


## THE BILL OF THE NEW NATIONAL EDUCATION PLAN – PNE (2024-2034): IN PERSPECTIVE THE FINANCING AND THE RIGHT TO EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION

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### ABSTRACT

This article aims to evaluate public policies for Early Childhood Education, especially in relation to the right to education and financing, outlined in Bill No. 2614/2024 of the National Education Plan (PNE) for the next decade (2024-2034). In addition, we are interested in the Early Childhood Education data in goal 1 and goal 20, which deals with the financing of the current PNE (2014-2024), which will serve as a starting point to understand what is outlined in Bill No. 2614/2024. Thus, the central problematization, guiding this study, is thus defined: what are the proposals that the new PNE (2024-2034), through PL No. 2614/2024, outlines for Early Childhood Education and financing, and which, therefore, will reverberate in the right to education? To achieve the proposed objective, we carried out a bibliographic research and a documentary analysis. We undertook the analysis with the help of several authors and historical-dialectical materialism. The already consolidated results of the current PNE (2014-2024) demonstrate that goals 1 and 18 are still far from being achieved, which is consolidated as a great challenge. In addition, the analyses of the new PNE project (2024-2034) point out that the goals related to Early Childhood Education and financing sometimes show progress, and sometimes stagnation.

**Keywords:** Right to Education. Early Childhood Education. Financing. National Education Plan. Bill No. 2614/2024.

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## INTRODUCTION

Early Childhood Education is still a particularly vulnerable area with regard to its definition in the scope of education and public policies in relation to its implementation, expansion and quality and, above all, in the allocation of public resources. With the advent of urbanization, industrialization and the active participation of women in economic activity, there was pressure for the State to actually outline public policies that encompassed the needs of this stage of Basic Education.

In this sense, Early Childhood Education only conquered its space in the legal framework and in a certain way in public policies, from the Federal Constitution of 1988, in which it was considered a state duty and a right of the child and the family, that is, "[...] making the young child a subject of rights and no longer an 'object of tutelage'" (MELLO; BERTAGNA, 2012, p. 99). Thus, from this legal framework, the young child is elevated to the condition of a developing citizen, and two particularly important constitutional definitions appear, namely, "Article 7, XXV - free assistance to children and dependents from birth to 5 (five) years of age in daycare centers and preschools;" and Article 208, IV, which establishes as a duty of the State "IV - Early Childhood Education, in daycare and preschool, to children up to 5 (five) years of age" (Brasil, 1988).

Therefore, it is possible to glimpse in the constitutional text of 1988 an enormous advance in terms of declaring and specifying the rights of children from 0 to 5 years of age. However, the declaration of Early Childhood Education as a right, associated with a long history of denial of the care of young children, "[...] imposes an obligation on the State and inserts it in the space of dispute of the public fund for more resources, to ensure the expansion of its service in conditions of quality" (FINEDUCA, 2020, p. 6).

Thus, when establishing public policies that contemplate Early Childhood Education, it is essential to evaluate whether they guarantee the provision of quality education that is socially referenced, which takes into account the right to education. And for this, it is essential that there is, on the part of the government, the provision of funding compatible with the fulfillment of this stage of Basic Education.

In the Bill in progress in the National Congress, Early Childhood Education will be addressed in objectives 1 and 2, which propose "Expand the offer of enrollment in daycare centers and universalize preschool" and "Ensure the quality of the offer of early childhood education", respectively (CONGRESSO NACIONAL, 2024, p. 7). In addition, we are

interested in object 18, which advocates "Ensuring quality and equity in the conditions of basic education provision" (CONGRESSO NACIONAL, 2024, p. 42).

Taking as a reference the data from the report of the 5th Cycle of monitoring the goals of the PNE (2014-2024) (BRASIL, 2024), it will be possible to outline the paths outlined for Early Childhood Education, compared to the proposal of the new PME for the next decade (2024-2034), from Bill No. 2614/2024. In view of this, this work seeks to answer the following central question: what are the proposals that the new PNE (2024-2034), through PL No. 2614/2024, outlines for Early Childhood Education and the financing of Basic Education, and which, therefore, will reverberate in the right to education? To answer this question, we made use of bibliographic research and documentary analysis.

To answer this question, this text is organized into 3 sections, in addition to the introduction and final considerations. In the first section, we present Conae 2024 as the epicenter of the elaboration of Bill 2614/2024 of the new PNE (2024-2034). In the second section, we analyze what the data from the National Education Plan (2014-2024) on financing and Early Childhood Education show. And in the third and last section, we focus on Bill No. 2614/2024, in order to understand the public policies in perspective on the financing and the right to Early Childhood Education in this Bill.

### **CONAE 2024 AS THE EPICENTER OF THE PREPARATION OF BILL 2614/2024 OF THE NEW PNE (2024-2034)**

The first steps towards the elaboration of the educational diagnosis and formulation of propositions, aiming at the elaboration of the National Education Plan, took place at the National Conference on Basic Education (Coneb), held in 2008. Coneb deliberated on the holding of the National Education Conference (Conae), which took place in 2010, preceded by municipal or intermunicipal, state and district stages

The National Education Conference (Conae) of 2010 focused on the discussion on the construction of the national education system based on the National Education Plan project that was desired for Brazil. Forums were created throughout Brazil, especially the National Forum in Defense of Public Schools, which had the participation of teachers and other education professionals in their discussion spaces. The holding of these events was very fruitful with regard to the participation of associations of educators and entities that represented civil society (SABIA; ALANIZ, 2015).

The holding of congresses and conferences as a methodology for the construction of public policies is an aspect that characterizes the area of education. Since the 1980s, six Brazilian education conferences (CBE) and five national education congresses (Coned) have been held. In general, to favor the debate, an initial document is disseminated and receives contributions that are systematized and approved in plenary sessions, involving significant participation and representativeness.

In this sense, for Bordignon, Queiroz and Gomes (2011, p. 49), "the elaboration of the National Education Plan 2011-2020 resulted from the convergence of social mobilization events, actions of the Ministry of Education and institutional contributions [...]" The same authors highlight the participation and contribution of the National Education Conference, which systematized the guidelines and strategies for action; the National Council of Education (CNE); the actions and evaluations of the PNE 2001-2010 and the Education Development Plan (PDE).

Thus, the analysis of some aspects of how the final document of Conae 2010 and the PNE were configured shows that in Brazil, with regard to educational planning, it is necessary to establish a new meaning for the National Education Plan (PNE). Therefore, for participation to change the reality that is posed, it is essential that they overcome "[...] the risks of co-optation, subordination, fragmentation and dissolution of popular struggles" (GADOTTI, 2014, p. 3). These divergences indicate that the path to the approval of public policies that genuinely have the participation of civil society does not end with discussions in plenary and much less with the approval of a guiding document; it is necessary to overcome the tactics of enticement of state power.

Regarding the PNE approved for the 2014-2024 decade, it was anchored in discussions that began with the Conae in 2010 and 2014. There were moments of many discussions with institutions that represented teachers, students, parents, the university and the community in general. For Saviani (2017), there was a very intense and fruitful movement with the discussions that culminated in the Reference Document sent to the government and later to Congress. The government's stance at that time was to listen to civil society through its representatives, especially the National Education Conferences. Such a posture is in line with the new developmentalist conception that has the vision of a State that is concerned with social public policies, and has as its assumption a participatory and democratic planning. Although in the economic area, the new developmentalism still

presents some characteristics of neoliberalism, particularly in relation to the concern with the financial markets.

However, Gadotti (2014, p. 6) warns about the functioning of citizen participation in the various public spaces, stating that "most spaces of participation are consultative spaces. Social and popular movements work with a conception of participation as a space for social control and not just for popular consultation." It is evident, then, that one cannot speak of effective participation of civil society if this participation is configured only in the consultative aspect; it is essential that there is in this collaboration the awareness that it is necessary to create a space for public control of the State and not only for dialogue with the State.

Regarding the 2024 Conae, it is necessary to resume what happened with the 2022 Conae, which occurred in the context of the government of Jair Messias Bolsonaro (2019-2022), marked by democratic setback and political degradation. The aforementioned Conae was held over three days, November 29 to December 1, 2022, with the theme "Inclusion, Equity and Quality: commitment to the future of Brazilian education", only the opening table was broadcast on the Ministry of Education (MEC) YouTube channel . According to the National Education Forum (FNE), the 2022 Conae had the participation of 1,259 delegates and 110 accredited observers. The 14 colloquia or plenary sessions of sub-axes, held on the afternoon of November 29, had 820 active participants. The votes on the axes of the base document, held on November 30 and December 1, brought together 761 participants. The final plenary was attended by 605 participants (BRASIL, 2022).

With the inauguration of President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva in 2023, the 2022 Conae was resumed, and a new Conae for the year 2024 was announced, through Presidential Decree No. 11,697/2023, with the theme "National Education Plan (PNE) 2024-2034: State Policy to Guarantee Education as a Human Right with Social Justice and Sustainable Socio-Environmental Development" (BRASIL, 2023). The aforementioned Decree, in its article 3, explained the following objectives for the conference:

- I - to evaluate the execution of the current PNE;
- II - subsidize the preparation of the PNE, decade 2024/2034;
- III - to contribute to the identification of educational problems and needs; and
- IV - produce references to guide the formulation and implementation of state, district, and municipal education plans, articulated with the PNE, 2024/2034 decade, with a view to strengthening federative cooperation in education and the collaboration regime between the systems (BRASIL, 2023).

In this same Decree in its article 4, it is defined as thematic axes to be discussed at Conae 2024:

- I - Axis 1 - The PNE as an articulator of the National Education System, its link to the state, district and municipal ten-year education plans, in favor of integrated and intersectoral actions, in an interfederative collaboration regime;
- II - Axis 2 - The guarantee of the right of all people to quality education, with access, permanence and completion, at all levels, stages and modalities, in different contexts and territories;
- III - Axis 3 - Education, Human Rights, Inclusion and Diversity - equity and social justice in guaranteeing the right to education for all people and combating different and new forms of inequality, discrimination and violence;
- IV - Axis 4 - Democratic management and quality education - regulation, monitoring, evaluation, control bodies and mechanisms and social participation in decision-making processes and spaces;
- V - Axis 5 - Valuing education professionals - guaranteeing the right to quality initial and continuing education, the minimum salary and career and the conditions for the exercise of the profession in a safe and healthy manner;
- VI - Axis 6 - Public financing of public education, with social control and guarantee of adequate conditions for the social quality of education, with a view to the democratization of access and permanence; and
- VII - Axis 7 - Education committed to social justice, the protection of biodiversity, sustainable socio-environmental development to guarantee a quality life and the fight against inequalities and poverty (BRASIL, 2023).

The choice of the theme of Conae 2024 and the division into the axes mentioned above, focused on the next PNE "[...] it should be a Plan that guarantees rights and, for this very reason, its goals should be structuring, aiming to guarantee the right to public, basic and higher education, with social quality" (BRASIL, 2024, p. 11). In addition, "The PNE will also bring, with centrality, goals that specifically concern the enormous challenges related to the reduction of inequalities, the valorization of diversity, the environmental emergency, and the regulation of the private sector" (BRASIL, 2024, p. 11).

The need to convene the 2024 Conae had, among other reasons, the unilateral intervention on FNE, which disfigured it, decisively affecting the democratic agenda for the construction of Conae 2018 and 2022, especially after the *impeachment* of President Dilma Rousseff in 2016. Thus, "a whole process of participation of broad and representative sectors in the most varied stages of the conferences was thus impacted from 2016 onwards and, for six years, the processes of participation and democratic interaction between government and society were interrupted" (BRASIL, 2024, p. 10).

Unlike what happened at Conae 2022, the document that served as the basis for Conae 2024 was the focus of broad and consistent discussion throughout the country and featured contributions and the most varied forms of mobilization and debates, in free,



municipal, intermunicipal, district and state conferences, as well as *webinars* and audiences. These discussions had the following contributions:

[...] in amendments, approved at the State and District Education Conferences, materialized almost 9 thousand amendments - the content of which was discussed in 38 colloquia, 7 plenary sessions of Axes and a Final Plenary - which, after debate, voting and systematization, resulted in the consolidation of this Final Document, object of deliberation in the national stage of Conae 2024, held from January 28 to 30, 2024, in Brasília/DF, with relevant support from the University of Brasília (UnB) and an important political decision by the MEC in fulfilling its legal attribution to make the Conference feasible (BRASIL, 2024, p. 10).

In summary, the Special Commission for Systematization and Monitoring counted 8,692 amendments to the 1,138 paragraphs that made up the Reference Document, which were inserted in the Conae 2024 Platform by the 26 states and the Federal District. Of these 8692 amendments, 6,319 were additive amendments; 536 suppressive amendments; 1,715 substitute amendments and 122 agglutinative amendments. In addition, the 2024 Conae had more than 2,400 participants, including delegates, observers, and guests (BRASIL, 2024).

In this sense, for the FNE,

Such indicators reveal the effective mobilization and participation, throughout the country, of the school and academic communities, as well as of the various sectors and segments that effectively build public and private education on a daily basis, at the different levels, stages and modalities of Brazilian education, thus ensuring a broad, democratic, inclusive and representative process of citizen participation (BRASIL, 2024, p. 12).

Thus, at Conae 2024, the final document was approved based on the deliberations of the axis and final plenary sessions. In addition, the accumulations of the National Conference on Basic Education (Coneb, 2008) and the Conaes of the years 2010, 2014, 2018 and 2022 were considered, as well as the National Popular Conferences on Education (Conape), held in 2018 and 2022, which were configured as relevant spaces of resistance and proposition. In any case, in the next sections we will analyze what the PNE data (2014-2024) reveal about Early Childhood Education, and what are the public policies outlined in the Bill sent by the federal government to the National Congress for Early Childhood Education and the financing of Basic Education.

## **WHAT DO THE DATA FROM THE NATIONAL EDUCATION PLAN (2014-2024) SHOW ABOUT FINANCING AND EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION?**

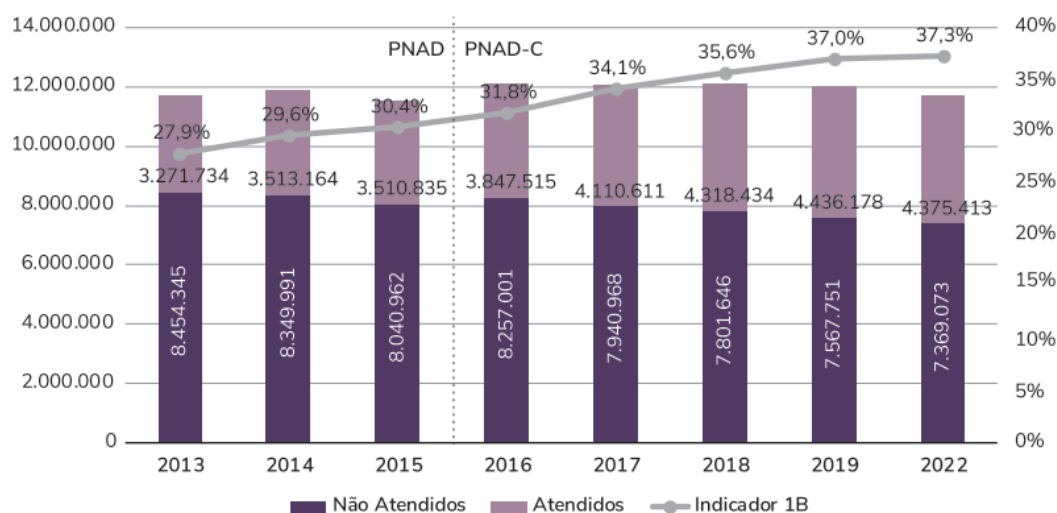
The PNE 2014-2024, extended until December 31, 2025, is a strategic and normative document that establishes goals and guidelines for Brazilian education over a decade and seeks to promote quality, accessible and inclusive education, aiming at the integral development of citizens and the reduction of social inequalities in the country. It works as a guide for the federated entities, in addition to establishing monitoring and evaluation mechanisms to ensure compliance with the established goals.

We are especially interested in the advances and setbacks of the PNE (2014-2024) with regard to Early Childhood Education and financing. From the data presented in the report of the 5th Monitoring Cycle of the goals of the current PNE, released by the National Institute of Educational Studies and Research Anísio Teixeira (Inep) (Brazil, 2024), it is possible to infer that despite having made progress, the goals were not achieved. This is what we will now discuss.

In this context, even though Inep recognizes that "The promotion of early childhood education has been recognized as a fundamental pillar in human development, providing solid foundations for the emotional, social, and cognitive development of children" (BRASIL, 2024, p. 28), graph 1 shows that goal 1 was not achieved. In other words, this goal establishes that "[...] by the end of the Plan's term, in 2024, the universalization of school attendance in the population group from 4 to 5 years of age and school attendance of at least 50% in the population from 0 to 3 years of age will be achieved" (BRASIL, 2024, p. 27). In graph 1 it is possible to infer that only 37.3% of children aged 0 to 3 years attended daycare, that is, well below the 50% established in goal 1 of the PNE.



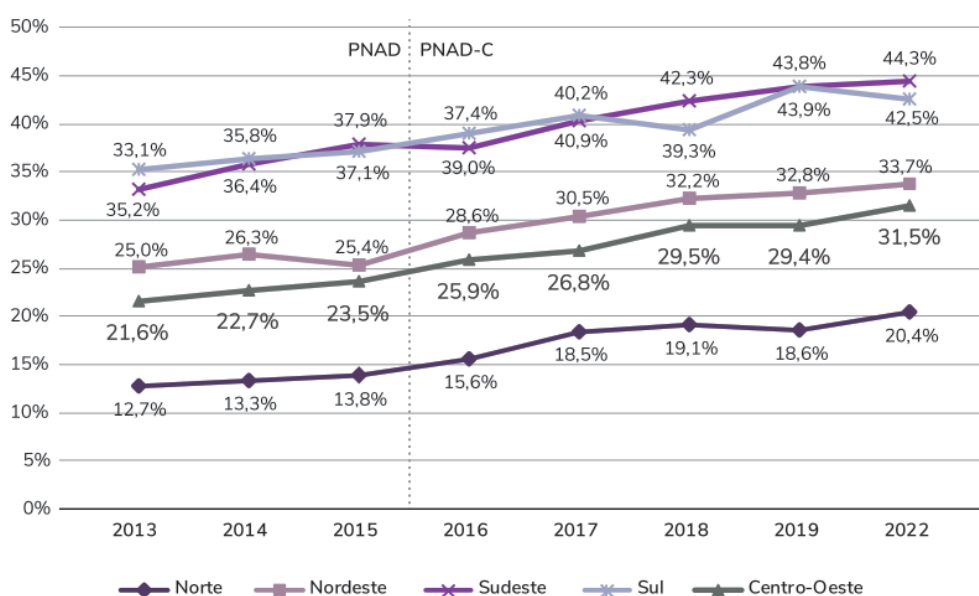
**Graph 1 - Number and percentage of the population aged 0 to 3 years attending school or daycare – Brazil – 2013-2019/2022**



**Source:** Report of the 5th Monitoring Cycle of the PNE (BRASIL, 2024, p. 28).

In addition, graph 2 shows that the difference in care between the regions is another problem to be solved, notably between the north and southeast regions. While the Southeast region served 44.3% of children aged 0 to 3 years, the North region reached only 20.4% of this age group. This shows a paradox about the care of the less needy populations, to the detriment of those who need the presence of the State more with public policies that are effective.

**Graph 2 – Percentage of the population aged 0 to 3 years attending school or daycare – Major regions – 2013-2019/2022**



**Source:** Report of the 5th Monitoring Cycle of the PNE (BRASIL, 2024, p. 29).

To better understand the main reasons that lead children aged 0 to 3 years to be out of school, figure 1 indicates that, in the years 2019, 2022 and 2023 the percentage of children who do not attend due to lack of vacancy or the school does not accept children due to age; had 31.9%, 34.8% and 33.5% as percentages. In relation to children who do not attend daycare by choice of parents or guardians, percentage-wise, they represent 62.2%, 57.1% and 60.7%, respectively. In other words, regardless of the reasons exposed in figure 1, there is a population of children who are not having their right to education ensured.

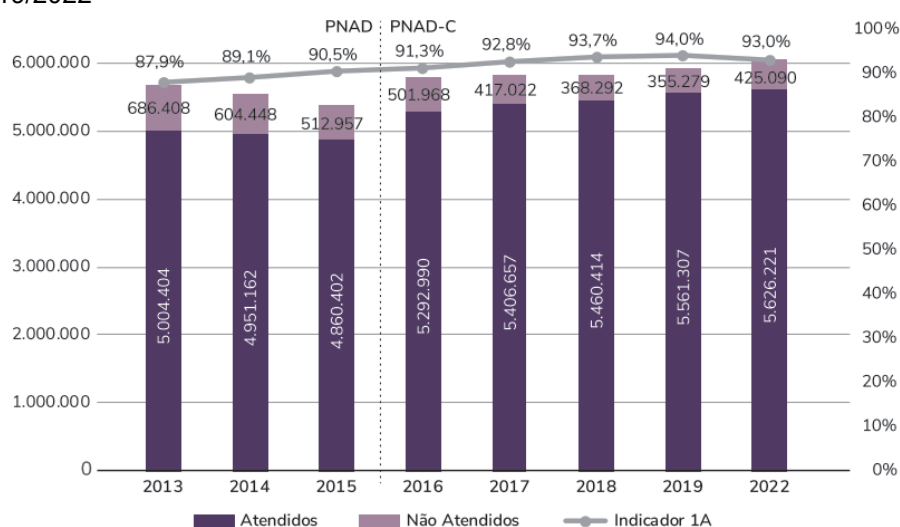
**Figure 1** – Children from 0 to 3 years of age who do not attend daycare or school

Crianças de 0 a 3 anos de idade que não frequentam creche ou escola, por principal motivo de não frequentar						
Brasil 2019-2023						
Principal motivo de não frequentar creche ou escola	Ano x Grupo de idade					
	2019		2022		2023	
	Total	(%)	Total	(%)	Total	(%)
Total	7486	100,0%	7274	100,0%	6910	100,0%
Não tem escola/creche na localidade, falta vaga ou a escola não aceita a criança por conta da idade	2388	31,9%	2530	34,8%	2315	33,5%
Por opção dos pais ou responsáveis	4659	62,2%	4151	57,1%	4194	60,7%
Outro motivo	440	5,9%	593	8,2%	401	5,8%

**Source:** Ministry of Education – MEC (2024, p. 12).

In relation to preschool, graph 3 shows that the attendance of children aged 4 and 5 years was not universalized as predicted by the same goal 1. In 2022, the percentage of preschool children served reached 93%, not reaching 100%. A population of 425,090 children was left unattended.

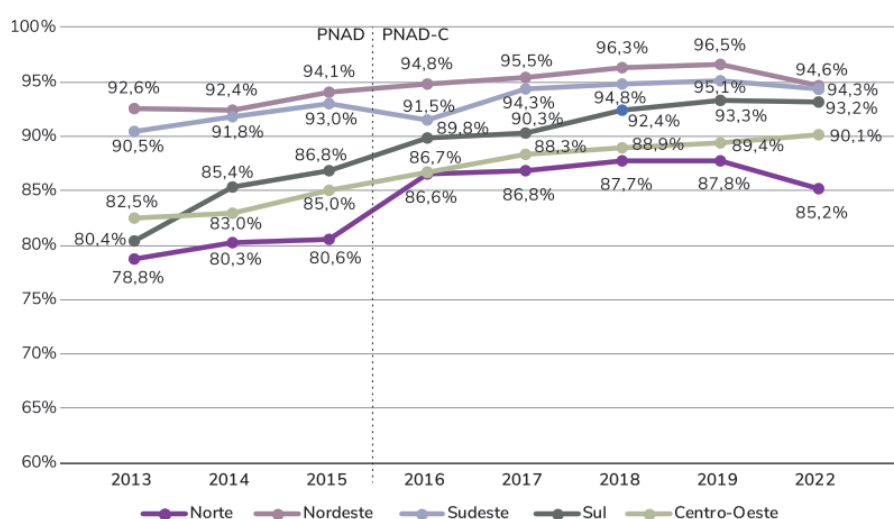
**Graph 3** - Number and percentage of the population aged 4 and 5 years old attending school or daycare – Brazil – 2013-2019/2022



**Source:** Report of the 5th Monitoring Cycle of the PNE (BRASIL, 2024, p. 36).

Taking as a reference the care of children aged 4 and 5 years in the five regions of Brazil, graph 4 shows the same problem in relation to the care of children aged 0 to 3 years. In other words, the preschool attendance by region also presents a discrepancy. The richest regions of Brazil serve a larger portion of children, while the poorest regions are even further away from the service goal. Note that in the northern region, only 85.2% of children of preschool age are effectively enrolled.

**Graph 4** - Percentage of the population aged 4 to 5 years attending school or daycare center - Major regions - 2013-2019/2022



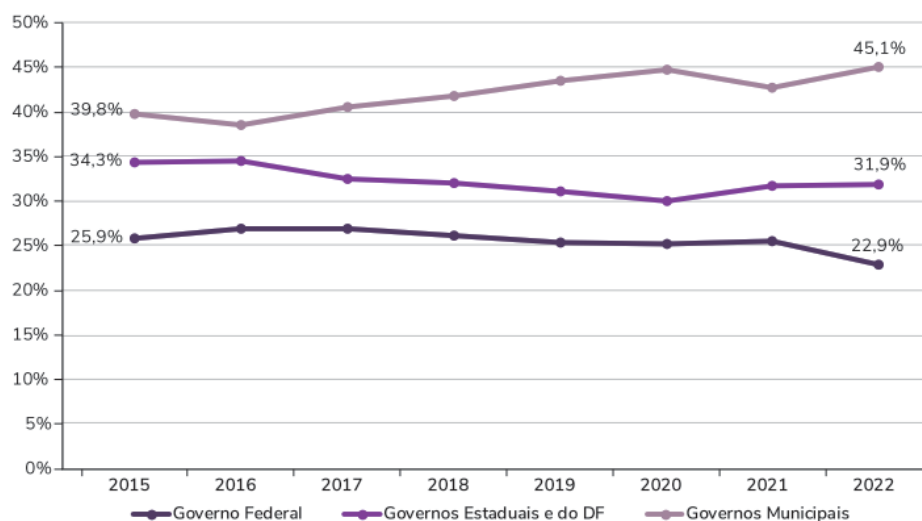
**Source:** Report of the 5th Monitoring Cycle of the PNE (BRASIL, 2024, p. 38).

As for the financing dealt with in the PNE (2014-2024), goal 20 defines the expansion of this investment, which needed to reach 7% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) by 2019 and 10% of the GDP by the end of the Plan's term (in 2024). However, the observed results of relative stagnation in spending of around 5% and 5.5% of GDP, even when considering the increase in participation in 2022 for public spending on education (5.9%), indicate that the intermediate target has not been met and that the effort required to achieve the final target is too great to be met (Brasil, 2024).

In addition, graph 4 explains that,

[...] Municipal governments are responsible for about 45% of these expenditures. In 2015, municipalities were responsible for 39.8% of spending on public education; in 2020 and 2022, this share reached the level of 45%. This increase in municipal participation has been due to a drop in the participation of states and the federal government. The share of state governments in public spending on public education fell from 34.3% in 2015 to 31.9% in 2022. In the last two years, the states have recovered their share, which reached, in 2020, 30.1%. The Federal Government, in turn, accounted for 25.9% in 2015, increasing to 27.0% in 2017, but decreasing from then on to a share of 22.9% in 2022 (BRASIL, 2024, p. 463).

**Graph 5 - Participation of entities in public spending on public education (%) – Brazil – 2015-2022**



**Source:** Report of the 5th Monitoring Cycle of the PNE (BRASIL, 2024, p. 463).

Finally, the municipalities that, as recommended by the Law of Guidelines and Bases of National Education (LDB/1996), need to encompass Early Childhood Education and Elementary Education, are largely responsible and apply more and more in the stages in which they are responsible. And not infrequently, they are forced to make a difficult choice between, applying more in Elementary Education than in Early Childhood Education. Above all, because Elementary Education has its offer regularly required by the authorities and by society itself. In this context, Early Childhood Education always survives with fewer resources. A fact that will corroborate the low attendance rates of this stage, especially in the daycare segment, in addition to forcefully ceding the right to education that begins with the offer of the vacancy. Thus, it is essential to look at Bill 2614/2024 filed by the federal government in the National Congress, to understand what perspectives for Early Childhood Education are outlined for the next decade.

### **IN PERSPECTIVE: FINANCING AND THE RIGHT TO EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION IN BILL 2614/2024 OF THE NEW PNE (2024-2034)**

The current National Education Plan would end on June 25, 2024, as established by Law 13,005, of June 25, 2014. However, the political reality that has been established in Brazil since 2016 has hindered the debates and the possible presentation of a Bill that would reverberate the desires of civil society in relation to a new PNE. In view of this, Law 14,934, of July 25, 2024, was sanctioned, which extended the current PNE until December 31, 2025.

In this perspective, on June 26, 2024, the Bill that received the number 2614/2024 was filed in the National Congress, which aims to "Approve the National Education Plan for the decade 2024-2034". In this project, the structure that will make up the new PNE was defined, which are: guidelines, objectives, goals and strategies. Article 2 of the aforementioned Bill defines each of them as follows:

- I - guidelines - guidelines that guide action and that must be followed by the Governments of the different federative spheres in the implementation of the strategies of the PNE;
- II - objectives - expected changes in relation to the problems identified that result from the implementation of educational policies by the Governments of the different federative spheres;
- III - goals - qualitative and quantitative references that allow verifying the scope of the changes expressed in the objectives based on the implementation of educational policies by the Governments of the different federative spheres; and
- IV - strategies - guidelines for decision-making regarding the action of the Governments of the different federative spheres to achieve the objectives and goals (CONGRESSO NACIONAL, 2024, p. 1).

In addition, Bill No. 2614/2024 contains 10 guidelines, 18 objectives, 58 goals, and 253 strategies to be met by 2034, involving the areas of early childhood education, literacy, elementary and secondary education, comprehensive education, diversity and inclusion, professional and technological education, higher education, structure and functioning of basic education. In particular, we are interested in objectives 1, 2 and 18 and their respective goals and strategies.

In Chapter III, of the general objectives, Bill 2614/2024 in its Article 4 and its respective items, postulate that,

- Art. 4 The general objectives of national education, which guide the formulation and implementation of educational policies by the Union, the States, the Federal District and the Municipalities in the decade 2024-2034:
- [...]
  - III - the protection and development of early childhood;
  - [...]
  - VII – the universalization of school attendance to the population from four to seventeen years of age, and the provision of educational opportunities to those who did not have access at the appropriate age;
  - [...]
  - XI – the increase in public investment in education, in accordance with the provisions of article 211, paragraph 7, and article 214, caput, item VI, of the Constitution. (CONGRESSO NACIONAL, 2024, p. 2-3).

In this sense, the legislator places as the foundation for the implementation of public educational policies for the decade 2024-2034, among other objectives; the protection, universalization and increase of public funding for education. These objectives corroborate

the principle that access to Early Childhood Education constitutes the first dimension of the right to education, with the entry of babies and young children into educational institutions, which allows them to begin their educational trajectory in the first stage of Basic Education, in daycare (children from zero to three years old) and in preschool (children from four and five years old) (Ministry of Education, 2024). In addition,

The legislation built in Brazil determines that municipalities must offer enough vacancies to meet the demand for Early Childhood Education, as the child is considered a subject of rights, regardless of any circumstance such as sex, race/ethnicity, religion, social class, place of residence or economic condition (MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, 2024, p. 11).

And for this service to happen in a way that is universal, it is essential that public education is financed by the federated entities (Union, States, Federal District and Municipalities). And, in this context, Article 14 of Bill 2614/2024 establishes that it must be observed,

Article 14. The financing of national basic public education, which is the responsibility of the Union, the States, the Federal District and the Municipalities, shall observe:

- I - the construction of equity in the financing capacity of public basic education systems;
- II - the national quality standard agreed upon within the scope of the federation;
- III – the Quality Student Cost – CAQ, referred to in article 211, paragraph 7, of the Constitution; and
- IV - monitoring the relationship between the allocation of financial resources and the improvement of the quality of the educational offer and the learning and development outcomes of students (CONGRESSO NACIONAL, 2024, p. 5).

It is always important to emphasize that "[...] the problem of financing education in the country is not solved only with an improvement of managerial aspects or with the reduction/elimination of deviations: it is essential to provide new resources" (ARELARO; GIL, 2020, p. 126). Therefore, the determination of procedures and responsibilities in relation to public financing of public education is a *sine qua non issue* to achieve the objectives, goals, and strategies of the new PNE (2024-2034).

In view of this, we will focus on what Bill 2614/2024 proposes, in particular on Early Childhood Education and financing. Thus, objectives 1 and 2 of the New PNE are defined in the bill as follows: "Objective 1 - Expand the offer of enrollment in daycare centers and universalize preschool" and "Objective 2 - Ensure the quality of the offer of early childhood education". That is, they are objectives that are related to the service and quality of Early Childhood Education. These two objectives are subdivided into goals. In the case of

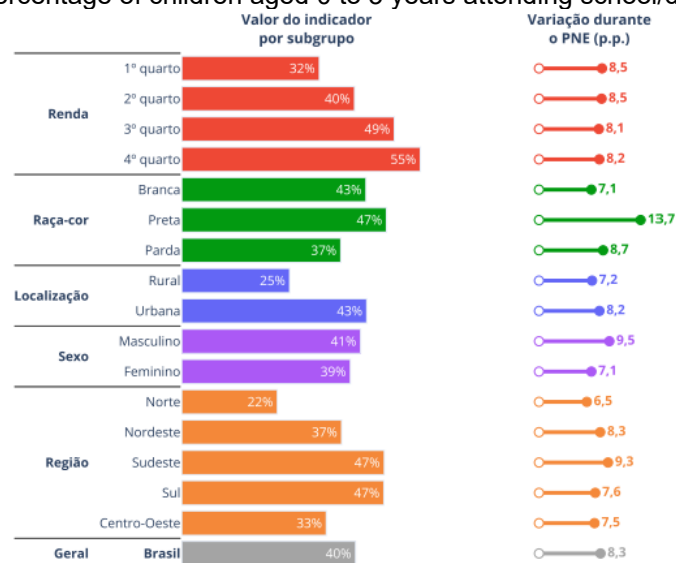


objective 1, we will have goals 1a, 1b and 1c; and goal 2, goals 2a and 2b. This breakdown of objectives into goals, and the insertion of concern with the quality of care offered in the Early Childhood Education stage, are important innovations in relation to the PNE (2014-2024).

Goal 1a of the new PNE proposes "Expand the offer of early childhood education to serve at least 60% (sixty percent) of children up to three years old at the end of the term of the National Education Plan – PNE" (CONGRESSO NACIONAL, 2024, p. 7). In other words, in relation to the PNE (2014-2024), there was a 10% increase in the estimate of attendance for children of daycare age. However, the data indicate that currently, only 37.4% of children aged 0 to 3 years attend school. This means that in order to achieve what is recommended in goal 1a, a joint effort by the federated entities will be necessary, not leaving this service exclusively under the responsibility of the municipalities.

Another advance indicated in Bill 2614/2024 in its Goal 1b, is "Reduce, to a maximum of ten percentage points, the inequality of access to daycare between children in the highest per capita family income quintile and those in the lowest per capita family income quintile by the end of the term of this PNE" (NATIONAL CONGRESS, 2024, p. 7). This concern, which takes into account not only the service, but the equalization of the service, is already signaled in the monitoring of the PNE (2014-2024) (BRASIL, 2024). Figure 2 presents the differences in Early Childhood Education attendance taking into account several aspects, including family income. It is observed that the difference between the lowest and highest family income of children aged 0 to 3 years who are served is currently 23%. This means that it is ambitious, which is what Target 1b suggests.

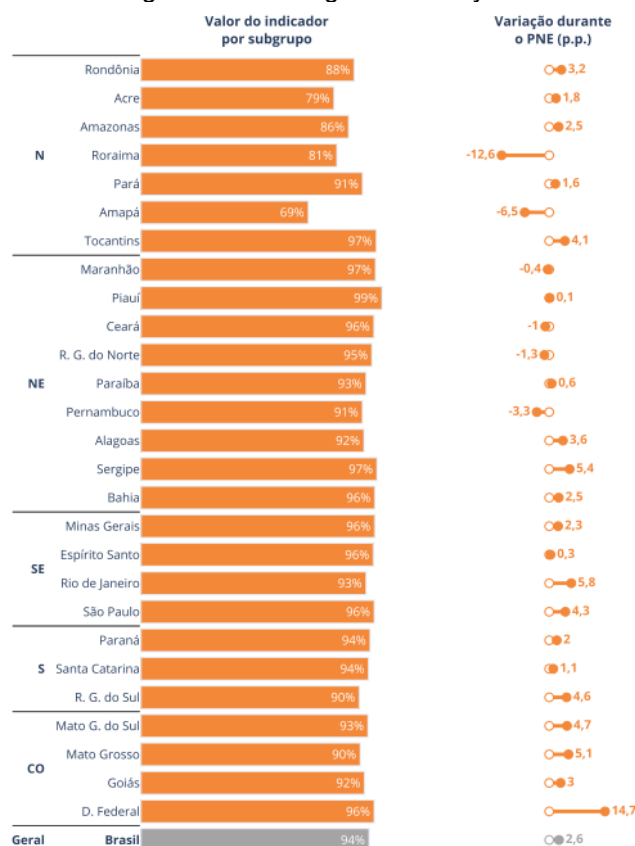
**Figure 2 - Percentage of children aged 0 to 3 years attending school/daycare center**



**Source:** National Campaign for the Right to Education (2024, p. 10).

Another problem faced for the 2024-2034 decade is related to the universalization of preschool attendance. In the current PNE (2014-2024), the objective was to universalize the service of this age group by 2016. Figure 3 indicates that the goal was not achieved, and, in addition, there is a discrepancy in preschool attendance between the various regions of the country. Goal 1c of the new PNE reinforces this need for universalization of preschool, however, it extends the deadline for its fulfillment until the third year of the new PNE "Goal 1c - Universalize, by the third year of the period of validity of the PNE, access to early childhood education in preschool, to serve all children from four to five years of age (NATIONAL CONGRESS, 2024, p. 7). This means that the universalization of care that should have occurred in 2016 is now expected to be achieved around 2018, that is, 12 years after the first deadline.

**Figure 3 - Percentage of children aged 4 and 5 years attending school**



**Source:** National Campaign for the Right to Education (2024, p. 12).

A novelty expressed in the Bill of the new PNE concerns objective 2, which specifically deals with ensuring the quality of the provision of Early Childhood Education. In other words, what is intended is to make it clear that the mere offer of a vacancy does not guarantee the right to education in its fullness. In this regard, Goal 2a recommends,

Ensure that all daycare facilities meet national quality standards for early childhood education, considering, at least, the dimensions of physical infrastructure, education professionals, management conditions, pedagogical resources, accessibility, interactions, and pedagogical practices (CONGRESSO NACIONAL, 2024, p. 8).

Also taking into account the need to establish national quality standards in relation to quality in preschool, Goal 2b stipulates,

Ensure that all preschool offers meet national quality standards for early childhood education, considering, at least, the dimensions of physical infrastructure, education professionals, management conditions, pedagogical resources, accessibility, interactions, pedagogical practices, and play (CONGRESSO NACIONAL, 2024, p. 8).

Regarding the need to carry out quality standards for the provision of Early Childhood Education, both in daycare and preschool, the Ministry of Education (MEC) points out that this offer needs to take into account aspects such as: availability of physical facilities, teaching materials, equipment and means of carrying out activities. On the other hand, as for professionals who work in Early Childhood Education, it is necessary to consider aspects related to the form of entry, hiring, remuneration and career that also impact the conditions of supply and access to early childhood education (MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, 2024).

With regard to financing, objective 18 indicates that it is necessary to ensure quality and equity in the conditions of basic education provision. As already discussed, Goal 20 of the current PNE (2014-2024), which proposed to expand public investment in public education in order to achieve the intermediate goal of applying 7% of GDP after five years from the approval of the Plan and 10% of GDP at the end of the decade, was not achieved. In this sense, the National Campaign for the Right to Education signals that this goal was not achieved, among other reasons,

Temer's Constitutional Amendment (EC) 95/2016, which was in force for 7 of the 10 years of the Plan, determined that no investment in social areas could be higher than the inflationary adjustment until 2023, when it was replaced by a New Fiscal Framework that is less deleterious to social policies but, ultimately, does not break with the austerity paradigm of its predecessor. In addition to Bolsonaro's policies of cuts, the Spending Ceiling was the great obstacle to the universalization of access to quality education in the country, as it put in check the fulfillment of the goals and strategies established by the current National Education Plan, also severely impacting the next plan, which will be in force between 2024 and 2034. For the next decade, the obstacles imposed by the New Fiscal Framework to the increase in investment in education and, especially, the threat it has leveraged against constitutional floors, will have to be overcome so that we do not have another decade hampered by fiscal austerity (CAMPANHA NACIONAL PELO DIREITO À EDUCAÇÃO, 2024, p. 5).

Thus, Goal 18, composed of goals 18a, 18b, 18c and 18d, outlines the horizon of education financing in the country. Goal 18a brings a perspective very close to goal 20 that is included in the current PNE. In other words, it stipulates "Expand public investment in education, in order to reach the equivalent of 7% (seven percent) of the Gross Domestic Product – GDP by the sixth year of validity of this PNE, and 10% (ten percent) of the GDP by the end of the decade [...]" (CONGRESSO NACIONAL, 2024, p. 42).

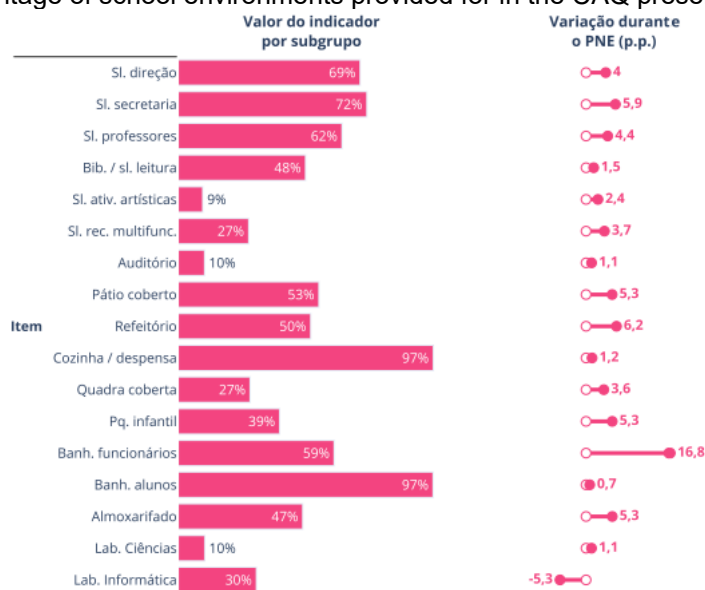
Goal 18b, on the other hand, takes as a reference for investment per student, the percentage of GDP per capita equivalent to the average of the countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development – OECD until the fifth year of

validity of this PNE, and once again reinforces the need to regularize the Student Quality Cost – CAQ, provided for in article 211, Paragraph 7 of the Constitution, until the end of the decade. In the specific case of the CAQ, the National Campaign for the Right to Education clarifies that,

However, challenges for educational financing still remain ahead, such as the regulation of the CAQ on the conceptual basis on which it was originally conceived, debated and acclaimed by the educational community. As the CAQ is a mechanism that links financing with quality parameters for basic education, such basic inputs have also not been regulated, much less established and implemented (CAMPANHA NACIONAL PELO DIREITO À EDUCAÇÃO, 2024, p. 89).

Goal 18c implies that it is necessary to address the issue of federalism in Brazil, by proposing "Equalize the financing capacity of basic education among federative entities, based on the CAQ, with reference to the national quality standard, as provided for in article 211, paragraph 7, of the Constitution" (CONGRESSO NACIONAL, 2024, p. 42). This means dividing the financing responsibilities between the Union, the States, the Federal District and the Municipalities, in order to equalize the regional differences that are increasingly accentuated in the aspect of financing. In the same sense, Goal 18d reinforces the need to "Reduce inequalities in the conditions of supply of school infrastructure, in order to meet the agreed national quality standard as provided for in article 211, paragraph 7, of the Constitution" (CONGRESSO NACIONAL, 2024, p. 42). Figure 3 summarizes this need for the sum of efforts of governments to offer a quality public education that is socially referenced.

**Figure 3 - Percentage of school environments provided for in the CAQ present in public schools**



**Source:** National Campaign for the Right to Education (2024, p. 89).

In this context, it is opportune to reinforce the need to establish the bases of the CAQ, <sup>3</sup>because

Without the CAQ, what we see is that even basic resources such as water supply are still lacking in 3,063 public schools in the middle of 2023. When it comes to the supply of drinking water, this number almost doubles, to 7,912 schools, and is similar to the number of 6,363 schools that do not have sanitary sewage (CAMPANHA NACIONAL PELO DIREITO À EDUCAÇÃO, 2024, p. 91).

Finally, whatever the public educational policy that is put on the agenda in relation to Early Childhood Education, it is essential to take into account the following challenges:

- Insufficient resources for the construction of daycare centers and preschools in the municipalities.
- Lack of teachers and other Early Childhood Education professionals in certain areas and modalities.
- Part of the target audience of Early Childhood Education is allocated in multi-stage or multi-grade classes, especially in rural areas.
- Inequality in access conditions between urban and rural areas and between children from different social segments.
- Limited availability of land in medium and large cities for the construction of daycare centers (MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, 2024, p. 20).

In addition to these challenges more directly linked to the structural issue, it is important to highlight the critical causes directly related to financing, which are:

- Inequality in the financing capacity of public basic education networks.

<sup>3</sup> Student-Quality Cost. CAQ is the quality standard that approaches the costs of the most developed countries in educational terms.



- Fundeb's weighting factors are not calibrated to meet the financing needs in some stages, modalities, types of school and journey.
- Low investment in school infrastructure, especially in areas of greater socioeconomic vulnerability.
- Lack of regulation of minimum infrastructure standards for the proper functioning of educational institutions (MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, 2024, p. 293).

In summary, a Plan that has been conceived as the epicenter of educational policies and an effective instrument for managing education and mobilizing society in our country, needs to "[...] agree on ambitious goals given the historical educational debt that marks it and must converge on the national challenge of valuing education professionals, a strategic dimension for achieving the higher objectives of the Plan itself (BRASIL, 2024, p. 11). However, after the approval of the new PNE for the next decade, it is essential that the public policies outlined therein are effectively demanded from the public power.

## **FINAL CONSIDERATIONS**

In view of all that has been exposed, the National Education Plans are configured as important tools for planning and structuring the educational public policy that is intended to be put into practice. However, by systematically failing to comply with these education plans, governments at their various levels show a lack of commitment to attending, above all, the most vulnerable.

When analyzing the last two National Education Plans, the data prove that their fulfillment, especially in the aspect of attending Early Childhood Education and in the financing of Basic Education, had always been postponed to the next PNE. In Bill 2614/2024 filed by the Lula da Silva government in the National Congress, it brought some important innovations in relation to Early Childhood Education. In this aspect, two objectives in the project of the new PNE, objectives 1 and 2, focused on meeting this first stage of Basic Education. Among these innovations, it is possible to point out the concern with the quality of care that is offered in daycare and preschool. In addition to making clear the need to establish minimum quality standards; the PNE project advances in the equalization of the differences in care between the lowest and highest family income bracket; and the sharing of responsibilities among all federated entities with Early Childhood Education, not leaving the municipalities as the only ones responsible for this service.

In the financing of Basic Education, the need to regulate the CAQ was once again highlighted as a fundamental element for equalizing the provision of quality education

throughout the national territory. In other words, regional differences need to be considered in the financing that is intended for the next decade. In short, the advances that are placed in Bill 2614/2024 cannot be circumscribed only in a Law that will be approved by the National Congress. It is necessary to be willing to implement it (national, state, district and municipal) governments, leaving aside the constant improvisation when it comes to public policy for education.

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