

**POLITICS AND BELIEF: STUDY ABOUT THE BNCC AND HOMESCHOOLING  
BASED ON THE ADVOCACY COALITIONS FRAMEWORK**

***POLÍTICA E CRENÇA: ESTUDO SOBRE A BNCC E O HOMESCHOOLING A PARTIR  
DO MODELO DE COALIZÕES DE DEFESA***

***POLÍTICA Y CREENCIAS: ESTUDIO SOBRE LA BNCC Y LA EDUCACIÓN EN CASA  
(HOMESCHOOLING) A PARTIR DEL MODELO DE COALICIONES PROMOTORAS***

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**ABSTRACT:** By selecting as object of research the National Learning Standards in Brazil (BNCC) and the movement for the regulation of homeschooling, this study proposes to identify the beliefs underlying the actions of those involved in the advocacy of each cause. Documentary research was conducted by focusing on the Movimento pela Base (MPB), an actor supporting the BNCC, and the Campanha Educação Domiciliar – Direito Já!, a campaign which brings together actors from the coalition in favor of homeschooling. For the analyses, the paper used categories from the Advocacy Coalition Framework, created by Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith in the 1980s. Although both policies refer to the right to education – either by linking this right to the homogenization of the curriculum or by questioning who is responsible for providing it – our findings indicate that these actors have different beliefs and forms of organization, which explains their different interests and strategies.

**KEYWORDS:** Educational policy. Advocacy coalitions framework. Beliefs. BNCC. Homeschooling.

**RESUMO:** Tomando como objeto a Base Nacional Comum Curricular (BNCC) e o movimento para regulamentação do homeschooling, este estudo propõe a identificação das crenças que fundamentam as ações dos atores envolvidos em suas defesas. Elaborou-se uma pesquisa documental com foco no Movimento pela Base (MPB), ator favorável à BNCC, e na Campanha Educação Domiciliar - Direito Já!, que coaduna atores da coalizão em prol do ensino domiciliar. Para as análises, o trabalho utilizou categorias do Modelo de Coalizão de Defesa,

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criado por Sabatier e Jenkins-Smith na década de 1980. Como resultado, identificou-se que, apesar de ambas as políticas dialogarem com o direito à educação – seja pela vinculação desse direito à homogeneização do currículo ou pelo questionamento de a quem cabe a responsabilidade de provê-lo –, esses atores possuem crenças e modos de organização distintos, o que justifica a diferença em interesses e estratégias.

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** Políticas educacionais. Modelo de coalizões de defesa. Crenças. BNCC. Homeschooling.

**RESUMEN:** Tomando la Base Nacional Común Curricular (BNCC) y el movimiento para regulación de la educación en casa, este estudio visa identificar creencias que sustentan las acciones de actores involucrados en su defensa. Se elaboró una investigación documental centrada en el Movimiento Por la Base, actor a favor del BNCC, y la Campaña EduCAÇÃO Domiciliar -¡Ahora Mismo!, que concilia actores de la coalición a favor de la educación en casa. Para los análisis, el trabajo utilizó categorías del Marco de las Coaliciones Promotoras, creado por Sabatier y Jenkins-Smith en la década de 1980. Como resultado, se identificó que, si bien ambas políticas dialogan con el derecho a la educación, ya sea por la vinculación de este derecho a la homogeneización del currículo o pelo cuestionamiento sobre a quién cabe la responsabilidad de proporcionarlo, estos actores tienen creencias y formas de organización diferentes, lo que justifica la diferencia de intereses y estrategias.

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** Políticas educativas. Marco de las coaliciones promotoras. Creencias. BNCC. Educación en casa.

## Introduction

The formulation and implementation of educational policies have always been immersed in an environment of disputes. Because of this, identifying the actors and groups that are part of this arena and the perspectives they advocate is essential to understanding the related phenomena. Two policies that have been tensing educators, organizations, parliamentarians, and public opinion are: the institution of the Common National Curriculum Base (BNCC) (BRAZIL, 2018a) and the regulation process of homeschooling.

The BNCC (BRAZIL, 2018a) is the document responsible for defining the essential learning that students throughout Brazil should develop throughout basic education. Homologated in 2017, its elaboration and implementation processes are marked by a series of conflicts related to the concepts of the right to learn and diversity of learning, and by the fundamental participation of non-governmental actors in its institution. Homeschooling is a policy that proposes the removal of children and adolescents from school institutions so that they can be educated at home, under the management of their parents. The motivations for adopting this practice, according to Ribeiro (2020), are the fear that their children may have

contact with moral and religious values different from their own, and dissatisfaction with school, both with teaching and with problems identified in this institution, such as bullying and episodes of violence.

Moreover, it is important to note that both proposals, the establishment of the Basis and the process of regulation of homeschooling, give rise to debates in the political and social arena, forming groups in favor and against the two policies. Another similarity is the fact that they dialogue with the right to education - either by linking this right to the homogenization of the curriculum or by questioning who is responsible for providing it.

Although they are aligned in these aspects, both the policies and the actors defending them have diverse origins and guidelines. On the one hand, the defense of the implementation of the BNCC is related to the search for the establishment of a certain level of quality in all schools in the country, based on the principle that access and permanence in school are subjective rights of students. On the other hand, the homeschooling movement advocates for the freedom to teach children and adolescents in their homes (EDUCAÇÃO DOMICILIAR - DIREITO JÁ, 2019a), which contradicts the perspective of the right of access and permanence of students in school.

Thus, it is necessary to reflect on what influences the positions of the actors that advocate for each of these two policies, what are the foundations that sustain the actions and strategies adopted by the groups, what are the possible relations between values, philosophical, economic and ontological conceptions, and the struggle for the design of a public policy. To generate this understanding, we made use of the Advocacy Coalitions Model, a theoretical model from political science that has been used by several authors to compose studies in the field of public policy, which will be presented in the following section.

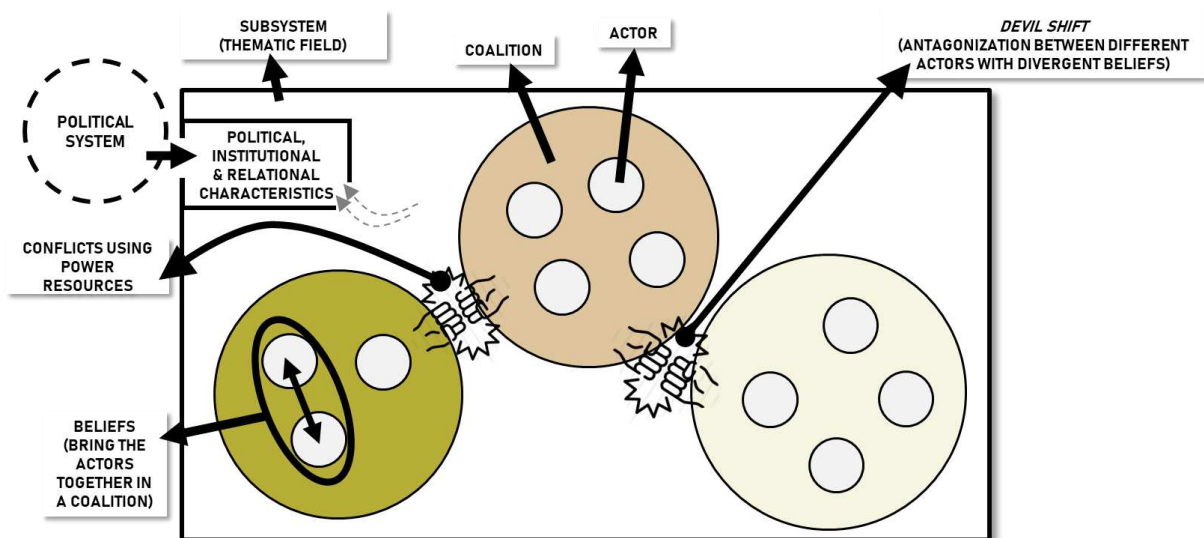
Besides this introduction, the paper is divided into four more sections. In the second, we address the model that supports the theoretical lenses used. The third section briefly describes the methodological route and the ethical issues taken into account in the research. Then, section four presents the analysis of the results of each of the coalitions, the MPB and the Campaign for Home Education - Right Now! (*Educação Domiciliar - Direito Já!*) The last section contains the final remarks of the study.

## Theoretical framework

The perspective of advocacy coalitions has increasingly gained ground among studies in the public policy field (CARVALHO, 2019). This is related to the popularity that the Advocacy Coalitions Framework or Advocacy Coalitions Model (MCD in the Portuguese acronym) has been gaining in recent years. This theoretical model was developed by Paul Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith in the 1980s in order to investigate changes in public policy over time and to formulate a theoretical perspective that synthesized the positives of top-down and bottom-up perspectives, escaping the theoretical limitations imposed by understanding the policy process through heuristic stages (as proposed by the Public Policy Cycle). Since its first publication, the Defense Coalitions Model has undergone numerous revisions (VICENTE; CALMON, 2011), with the perspective of including categories of analysis, hypotheses, postulates and theoretical perspectives that had not been thought of originally.

Figure 1 presents a representative schema of the main premises of the Advocacy Coalitions Model. As indicated, actors acting in a particular policy subsystem (thematic sphere of public policy, such as education, agriculture, health, etc.) group together in coalitions. The grouping of actors into a particular coalition occurs because of shared beliefs among them. Similarly, coalitions are distinguished from each other because of the divergence of beliefs among them.

**Figure 1** – Diagram representing the main premises of the Advocacy Coalitions Model



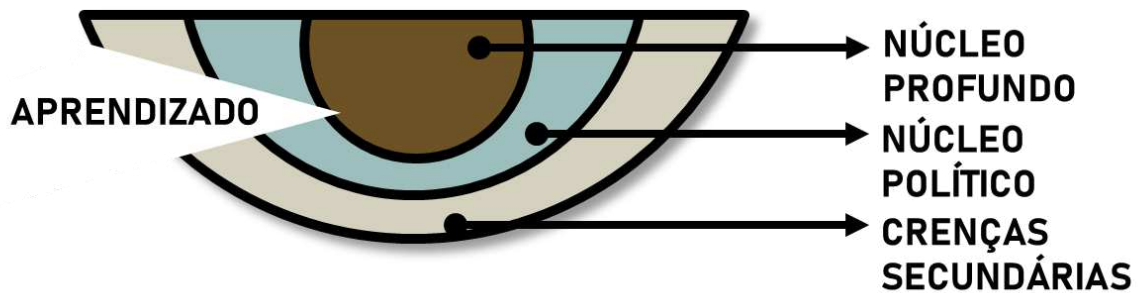
Source: Prepared by the authors

Such disagreement favors the existence of the phenomenon of "devil shift" among coalitions; that is, due to divergent beliefs among actors of different coalitions, actors tend to develop an antagonistic view of those who are not part of their coalition. This phenomenon also favors the perception that opposing coalitions are stronger politically than they usually are. This, consequently, also encourages the actors to unite with others who share similar ideas to theirs, in order to ensure the defense of these ideas in the policy subsystem in which they operate. This defense is carried out through disputes in which coalitions make use of the power resources they possess. Moreover, they are based on the political, institutional, and relational characteristics prevailing in the policy subsystem in question and in the political system in general.

In the MCD, there are also two categories that are relevant to this work: policy-oriented learning and the belief system. For the authors of the model, learning is one of the keys that can generate changes in the public policy field, directly altering the actors' belief systems and, consequently, the coalitions they are part of. Through the new information that actors obtain, technical or otherwise, changes can occur in the thoughts, arguments, and behaviors of policymakers (VICENTE; CALMON, 2011; CARVALHO, 2019), culminating in changes in the direction of the policy itself.

In the MCD, the belief system performs the function of "shaping a normative perspective to ground the interpretation and discernment of solutions (diagnosis) regarding certain perceived phenomena" (VICENTE; CALMON, 2011, p. 6). According to the model, the belief system is divided into a hierarchical structure influenced by different degrees of permeability to learning, that is, to the possibility of modifying beliefs. As the focus of this article is related to the identification of the beliefs manifested by the coalitions defending the BNCC and homeschooling, it is necessary, preliminarily, to understand how the model will deal with the levels of beliefs. To facilitate the understanding of these categories, Figure 2 was prepared and is presented below.

**Figure 2** – Graphical representation of the belief system idea and political learning in the Advocacy Coalitions Model<sup>5</sup>



Source: Prepared by the authors

The following explanatory summary was formulated based on the works of Vicente and Calmon (2011) and Carvalho (2019). The deep core is the one that houses the less porous beliefs, less permeable to learning and, consequently, more resistant to change. As an example, life conceptions, core values, sociocultural identity, etc. are cited. In addition to these, intrinsic human rights such as life, knowledge, health, love, freedom, and security are also included.

In the middle of the hierarchy is the policy core, which is concerned with the most important defenses about public policy, basic strategies, and pragmatic choices. This core is related to the practical issues necessary for the achievement of the values contained in the deepest core (the hard core).

Sabatier (1998) points out that the "glue" that promotes unity among actors is most strongly related to the set of beliefs of the political core. This is because the beliefs of this core are relatively more explicit than the beliefs of the deep core, and are more directly related to the policy subsystem in which actors exercise their disputes. At the same time, these beliefs have some level of malleability, which allows tuning the belief system of all the actors that form the coalition to produce a common belief system, that is, a coalition belief system.

At the outermost part, that is, most permeable to the influences of the learnings, is the secondary aspects, where the most instrumental beliefs are located. This level contains the most easily changed beliefs of the system. Examples of such core beliefs are: interpretation of norms, minor policy preferences, definitions about budget allocations, and information about the performance of specific programs.

<sup>5</sup> APRENDIZADO = LEARNING; NÚCLEO PROFUNDO = DEEP CORE; NÚCLEO POLÍTICO = POLITICAL CORE; CRENÇAS SECUNDÁRIAS = SECONDARY BELIEFS

## Methodological course and ethical issues

Based on the questions presented in the introduction, this paper aims to identify the beliefs that drive the advocacy of the two policies that the paper takes as the object of study. In order to make this discussion, we used the Advocacy Coalitions Model, presented in the previous section.

The proposed study is qualitative in nature and uses documentary sources to formulate the analysis. In the discussion about the BNCC, we analyzed the official website of one of the main actors who act in its favor, the Movement for the Base (MPB in the Portuguese acronym). The website contains the presentation of the group's principles, members and institutional support, and the reasons for defending the national curriculum reform. In the case of homeschooling, we investigated the social networks of the Campaign *Educação Domiciliar - Direito Já!* In particular, the Pauta de Reivindicações para a Regulação Justa da Educação Domiciliar, one of the organization's main manifestos, was analyzed.

After the investigation in the mentioned sources, we carried out the analysis of the actors' ideas found, categorizing them in the different nuclei of the belief system, according to the division proposed by the Advocacy Coalitions Model.

As the documents used are of public order, that is, they are available on the internet for everyone, it is understood that the ethical criteria for the production of scientific research were fully respected.

## Analysis and results

### The BNCC and the Movement for the Base

The Common National Curricular Base (BNCC), approved in 2017 by the then president of the Republic, Michel Temer, is the document responsible for establishing what students from all schools in Brazil should learn over the years in basic education (BRAZIL, 2018a). Since its first version, presented in 2015, still in the Dilma Rousseff government, the policy raised a number of conflicts during the processes of drafting and implementation, for having been marked by positions in favor and against it that came from multiple actors, including, in this list, some non-governmental institutions - which was also a reason for conflict (PIRES, 2020). Moreover, the discussion of the curriculum proposal took place during a time of acute political instability in the country, mainly marked by the impeachment of President Dilma Rousseff.

The third version of the BNCC was approved by the Minister of Education at the time, Mendonça Filho. In this version, in its introduction, the document is defined as "normative in nature" (BRAZIL, 2018a, p. 7), and it is mentioned that its function is to direct the set of essential learning to be developed by all students throughout basic education, based on the Law of Directives and Bases of National Education, Law No. 9.394/1996 (BRAZIL, 1996), and the National Curricular Guidelines for Basic Education of 2013 (BRAZIL, 2013).

Throughout the process of formulating the BNCC (BRAZIL, 2018a) and its implementation, one organization played an important role in the process, due to its mobilization for the development and approval of the policy. The organization was even cited in the document as an important support for its approval. It is the Movement for the Base (MPB in the Portuguese abbreviation), a non-governmental group that defines itself as a non-partisan network of organizations, entities and individuals linked to education, dedicated exclusively to the formulation and implementation of two important milestones in national education: the BNCC (BRASIL, 2018a) and the High School Reform (BRAZIL, 2017). In order to achieve this purpose, its work is focused on "producing evidence and consensus to support the advancement of quality implementation [of these policies] in public networks and to qualify the public debate on the subject" (MOVIMENTO PELA BASE, 2021, our additions, our translation).

The MPB presents as its principles: the promotion of a comprehensive and quality education, the coherence between curriculum, teacher training, materials, and evaluations, the technical quality, the legitimacy, the appreciation of the collaboration scheme, the continuous monitoring of the implementation of these two policies, and the responsibility of the public power and the education networks in this process (MOVIMENTO PELA BASE, 2021).

Considering the definition of advocacy coalition as a union of actors based on shared beliefs (VICENTE; CALMON, 2011), which occupy different positions of influence in the education policy arena, the MPB shows itself as a strong actor of the pro-BNCC advocacy coalition. This coalition brings together corporate agents, such as the Lemann Foundation and the Ayrton Senna Institute; associations focused on educational issues, such as the Brazilian Association for the Evaluation of Education (ABAVE); and civil associations of public administrators, such as the National Union of Municipal Directors of Education (Undime) and the National Council of Secretaries of Education (Consed).

The purpose of this coalition is to advocate the promotion of extensive curriculum reform as a means of correcting the factors that are creating the crisis in Brazilian education,



manifested in the inequalities of proficiency in Portuguese and mathematics that materialize among the different colors/races, genders, socioeconomic levels, regions, states and municipalities of the country. For these actors, the creation of a common curricular base would promote a minimum acceptable level of competencies and skills that should be worked on in the curriculum of all schools and stages of basic education.

Regarding the actions of the organization, the literature that accompanies its performance in the field of education corroborates the extensive participation of the MPB during the BNCC drafting events (PIRES, 2020). An analysis of information published on the official website of the organization points out that, currently, its work is focused on the promotion of materials and events that assist and monitor the networks in the implementation of the policy.

On its official website, the MPB presents itself as one of those responsible for ensuring the learning and development rights of students, working in partnership with municipal and state education networks (MOVIMENTO PELA BASE, 2015). This action occurs from the production of consensus and the distribution of technical guidelines to the networks for the implementation of the BNCC (BRAZIL, 2018a), which are presented as the major contributions of the organization to the preparation and implementation of the policy.

After pointing out the Movement as an important actor in the pro-BNCC advocacy coalition, let's move on to identifying the beliefs of the actors in this organization.

Regarding the deep core, the MPB presents as main ontological values: equality and knowledge. The two values are intrinsically related in the worldview of the MPB actors. For them, the guarantee of equality depends on knowledge for its effectiveness, at the same time that the main equality they aim to achieve is the equality of knowledge.

There is no federal law that defines the Common National Base referred to in these documents. This absence has consequences. One of the most invisible, but one of the most serious, is that many students do not acquire the knowledge and skills that every Brazilian has the right to acquire. This is one of the causes of the great educational inequalities in Brazil (MOVIMENTO PELA BASE, 2015, p. 2, our translation).

The first step in its construction [referring to the BNCC] is the belief that quality education is not only a human right, but also the foundation of a larger project, namely, the development of the country [...] [It is argued, then, that] all [the curricula of all education systems] should contain a common part of the curriculum that is the Common National Base, which will ensure equity in the education system and the materialization of the right to education (MOVIMENTO PELA BASE, 2015, p. 4, our translation).

The amalgamation of these two values corresponds to what philosophy calls the "contractarian view. Unlike the contractarian perspective, which assumes that the consensus about what is "morally right" comes from the actors' fear of conflicting with each other, the contractarianists understand that it is necessary to promote the active convincing of social actors in a rational way about what is "morally right" (CUDD; EFTEKHARI, 2021). Thus, MPB actors understand that it is necessary to ensure consensus for their propositions<sup>6</sup>. It is also noteworthy that the understanding of this need and the rationality related to it reaffirms knowledge as one of the MPB's main values, since, through knowledge, it would be possible to rationally expose the reasons for the collective understanding that its proposals are the most acceptable and consistent with the appropriate moral bias, which would materialize in the achievement of equality of knowledge.

One of the relevant beliefs of the political core of the actors who make up the MPB is the perception of a crisis situation in Brazilian education, regarding the lack of quality of education and effectiveness in its supply. Both are pointed out based on relevant educational indicators, such as proficiency measured in large-scale external evaluations (such as the Basic Education Evaluation System - Saeb) and data from the School Census. Such belief is expressed by the MPB in its principles and in the defense of the need for a common curricular base as a means to deal with the problem perceived by the organization: "The Brazilian basic education system has great difficulties in these dimensions [infrastructure, personnel and pedagogical] and, therefore, the solution of the serious national educational problems requires concomitant actions in the three dimensions mentioned" (MOVIMENTO PELA BASE, 2015, p. 1, our additions).

In other words, the conception shared by the actors that make up the Movement for the Base about Brazilian education is that there are a number of gaps that mark its supply, related to pedagogical difficulties, personnel, infrastructure, etc. (MOVIMENTO PELA BASE, 2015). Thus, the idea that the current situation of the Brazilian educational scenario demands a profound reformulation is part of the Movement's beliefs. From this perception arises the driving force of advocacy of curriculum reform as a solution to the problems pointed out.

Another belief found in the political core of the Movement's actors' belief system is the importance given to the role of non-state actors - from organized civil society - in the institution of the BNCC, and other educational policies, as already mentioned, to ensure the provision of

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<sup>6</sup> This may be related mainly to the fact that they act as civil society organizations, with the capacity to convince in relation to their proposals, but without the capacity to formulate, approve and implement public policies on their own.

quality and efficient education. The Movement assumes that private actors should be part of the reform, which constitutes a larger project for Brazilian education, that is, for the development of the country (MOVIMENTO PELA BASE, 2015). Thus, non-governmental actors should be included in supporting the continuous monitoring of the BNCC implementation process, to be carried out by public education networks. This idea is illustrated in the sixth "principle" of the MPB, as stated on its institutional website<sup>7</sup>: "We consider that the implementation of the BNCC [...] is a responsibility of the public authorities and the education networks, with the support of civil society" (MOVIMENTO PELA BASE, 2015, our translation).

The secondary beliefs of the MPB belief system, related to contextual and more practical aspects, appear mainly in the organization's perspectives for the BNCC implementation process. They appear, for example, in the understanding that, although the Base proposes the minimum competencies and skills that should be taught, it should not stipulate strictly how this teaching will be carried out.

It is important to note that the Common National Base document should not include details of how each learning objective should be taught. In this regard, it is important to recognize that there are specific needs, generated by the profile of the students served, the history of the community, or even the pedagogical-epistemological options of local teams, which impact and characterize the pedagogy to be used in each school (MOVIMENTO PELA BASE, 2015, p. 4, our translation).

The MPB presents itself as a community of discourse focused on the need for reform, offering solutions to the problems of educational policies, focusing on essential knowledge, skills and values for all students in Brazil. With a cohesive discursive organization, guided by the need for a unique modification of the national curriculum, the movement aims to gain support in different spaces related to educational policy agents in order to "[...] create a shared belief about and about the dedication to the need for a national curriculum" (AVELAR; BALL, 2017, p. 12-13). Therefore, their values and principles are presented in such a way as not to make room for contradictions or questioning about their beliefs and ways of acting, in view of the production of consensus as part of the belief system manifested by these actors.

<sup>7</sup> Available at: <https://movimentopelabase.org.br/quem-somos/>. Access on: 28 Oct. 2021.

## **Homeschooling: The *Educação Domiciliar-Direito Já!* Campaign and its beliefs**

The disputes in the educational field are aimed at the school, in most cases, as appears in the construction of the BNCC (BRAZIL, 2018a), but there are also disputes involving education outside this space. Questions such as: "What are the goals of education? Is educating the same as teaching? Who is responsible for education?" permeate the formulation of educational policies and find distinct answers from the varied actors in the educational field, based on distinct beliefs as well. The debate about the regulation of homeschooling is inserted in this context.

Homeschooling is a practice that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s, in the wake of harsh criticism of schooling and schooling by leading researchers and educators. In "Society without Schools," published in 1971, Ivan Illich questions the compulsory enrollment in educational institutions, arguing that these are essentially detrimental to the formation of subjects (ILLICH, 2018). The author argues that education occurs in diverse places and concludes that it should happen spontaneously, in everyday situations and through what he will call "learning networks."

Another name driving homeschooling is John Holt. This researcher understands that the schooling process causes the loss of the desire and curiosity to learn. In addition, he states that parents have the right and the responsibility to educate their children, not the school or the State (HOLT, 2007).

Another relevant contribution to the promotion of homeschooling is the rise of the new American conservatism. According to Knowles, Marlow and Muchmore (1992), when the movement was related to the criticism built around the State and the political and educational system, families who wished to withdraw their children from school did not obtain legal authorization. According to the same authors, the practice consolidated in the United States only after being linked to the right to free exercise of belief. At this time, religious fundamentalist families associated with neoconservatism began to adopt homeschooling as a way to ensure the maintenance of their convictions.

From this context, the advocacy for education outside school institutions, in which parents are responsible for its provision, grew and reached other countries. This movement gained momentum in Brazil especially after the electoral victory of the conservative Jair Bolsonaro for the office of president. In the first months of his mandate, he chose as a priority of his government the regulation of this practice (BRAZIL, 2021), which stirred the groups for and against the purpose, generating an environment of disputes.

Such act corresponded to the expectations of those who interpreted the decision of the Federal Supreme Court in Extraordinary Appeal No. 888.815 (BRAZIL, 2018b) as favorable to the regulation of homeschooling. However, the supreme court "considered this modality of care illegal for not being provided for in the Constitution. At the same time, it indicated the need for a specific bill regulating homeschooling with precepts and rules for such" (CURY, 2019, p. 5, our translation). Given this demand, homeschoolers, supporters of the practice, and other actors who advocate homeschooling, began to share the goal of regulating this practice in the country.

The actors defending homeschooling use similar arguments based on similar beliefs, freedom being the main value. Thus, according to the Advocacy Coalitions Model, they form a coalition seeking to defend their ideas and interests. This coalition is clear among the actors who form the "HomeSchooling – Direito Já!" campaign. Created in 2019, this organization aimed to push and lobby for the regulation of homeschooling. Its leadership was made by the National Association for Home Education (ANED in the Portuguese acronym).

The campaign is no longer running. The website was taken offline and there is no explanation on ANED's digital page, leaving only its Instagram and Facebook pages and the curiosity as to the reasons for this deletion. The interest in this specific organization is related to its configuration, since besides being formed by several organizations that are part of the advocacy coalition for homeschooling, *Educação Domiciliar* was launched in the same period when the federal government chose to prioritize the regulation of homeschooling over other more urgent issues, such as increasing resources for the funding of public education, the transfers aimed at the remote work of school networks during the COVID-19 pandemic, and attention to the implementation of ongoing policies, such as the BNCC itself (BRAZIL, 2018a) and the Reform of High School (BRAZIL, 2017).

It is worth noting that the homeschooling advocacy coalition is composed of multiple actors, present in various spheres of society. It includes ministers, parliamentarians, civil society associations, homeschooling families, and educational service companies. Therefore, the Campaign is not characterized as a coalition in itself, but as a union of part of the actors that compose it.

These are collective actors in the form of institutions providing educational services, such as the Ion International Training Center and the Online Symposium on Homeschooling - Simeduc; Christian associations that promote homeschooling, such as Classical Conversations

and Educalar; associations with no explicit religious ties, such as Aned; and families that adopt homeschooling, such as the Trigo Family.

Through an exploratory investigation of the Campaign's digital pages, it was possible to find some posts. Among them, it is interesting to highlight photographic records of meetings with parliamentarians (EDUCAÇÃO DOMICILIAR - DIREITO JÁ, 2019b), images of the demonstration made on the launching day of the Parliamentary Front in Defense of Homeschooling (EDUCAÇÃO DOMICILIAR - DIREITO JÁ, 2019c), posts with pictures of children with the words "we need you" (EDUCAÇÃO DOMICILIAR - DIREITO JÁ, 2019d, our translation), homeschoolers meeting records (EDUCAÇÃO DOMICILIAR - DIREITO JÁ, 2019e) and discount advertisement for courses offered by one of the campaign's actors (EDUCAÇÃO DOMICILIAR - DIREITO JÁ, 2019f).

According to the study by Araújo and Leite (2020), a little over 25 individual and collective actors participated in the Campaign, who collaborate among themselves, seeking the regulation of homeschooling and also the propagation of services and materials aimed at the practice, which are marketed on their websites, as highlighted. Thus, the ways in which the organization operates are varied.

Based on the concept of belief systems of the Advocacy Coalition Model, this section was limited to analyzing the document "Call for fair regulation of homeschooling" (EDUCAÇÃO DOMICILIAR - DIREITO JÁ, 2019a, our translation), that counts with the signature of 16 organizations.

Through the few digital records of their actions, it was possible to identify that the Campaign was developed based on a common belief: it is important to promote the regulation of homeschooling in order to ensure its legality. Although the pro-homeschooling union emerged after the judgment of the Federal Supreme Court (STF) indicating that the practice could be regulated, i.e., that it is not unconstitutional, there was already a belief, among some of the actors who defend homeschooling, of the importance of its regulation. In this way, the judgment of Extraordinary Appeal No. 888.815 (BRASIL, 2018b) served as an impetus for their belief to be materialized.

One of the main beliefs that unites the actors that form the Campaign is the value given to individual freedom. This aspect is valued to such an extent by these actors that their notion of privatization even reaches social fundamental rights, such as education, causing the protected personal sphere to be expanded.

Examining the "Call for a Fair Regulation of Home Education", it is possible to reaffirm the value given to individual freedom by these actors:

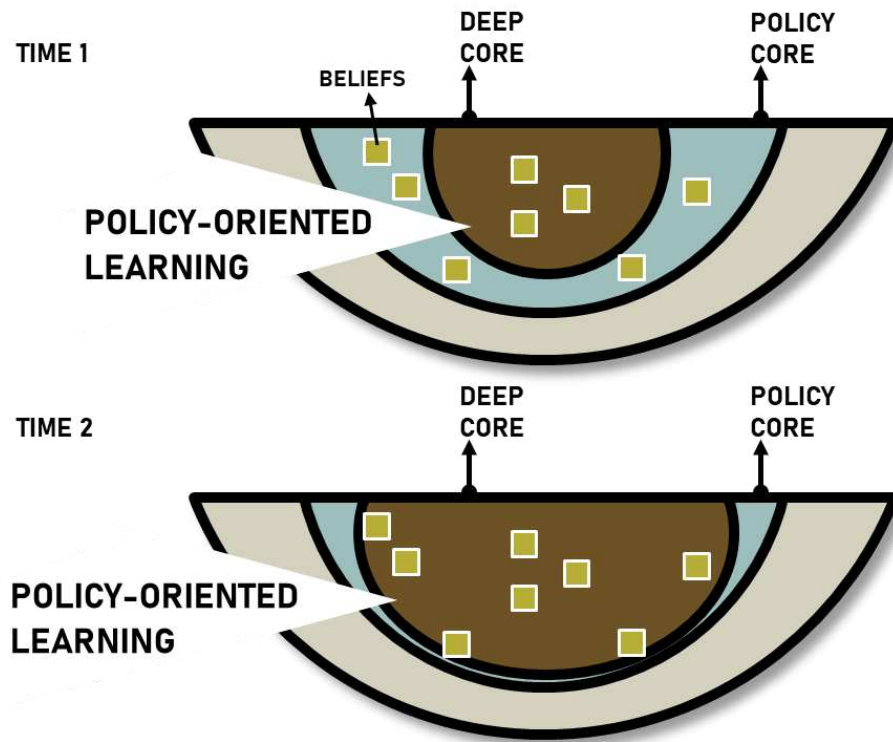
The National Association of Home Education - ANED -, together with associations and organizations that support this cause, publicly presents its agenda of demands regarding the fundamental content of regulation of home education, to provide the necessary legal certainty to more than 7.5 thousand Brazilian educating families and also ensure the **full exercise of educational freedom**. Due to the urgency and relevance of the educating families' context, according to the "ANED's Open Letter" of 03/28/2019, we request and defend that **a Provisional Measure be edited and approved** to ensure the following: Guarantee of educational freedom [...], **equal rights between home and school students [...]** **simplification of the registration process for opting for home education [...]**, **protection for families who opt for home education [...]**, **flexibility of the assessment and certification system [...]** and protection of family autonomy (EDUCAÇÃO DOMICILIAR - DIREITO JÁ, 2019a, emphasis added, our translation)

The value given to freedom is present in the deep core of the belief system of these actors. Because of this, as Sabatier (1988) points out, this ideal will hardly change over the years, because this core is the least permeable to learning. The principle of individual freedom is translated to the political core, another category elaborated by the author, as the very proposal to allow the practice of home schooling, aiming to ensure, in the vision of these actors, a kind of educational freedom. Thus, there is an appreciation of the total autonomy of families adopting this type of education, defending the minimum of state intervention in the practice or even no intervention at all.

The movement's historical-philosophical foundation, based on fundamentalist religious elements, also perceives a process of "ontologization" of the beliefs of the political core, which, by nature, tend to be more empirical than the beliefs of the deep core. As Figure 3 illustrates, what occurs is a widening of the boundaries of the deep core, which begins to encompass certain beliefs of the political core, with a decrease in the permeability of these beliefs. This process tends to reduce the prospect that political consensus is a necessary element for the production of a public policy.

This effect manifests itself in the secondary core beliefs of the Campaign actors. They defend, for example, that the regulation of the practice of home-schooling should occur through Provisional Measure, because they consider the matter urgent and relevant. However, they ignore the impacts that may occur with its approval through this legislative method. They also advocate for equal rights and treatment between those who support homeschooling and those who do not.

**Figure 3** – Representation of the deep core enlargement process



Source: Prepared by the authors

It is also worth pointing out that by choosing to emphasize "a fair regulation" in the title of their document, they imply that there are ways to regulate homeschooling without addressing their concerns. This point is clear in one of the posts made on the Campaign's digital page. In a criticism of Bill no. 2.401/2019 (BRASIL, 2019), presented by the Executive Branch, represented by the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Women, Family and Human Rights, the page exposes that the project goes against the principles sustained by the document analyzed here and states that it will elaborate a text to serve as a substitute for such project (EDUCAÇÃO DOMICILIAR - DIREITO JÁ, 2019g).

In another post, the Campaign indicates which are the main points that, according to them, need to be changed in the Bill in question:

[...] it is equally necessary that educational freedom is recognized and can be exercised in a **fair, isonomic and unbureaucratic** way. Therefore, the Bill 2.401/2019 presented [...] **needs amendments and improvements**, especially regarding the following points: **Simplification of the registration process** for opting for homeschooling. The annual registration system proposed by the Executive Branch [...] is not simple, goes against the State Debureaucratization Program itself and violates Educational Freedom, virtually making the practice of homeschooling unfeasible, turning it into a home school. **Flexibility of the evaluation and certification system**. Bill 2.401/2019 proposes an annual evaluation by means of a test developed by the



government. This is, at the same time, a methodological interference and an unequal requirement for homeschooling, besides establishing an unfeasible mechanism for the State itself [...] **Participation of private institutions in the registration and evaluation process.** According to the Constitution, education is a social public service of mixed lordship. Therefore, the participation of private institutions in the process of registration and evaluation should be on an equal footing with the government. (EDUCAÇÃO DOMICILIAR - DIREITO JÁ, 2019h, emphasis added, our translation).

It is clear that, for these actors, if the regulation does not occur in the way that is idealized by the organization, ensuring maximum autonomy and freedom to homeschoolers, it will not be fair to those who practice homeschooling.

### **Similarities and differences between agendas, performances and beliefs of the analyzed actors**

The reflections on the beliefs of the pro-BNCC and pro-homeschooling actors, selected for being part of strong coalitions within the Brazilian educational subsystem, highlight the advancement of certain principles in the propositions of educational policies in the country. As pointed out earlier, both are in some way in dialogue with the right to education, either because they link this right to the homogenization of the curriculum or because they rethink who is responsible for providing it.

However, it is worth pointing out the existence of important differences between the groups. Starting with the origin of the two proposals, the institutionalization of the BNCC (BRAZIL, 2018a) had its genesis in the federal government and was foreseen in previous normative documents, such as the National Education Plan (BRAZIL, 2014). In the process of its creation and implementation, it had the support and driving force of both governmental and non-governmental actors. In the case of homeschooling, the initiative to regulate it: emerges in civil society, grows, gains momentum, and only then reaches the political arenas in Brazil. It is strengthened in this field, especially after the election to the presidency of Jair Bolsonaro, a supporter of the cause.

Among the discrepancies, we also mention the institutionalization of the Grassroots Movement and the strength of its action to support the approval and coordinate a policy already being implemented throughout the country. In addition, the MPB brings together education professionals who act in defense of the school, with systematized actions of control over its interior, while strengthening the responsibility of the school in the education of students.

On the other hand, the *Campaign Educação Domiciliar - Direito Já!* does not demonstrate the same systematization in its actions to act in defense of its agenda. Although

this does not indicate a cooling down of the banner that it defends, a certain level of disorganization is evident, since no clear information about its actors was found in the social networks of the Campaign, when its actions began, what were the motivations for starting and the reasons that brought its activities to an end. Moreover, the Campaign's official virtual page was taken offline, even in a context in which the project to regulate homeschooling was not even voted by the House of Representatives until January 2022. Thus, without having achieved the approval of its agenda, based on the regulation of homeschooling, the organization's activity seems to have ended.

### **Final remarks**

This paper sought to identify the main beliefs of the pro-BNCC and pro-homeschooling movements, based on Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith's Model of Advocacy Coalitions. For this purpose, two main organizations were selected that act in defense of the two mentioned agendas. The organizations' presentation materials were analyzed in order to understand their beliefs and forms of action.

It was found that, despite both policies dialoguing on the right to education - either by relating this right to the homogenization of the curriculum or by questioning who is responsible for providing it - and advocating greater participation of civil society in public policy decisions, these actors have very different beliefs and modes of organization, which justifies the difference in their interests and strategies.

These conclusions are a preliminary understanding, the deepening of which would have required a more extensive survey of information and data in order to understand how such beliefs manifest themselves in the different positions and actions, over the years, of the actors involved in the education subsystem in Brazil.

In addition, it is important to recall that, according to Sabatier (1988), to understand the process of policy changes and the development of what he calls policy-oriented learning, an analysis of ten years of activity or more is necessary. This indicates that more studies are required about the coalitions and actors involved in the indicated educational policy processes, as well as the impacts of such participations in the Brazilian scenario.

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