firstly, we will look at the propositions that were made by these groups in relation to the Fundeb legislation to later understand media participation.

The dispute between the two groups was very strong, especially in relation to some specific themes such as the Complementation of the Union, Privatization and the concepts of Quality of Education. Regarding Union Complementation, as shown by Gluz (2021), while the TPE proposes a 15% supplementation, the CNDE suggested in April 2018 the percentage of 50% and in June 2019, 40%.

The TPE's arguments are based on the principle that "a 5% increase, in the current complementation design, would be enough to promote quality education" (Gluz, 2021), which is refuted by the CNDE, which understands that the guarantee the right to education stated in the Constitution cannot be ensured from the resources that are being allocated to public education. The TPE proposal was covered by Amendment number: 3, written by deputy Tábata Amaral (PDT/SP) and deputy Felipe Rigoni (PSB/ES). Rapporteur Professor Dorinha (DEM/TO) increased the supplementation percentage to 40% in the 2nd Substitute, which corroborates what the CNDE defended. In January 2020,

however, the CNDE published a letter agreeing with the Union's supplementation percentage of at least 20%. According to the letter:

the Union complementation would have to be at least 50%. However, during parliamentary debates, a threshold of at least 40% was agreed upon. However, given the unfavorable correlation of forces in the National Congress and the government of Jair Messias Bolsonaro, the 20% level was reached. Considering this scenario, doubling the Union's complement to Fundeb is an undeniable achievement - which needs to be confirmed. (National Campaign for the Right to Education, 2020)

The final text of Fundeb (Brazil, 2020) defined that:

Article 5 The Union's supplementation will be equivalent to at least 23% (twenty-three percent) of the total resources referred to in article 3 of this Law, in the following modalities:

I - VAAF complementation: 10 (ten) percentage points within the scope of each State and the Federal District, whenever the annual value per student (VAAF), under the terms of paragraph a of item I of the **caput** of article 6th of this Law does not reach the nationally defined minimum;

II - VAAT complementation: at least 10.5 (ten integers and five tenths) percentage points, in each municipal, state or district public education network, whenever the total annual value per student (VAAT), under the terms of paragraph that of item II of the **caput** of article 6th of this Law does not reach the nationally defined minimum;

III - VAAR complementation: 2.5 (two integers and five tenths) percentage points in public networks that, having met management improvement conditionalities, achieve evolution of indicators to be defined, of service and improvement of learning with reduction of inequalities, under the terms of the national basic education evaluation system, as provided in article 14 of this Law.

Single paragraph. The Union supplement, in the specified modalities, to be distributed in a given financial year, will be calculated considering the total revenues of the Funds for the same year.

Besides, in relation to supplementation, the CNDE highlighted the importance of preserving the education salary, as if it were to be incorporated into the Union's supplementation, it would fall to 15%, in line with the proposals of the Federal Government and the TPE, among other actors. It was defined by Paragraph 2 of Article 4 that "The use of resources arising from the collection of the social contribution of the education salary referred to in § 5 of art is prohibited. 212 of the Federal Constitution in complementing the Union to the Funds." (Brazil, 2020).

Another extremely important topic that was debated between these two groups was the Initial Student Quality Cost and Student-Quality Cost (CAQi-CAQ). It is a mechanism created by the CNDE itself whose function is to translate into values how much needs to be invested per student per year to guarantee minimum standards of quality in education. CNDE's defense was that the CAQ must be incorporated and made viable by Fundeb, progressively, which was institutionalized in the Fundeb Law through Paragraph 2 of Article 49, which states that:

The differences and weightings applicable between stages, modalities, duration of the journey and types of basic education educational establishment, as well as their average costs, referred to in this Law, will consider the appropriate conditions of supply and will have as a reference the Student Quality Cost (CAQ), when regulated, in accordance with § 7 of article 211 of the Federal Constitution. (ibid).

MEDIA PARTICIPATION

With regard to articles collected from information vehicles, five widely circulated sources were determined: ``Carta Capital``, ``O Estado de São Paulo``, ``Folha de São Paulo``, ``O Globo`` and ``Valor Econômico``. To select articles, we used Press Reader, a website that allows the reading and storage of this material, in the case of ``Estado`` and ``Folha de São Paulo``. Articles from ``Carta Capital`` and ``O Valor`` were researched in the websites' own search engine. Regarding the newspaper: ``O Globo``, the site's search engine had problems and only news from the year 2022 was found through this means, articles from the other years (2019, 2020 and 2021) were found through Google. For all these searches, the term "Fundeb" was used. The result of this first search was shown below:

- ``Estado de São Paulo``: 287 results
- ``Folha de São Paulo``: 410
- ``Carta Capital``: 117
- ``Valor Econômico``: 644
- ``O Globo``: 172

From this preliminary search, there was a more detailed selection of the material. Firstly, it is necessary to emphasize that the focus of the search was the processing of the New Fundeb and, therefore, articles that dealt with the topic only marginally (as was the case with articles about embezzlement of funds) were not considered. Those matters that concerned Novo Fundeb were organized according to the following categories:

1. Opinion articles
2. Complementation of the Union
3. Composition (linkage of taxes)
4. Distribution
5. Bolsonaro Government (articles that deal with the relationship between the federal government at the time and the

processing of Fundeb)

6. Informative (materials whose function is only to inform the events in relation to the process)
7. Payment of education workers
8. Popular participation/councils
9. Privatization
10. Quality of education
11. Education salary
12. Others

These categories relate to important themes for formulating fund policy and are very present in the actors' speeches. Through these codes, it becomes possible to understand which topics are most important to the actors that are the focus of the research (TPE and CNDE). The inclusion of the "Bolsonaro Government" category proved necessary during the article collection process, when it was possible to perceive the impact of the absence of the Federal Government in relation to the formulation of the new Fundeb. This inertia was pointed out in articles several times and appears to have encouraged a stronger presence of non-state actors.

As a result, Table 1 below is presented:

What can be inferred from the data collected is that, in addition to the informative articles about Fundeb, Complementation and Privatization were the topics most covered in the sources researched. News and articles about the Bolsonaro Government were also very significant, comprising 15.16% of the sample.

When looking at this data it is important to reflect on the role of the media in the communication society. Some *agenda setting hypotheses* in relation to the media maintain that "the media in general influence their audiences by indicating the subjects that must guide their daily conversation" (Spannenberg, Silva and Alves, 2019, p. 102). Many articles

	``Carta Capital``	%	``Folha de São Paulo``	%	``O Estado de São Paulo``	%	``O Globo``	%	``Valor econômico``	%	Total	%
Opinion articles	2	5,4%	5	8,19%	2	5,71%	0	0%	4	2,98%	13	4,19%
Complementation	0	0%	12	19,67%	5	14,28%	3	6,97%	22	16,41%	42	13,54%
Composition	0	0%	0	0%	2	5,71%	0	0%	7	5,22%	9	2,9%
Distribution	1	2,7%	7	11,47%	3	8,57%	3	6,97%	7	5,22%	21	6,77%
Bolsonaro Government	8	21,62%	6	9,83%	4	11,42%	7	16,27%	22	16,41%	47	15,16%
Informative	16	43,24%	4	6,55%	9	25,71%	11	25,58%	41	30,59%	81	26,12%
Payment of education workers	1	2,7%	4	6,55%	2	5,71%	9	20,93%	9	6,71%	25	8,06%
Popular participation/councils	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Privatization	9	24,32%	16	26,22%	4	11,42%	8	18,6%	11	8,2%	48	15,48%
Quality of education	0	0%	5	8,19%	3	8,57%	2	4,65%	6	4,47%	16	5,16%
Education salary	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Others	0	0%	2	3,27%	1	2,85%	0	0%	5	3,73%	8	2,58%
Total	37	100%	61	100%	35	100%	43	100%	134	100%	310	100%

TABLE 1 - Quantitative organization of journalistic articles about Novo Fundeb, between 2019 and 2022

Categories	``Carta Capital``	``Folha de São Paulo``	``O Estado de São Paulo``	``O Globo``	``Valor econômico``	Total
Opinion article	1	1	0	0	0	2
Complementation	0	1	0	0	2	3
Composition	0	0	0	0	0	0
Distribution	1	1	0	1	0	3
Bolsonaro Government	2	0	0	0	1	3
informative	5	1	1	0	0	7
Payment workers	0	0	0	1	0	1
Popular participation/councils	0	0	0	0	1	1
Privatization	4	0	0	1	1	6
Quality of Education	0	1	0	0	1	2
Education salary	0	0	0	0	0	0
Others	0	1	0	0	0	1
Total	13	6	1	3	5	28

TABLE 2 - Quantitative organization of materials written or that mention the CNDE

Categories	``Carta Capital``	``Folha de São Paulo``	``O Estado de São Paulo``	``O Globo``	``Valor econômico``	Total
Opinion article	2	0	4	0	3	9
Complementation	0	5	0	0	4	9
Composition	0	0	0	0	1	1
Distribution	0	2	1	1	1	5
Bolsonaro Government	2	0	1	2	6	11
Informative	0	2	4	0	2	8
Payment workers	0	0	0	3	0	3
Popular participation/councils	0	0	0	0	0	0
Privatization	2	3	2	3	3	13
Quality of education	0	0	1	0	4	5
Education salary	0	0	0	0	0	0
Others	1	2	0	0	2	5
Total	7	14	13	9	26	69

TABLE 3 - Quantitative organization of materials written or that mention the TPE

Source: Prepared by the author.

on Complementation, for example, endorse the discourse that education financing needs to be based on the idea of fiscal responsibility and that, in addition, resource management is more important for the quality of the educational system than resources in itself. It is necessary, therefore, not to view the media as a neutral space for the simple transmission of facts, but to keep in mind that the choice of what is or is not news also goes through a process of symbolic disputes.

Regarding the groups studied, Tables 2 and 3 quantitatively present the articles that mention the CNDE and the TPE or that are written by members of these organizations.

Currently, both groups are references and have an important presence in the formulation of public policies for Brazilian education. This relevance becomes evident when we look at the journalistic articles about the new Fundeb: around 1/3 of the selected articles were written or made reference to the CNDE or the TPE. Both organizations are frequently referenced in informative materials, reinforcing the title of experts in education and who have legitimacy to support arguments. There was a prevalence of TPE that represented more than 70% of the sample. As we can see in Table 2, except for informative materials, the topics most covered by the CNDE were: Complementation, Distribution, Bolsonaro Government and Privatization. In the case of the TPE (Table 3), Complementation, Privatization and the Bolsonaro Government also proved to be subjects of great importance, also adding a strong presence in the writing of Opinion Articles.

Both groups were in favor of increasing the Union's complementation, but there is a big difference between the proposals: while the CNDE and other groups supported a 50% percentage of the Union's complementation so that the quality of education is truly covered, the TPE and other business groups relied on

fiscal arguments to justify a proposal of just 15%. Another point that emerges from data collection is the number of articles published (15.16%) criticizing the inertia of the Federal Government at the time in relation to proposals for Fundeb. The two groups explored criticize this lack of action by the Ministry of Education (MEC). This situation may have been a cause for the greater role and relevance of non-state groups in the Fundeb processing process, since the executive did not play a leading role. A topic that represented 5.16% of the sample and was very important to the CNDE and TPE in plenary was the Quality of Education. On the part of the CNDE, there was also a defense of the CAQ in the media. The CNDE's defense was that this instrument be institutionalized through Fundeb. The TPE, on the other hand, shows another perspective on the quality of education, focusing its speech on the idea that good management of the educational system is more relevant than the investment itself. This - and other business groups - start from the assumption of the right to learning focused on an approach to educational results as synonymous with quality.

It is curious to note that some themes that were relevant in the legislative debate do not appear in journalistic articles as main themes. The Education Salary, which was heavily debated in plenary, is one of these cases. Popular participation/advice was also not the main theme of any of the selected articles.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

This article aimed to analyze the incidence of two non-state groups in the processing of the Fund for Maintenance and Development of Basic Education and Valorization of Education Professionals (Fundeb), of a permanent nature. These groups are the National Campaign for the Right to Education (CNDE) and Todos pela Educação (TPE). The aim was to understand the development

of decisive public educational policies. To this end, we sought to add theoretical-methodological concepts from Political Science and the Economics of Education.

The combination of categories of theoretical references of the legislative process and the public policy process, as proposed by Cara and Nascimento (2021), proved to be coherent for the study of the Novo Fundeb. It was not possible to determine a dominant theoretical model in terms of public policy formulation. On the one hand, the advocacy coalition helps us understand the conflicts and consensus that occur between the actors participating in the political process (Almeida and Gomes, 2018). With regard to the actions of the CNDE and the TPE at Fundeb, these relationships occur to the extent that the groups oppose most of the proposals, although both were contrary to the Federal Government of the time. On the other hand, the theory of punctuated equilibrium seeks to explain moments of sudden changes that public policies undergo (idem), bringing the role of the media as builders of the image of public policies (Penteado and Fortunato, 2015). This theory is also relevant, as the Fundeb processing period, especially the period studied in this research, was one of great political, economic, social and even health instability (due to the Covid-19 pandemic).

The research brought contributions by uniting theoretical-methodological concepts from Political Science and the Economics of Education. Although an exclusive model was not determined, the study presents possibilities for advances in the field. Firstly, we saw from the selected articles that the lack of active participation of the Federal

Government was an important phenomenon for the participation of non-state groups to be even more significant. The data, in turn, show that the media is a relevant space for the formulation and legitimization of political discourses, however, as Penteado and Fortunato state, "Although the media and its different vehicles are important within the current political configuration, it is necessary to indicate that politics is not subordinated to it" (2015, p. 133). Furthermore, it is observed that, in relation to the groups studied, although the TPE has a strong presence in the media, many of the agendas and arguments raised were not implemented in law.

The CNDE, on the other hand, had decisive relevance in the proposal for a percentage of the Union Complementation (the proposal was at least 20% and the TPE suggested 15%; the law defines that it will be at least 23%), in the institutionalization of the CAQ and the non-incorporation of the Education Salary into the Supplement. Once again, corroborating what Cara and Nascimento (2021) say, it is confirmed that there was no monopoly of any of the groups in the processing process or in participation in press vehicles, however it was possible to observe a greater concrete incidence on the part of the CNDE.

It is important to highlight the study of other forms of communication other than just newspapers and magazines as a possibility for advancement in this research. The period that served as a focus for the study revealed an important use of less traditional media, such as, for example, social networks, which are currently relevant in the production of some discourses in relation to public policies.

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