An education for outsiders: Popular Education

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Abstract

This paper aims to develop an approach on social deviance and Popular Education. In this sense, it assumes a basic analytical statement of the sociology of deviance: social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance, and by applying those rules to particular people and labelling them as outsiders. Labelling occurs in all spheres of society. Those groups whose social position gives them weapons and power are best able to enforce their rules. On the other hand, Popular Education has been referring, for instance, to a general practice that covers a variety of social actors - from peasants to workers, women to groups of indigenous peoples and so on - and a variety of topics, whichever generate interest in promoting change. Taking into account such definitions, the paper describes Popular Education as an important alternative for the pedagogical work with outsiders. As an empirical demonstration of this perspective, it focuses on the Black Lives Matter Movement, the drug context and education in prisons.

***Keywords**: Labelling, outsiders, sociology of deviance, Popular Education.*

1. Social deviance and outsiders: Introducing the approach

In the 1960s, the American sociologist Howard Becker published *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance*, which laid the foundations for a very different approach to studying deviant, criminal and delinquent behaviour. According to Becker (1963), all social groups make rules and attempt, at some

times and under some circumstances, to enforce them. Social rules define situations and the kinds of behaviour appropriate to them, specifying some actions as "right" and forbidding others as "wrong"[1]. When a rule is enforced, the person who is supposed to have broken it may be seen as a special kind of person, one who cannot be trusted to live by the rules agreed on by the group. He is regarded as an outsider.

Therefore, social groups create deviance by making the rules "whose infraction constitutes deviance, and by applying those rules to particular people and labelling them as outsiders. From this point of view deviance is not a quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an offender" (Becker, 1963, p. 9). The deviant is one to whom that label has been successfully applied; deviant behaviour is behaviour that people so label[2].

Furthermore, Becker's work started from a rather mundane observation: not everyone who breaks the law is caught and prosecuted. This fact falls into the 'everybody knows' category of knowledge, but Becker turned it from a rather dull observation into a different way of thinking about deviant behaviour. He drew four related arguments from it:

I. Most studies of delinquents/criminals that seek to explain the causes of crime are methodologically flawed. They tend to assume a reliable distinction between a normal group and a deviant group, and search for the factor(s) that make the difference between the two. Do deviants have the wrong chromosomes, the wrong parenting, the wrong friends, the wrong environment, and so on? But, for Becker, the only reliable difference between the two groups was that one group had been identified – labelled – as deviant/criminal. The others – the normal – might have done exactly the same things, but had not been detected, processed

and labelled as deviant. It might also be the case that among the ‘deviants’ were people who had been falsely accused and labelled – people who had not committed the criminal or deviant act. So, the search for the X factor (that made the difference) was fundamentally flawed.

II. Becker argued that social scientists should therefore pay much more attention to the processes involved in identifying some acts – and some people – as criminal or deviant. Why are some behaviours and some types of people the focus of attention? What processes of selection are involved in these processes of social control? Are they merely random (some people are just unlucky to be caught and prosecuted) or do they have social biases or logic? Becker asserted that this meant breaking the fundamental assumption that treats deviance as infraction of some agreed-upon rule.

III. It is important to note that Becker makes a distinction between the behaviour and the person. Societies decide which behaviours are ‘deviant’ (and they make some of them illegal – crimes). Societies do not necessarily share the same judgements about what should be judged as deviant or criminal. For example, not all societies judge ‘hate crimes’ (attacks motivated by hatred of a person’s ethnicity, sexual orientation, religion) as crimes or even deviant. Killing people is usually thought to be both deviant and criminal, but societies vary in the exemptions they permit (it may depend on who commits the act: agents of the government often have some immunity – think about soldiers in wartime or deaths in police custody; deaths that result from corporate action rarely result in murder charges). However, some people performing those behaviours are identified and labelled as deviant (or criminal), but perhaps not everyone who acts in these ways is identified and labelled.

IV. Becker also argued that labels could have powerful consequences. Drawing on the social interactionist approach in social psychology (from the work of George Herbert Mead), he suggested that how others define us may well shape how we act: if we are labelled as ‘bad’ or ‘criminal’, we might start to live up to the label. Equally, the label may shape how others treat us – once labelled, people identified as criminals or deviants may face extra scrutiny, suspicion or even discrimination. A powerful label changes the situation – for the person so labelled and for others. For Becker, the arrival of a label created the conditions of people moving into a ‘deviant career’: the label shapes the possible future directions of both identity and action.

Becker's perspective caught the attention of some Marxist authors who took it into account to develop approaches also on social deviance. For example, Spitzer (1975) states that the deviants are culled from groups who create specific problems for those who rule and their problematic quality ultimately resides in their challenge to the basis and form of class rule. According to him, the forms and functions of the deviance processing systems which arise to control problem populations stem from the needs of the rules of the capitalist system to preserve the hegemonic control over the rest of the population.

I consider in this paper both the Marxist approach on social deviance and Becker's critical approach. These two perspectives constitute the two main theoretical traditions of the sociology of deviance.

Fundamentally, in short, before any act can be viewed as deviant, and before any class of people can be labelled and treated as outsiders for committing the act, someone must have made the rule which defines the act as deviant. So, Becker agues (1963, p. 162), “deviance – in the sense I have been using it, of publicly labelled wrongdoing - is always the result of enterprise […]. Rules are

not made automatically. Even though a practice may be harmful in an objective sense to the group in which it occurs, the harm needs to be discovered and pointed out." People must be made to feel that something ought to be done about it. Someone must call the public's attention to these matters, supply the push necessary to get things done, and direct such energies as are aroused in the proper direction to get a rule created. "Deviance is the product of enterprise in the largest sense; without the enterprise required to get rules made, the deviance which consists of breaking the rule could not exist" (ibid., p. 162).

Moreover, deviance is the product of enterprise in the smaller and more particular sense as well. In other words:

> Once a rule has come into existence, it must be applied to particular people before the abstract class of outsiders created by the rule can be peopled. Offenders must be discovered, identified, apprehended and convicted (or noted as "different" and stigmatized for their nonconformity […]). This job ordinarily falls to the lot of professional enforcers who, by enforcing already existing rules, create the particular deviants society views as outsiders (ibid., p. 163).

Hence, it is contradictory that most scientific research and speculation on deviance concerns itself with the people who break rules rather than with those who make and enforce them. If we are to achieve a full understanding of deviant behaviour, we must get these two possible foci of inquiry into balance. We must see deviance, and the outsiders who personify the abstract conception, "as a consequence of a process of interaction between people, some of whom in the service of their own interests make and enforce rules which catch others who, in the service of their own interests, have committed acts which are labelled deviant" (ibid., p. 163).

It is necessary to pay attention to the production of rules, as well as to the "distortions" that may exist in it. That is to say, it is necessary to pay attention to the production of rules because they are connected to the exercise of hegemony in society, according to the perspective developed by Gramsci. For Lenin, hegemony was conceived mainly in terms of an alliance of classes or parts of classes (Simon, 1999). But Gramsci adds a very important new dimension with his concept of national-popular, according to Simon (ibid., p. 27):

> a class cannot achieve national leadership, and become hegemonic, if it confines itself only to class interests; it must take into account the popular and democratic demands and struggles of the people which do not have a purely class character, that is, which do not arise directly out of the relations of production. Examples are the radical and popular struggles for civil liberties, movements for national liberation, the women's movement, the peace movement, and movements expressing the demands of ethnic minorities, of young people or of students.

The starting-point for Gramsci's concept of hegemony is that a class and its representatives exercise power over subordinate classes by means of a combination of coercion and persuasion. "Hegemony is a relation, not of domination by means of force, but of consent by means of political and ideological leadership. It is the organisation of consent" (ibid, p. 24).

Therefore, when social classes and groups make rules, they are acting in the field of hegemonic conquest. Rules to guide the conduct of workers, women, families, teachers, youth, etc., are involved in such a process. From a political and economic point of view, currently, the rules in most countries are related to the maintenance of neoliberal capitalism. In this sense, many politicians, economists and judicial authorities have shown themselves as a kind of "ecclesiastic" of global neoliberalism. In other words, they are moral entrepreneurs of a political and ideological creed. Some of them, in their

countries, even violate the rules of liberal democracy to defend the interests of the neoliberal market.

2. Moral entrepreneurs, rules and labelling

A prototype of the rule creator is the crusading reformer. In many ways, his view of society is distorted. According to Becker (1963, p. 148), "he operates with an absolute ethic; what he sees is truly and totally evil with no qualification." He feels that nothing can be right in the world until his rules are made to correct it. In this sense, any means is justified to do away with it. The crusader is fervent, often self-righteous. He is a moral entrepreneur.

In recent times, an example of moral crusade was the so-called Operation Car Wash in Brazil. It was an anticorruption operation, but documents obtained by journalist Glenn Greenwald and his team confirm the suspicion of experts who already considered Operation Car Wash an example of "political justice". It disrespected the principles of the democratic state. Prosecutors and judges violated procedural laws and constitutional guarantees, such as the presumption of innocence, under the pretext of combating corruption any price. On March 23, 2021, the 2nd Panel of the Brazilian Supreme Court ruled that former judge Sergio Moro - who spearheaded Operation Car Wash – was not impartial in overseeing investigations of the former president Lula. In general, cases with dubious connections were all submitted to the same judge. Thus, Sergio Moro - subsequently appointed Minister of Justice by President Jair Bolsonaro - established himself as a national anti-corruption hero by centralizing all processes and enjoying unprecedented popularity for the country's judiciary. As a judge, his style has always been exceptional, disregarding the discretion recommended by the law of magistracy. He and prosecutors have turned Operation Car Wash into a partial moral crusade.

As chief prosecutor of Operation CarWash, Daltan Dellangnol, in an interview to The Guardian, presented himself as a Christian active and declared that such an Operation "was a conspiracy of the universe, an alignment of the planets, a God-given opportunity for change."[3] He also suggested a plan with ten anti-corruption rules.

From an analytical point of view, it is appropriate to think of reformers as crusaders because they typically believe that their mission is a holy one,as the view of the chief prosecutor of Operation Car Wash demonstrates. But there are other cases. "The prohibitionist serves as an excellent example, as does the person who wants to suppress vice and sexual delinquency or the person who wants to do away with gambling" (Becker, 1963, p, 148). A crusade may achieve striking success or may fail completely. It can also achieve great success, only to find its gains whittled away by shifts in public morality and increasing restrictions imposed on it by judicial interpretation[4].

The most obvious consequence of a successful crusade is the creation of a new set of rules. With the creation of a new set of rules we often find that a new set of enforcement agencies and officials is established. Sometimes, of course, existing agencies take over the administration of the new rules.

With the establishment of organizations of rule enforcers, the crusade becomes institutionalized. What started out as a drive to convince the world of the moral necessity of a new rule finally becomes an organization devoted to the enforcement of the rule. Just as lusty evangelical sects become "staid religious denominations", the final outcome of the moral crusade is a police force. In this way,

> In justifying the existence of his position, the rule enforcer faces a double problem. On the one hand, he must demonstrate to others that the problem still exists: the rules he is supposed to enforce have some point, because infractions occur. On the other hand, he must show that his attempts at enforcement are effective and worthwhile, that the evil he is supposed to deal with is in fact being dealt with adequately. Therefore, enforcement organizations, particularly when they are seeking funds, typically oscillate between two kinds of claims. First, they say that by reason of their efforts the problem they deal with is approaching solution. But, in the same breath, they say the problem is perhaps worse than ever (though through no fault of their own) and requires renewed and increased effort to keep it under control. Enforcement officials can be more vehement than anyone else in their insistence that the problem they are supposed to deal with is still with us, in fact is more with us than ever before. In making these claims, enforcement officials provide good reason for continuing the existence of the position they occupy (ibid., p. 157).

It is also possible to note that enforcement officials and agencies are inclined to take a pessimistic view of "human nature". If they do not actually believe in original sin, "they at least like to dwell on the difficulties in getting people to abide by rules, on the characteristics of human nature that lead people toward evil. They are skeptical of attempts to reform rule-breakers." (Becker, 1963, p. 157).

The skeptical outlook of the rule enforcer is often reinforced by his daily experience. He sees, as he goes about his work, the evidence that the problem is still with us. "He sees the people who continually repeat offenses, thus definitely branding themselves in his eyes as outsiders" (ibid, p. 157). In others words, the rule enforcer reproduces the labelling and at the same time confirms its key statement: Deviance is not a quality of the act a person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an 'offender'. What makes something deviant is not what is done, but how people

react to what is done. The only thing that deviant acts have in common is that they are labelled "deviant" by others.

The deviant acts take place in all social contexts and situations. Therefore, labelling occurs in all spheres of society. Outsiders are produced everywhere. While it may be argued that many or most rules are generally agreed to by all members of a society, empirical research on a given rule generally reveals variation in people's attitudes. Differences in the ability to make rules and to apply them to other people are essentiality power differentials (either legal or extra-legal)[5]. "Those groups whose social position gives them weapons and power are best able to enforce their rules. Distinctions of age, sex, ethnicity, and class are all related to differences in power, which accounts for differences in the degree to which groups so distinguished can make rules for others." (ibid., p.18).

Moreover, as mentioned above, the creation of norms is implicated in the conquest of hegemony in society. Along with this, it is necessary to pay attention to some contemporary links between market society[6] and crime. According to Currie (1998), the relationship between market society and crime takes place as follows:

I – Market society promotes crime by increasing inequality and concentrated economic deprivation.
II – Market society promotes crime by eroding the capacity of local communities to provide 'informal' support, mutual provision and effective socialisation and supervision of the young.
III – Market society promotes crime by stressing and fragmenting the family.

IV – Market society promotes crime by withdrawing public provision of basic services from those it has already stripped of livelihoods, economic security and 'informal' communal support.
V – Market society promotes crime by magnifying a culture of Darwinism competition for status and resources and by urging a level of consumption that it cannot provide for everyone through legitimate channels.

It's necessary to consider the impact on crime of specifically psychological distortions of market society. In other words, "its tendency to produce personalities who are less and less capable of relating to others except as consumer items or as means to the consumption of other goods" (Currie, 1998, p. 141). It's also necessary to consider the long-term political impacts of market society that are related to crime – "in particular its tendency to eclipse the alternative political means by which those dispossessed by destructive social and economic policies might express their function and their desperation in transformative rather than predatory ways" (ibid., p. 141).

Surely, it is not simply by increasing one or other discrete social ill that conservative market policies stimulate crime: "it is through the growth and spread of a multifaceted civilisation that is at its core inimical to sustaining the economic, social and cultural requisites of social order and personal security" (ibid., p. 141). There is evidence of this in both developed and non-developed countries. In this way, taking in account the United States, Currie (ibid., p. 141-142) affirms:

> These trends are having their most concentrated impact on the young. As we move closer to a fully-fledged market society they are increasingly left to grow up on their own, without much consistent support or guidance, formal or informal, from a coherent community of purposive adults; sometimes with untended physical or psychological damage; always with the lure of the exploding consumer marketplace before them; and with gradually receding opportunities to participate in that

> marketplace on the level they are continually urged to desire. That is recipe to disaster, and it helps explain why our American cities are the most dangerous and volatile in the developed world. My central point is that these outcomes are not accidental or peripherical to the growth of market society: they are direct expressions of its central logic.

The links between market society and crime demonstrate that the capitalist social structure currently creates new forms of deviance.

3. Labelling approach and education

The development of the labelling approach in the educational field has been analytically significant.

Focusing on traditional educational system, Becker (1972)states that institutions create myths to explain to their participants and the public generally what they do, how they do it, why society needs it done, and how successful they are. But every institution fails in some measure to do the job it promises, and its functionaries find it necessary to explain both that they are trying to do better and that the disparity between promise and performance does note exist, is not serious, or occurs only rarely. In this way,

> Schools tell us that people learn in them something they would not otherwise know. Teachers, who know that something, teach it to their pupils. Schools are said to pass the cultural heritage of our society to succeeding generations, both generally in elementary school and high school and more differentiatedly in colleges and graduate and professionals schools (Becker, 1972, p. 85).

> And the thing for sure that you can't assume is that this particular place is a school. What's going on here? Education. What else? It is a school; I mean, that's what they do. Isn't it? Well, they might, but it's by no means guaranteed. There are plenty of "schools" in which no education, under any construction of that word, is going on,

> and there are plenty of prisons, conversely, in which a lot of education is going on (ibid., p. 33).

Furthermore, as the several works on the labelled approach in education have been showing (Burgess, 1995; Becker, 2003; Becker, 1964; Becker, 1983; Culle and Sreberny, 1976; Hargreaves et. al., 1975; Rist, 1970; Pereira, 2018), historically, the school has been a "great classifying agent" in society. Within the realm of school, the perverse character of labelling emerges when the definition of a student as deviant, whether in reference to the student's intellectual capacity or behaviour in the classroom, generates processes that make the student become what he/she has been labelled.

There are three general rubrics of conditions that would appear to be particularly likely to specify any effects of labelling in the schools (Cullen and Sreberny, 1976). First, there are the characteristics of the pupils who are being labelled. For example, one might expect the impact of a teacher's labelling to be far more weighty on a child just entering school who is in the process of forming an "academic identity," than on a high school student who has already accumulated a number of labels-over the years. Similarly, the effect of being officially labelled "a truant," for instance, may be radically different for a student who has played hooky numerous times than for a student who is experimenting with this activity for the first time.

Second, there are the characteristics of the regulators. Of special importance here may be whether a labeller is a "significant other" of the student and the amount of influence the labeller may wield. A third and final rubric is the characteristics of the label applied and the subsequent treatment or control it engenders. "What is important is not simply the impact of being labelled *per se*,

but, instead, the impact of the entire 'societal reaction', that is, of the labelling and all the sanctions that are forthcoming" (Cullen and Sreberny, 1976, p. 16).

Likewise, according to literature on labelling theory, there are four ways through which students may become deviant in school. While each of these four processes may be analytically distinct, they undoubtedly mesh in many and intricate fashions in everyday life.

The first and most frequently cited process in the labelling theory literature is that of identity-transformation. Labelling an actor as a deviant (e.g., "emotionally disturbed") is seen to objectify the actor as a deviant. In effect, it ladens the actor with a deviant social or public identity. Since people respond to one another on the basis of how they interpret one another's identity, the actor's others respond to the actor as though he/she were a deviant. All of the actor's actions are viewed in light of this identity. Any announcements by the actor denying his/her deviant identity are left unvalidated. The result of this (socialisation) process is that the actor may eventually internalize his/her public deviant identity. This is significant, because an actor's behaviour is profoundly affected by how the actor interprets or responds to his/her identity. "Conceiving of oneself as a deviant serves as an organizing principle for future activity; it exerts a pressure to act in a manner consistent with this self-image. The actor is thus led to engage in increased deviance" (Cullen and Sreberny, 1976, p. 18).

Second, labelling theorists have contended that labelling and treating an actor as a deviant can stabilize an actor in a deviant career by altering the costs and benefits of conformity. Once labelled a deviant, an actor is the focus of much discrimination and social castigation. Chances to earn financial or psychological rewards in the legitimate sphere are curtailed. On a strictly utilitarian level, it no

longer "pays" to try to make it in a world where one receives the short-end of the stick. A deviant way of life thus becomes an attractive package(ibid.).

A third way is the phenomenon of "constraint." Here, labelling theorists argue that there are situations in which societal reaction will trap an actor in a deviant role independent of the actor's volition. This is well exemplified by the classic research of Rist (1970), which has shown that elementary school students, labelled as intellectual deviants on the basis of lower-class appearance by a classroom teacher, were exposed to such a limited curriculum by the teacher that they necessarily became what they had been labelled. Formalized tracking or ability grouping may also effectively do this.

Last, but not least, labelling theory authors have asserted that reaction often places actors in contexts (subcultures, institutions) where the actors learn values and skills conducive to nonconformist behaviour. “Within the school, one might expect that segregating ‘deviant’ students either within a single class or into special classes may serve as just such a context where students learn to be deviant and, thus, are launched on deviant careers within the school” (Cullen and Sreberny, 1976, p. 19).

4. Popular Education and outsiders

As Kane (2013) affirms, the meaning of Popular Education has varied according to where, when and by whom it has been cited. In this sense, Braster (2011) and Tiana Ferrer (2011) analyse the term historically and Steele (2007) charts a variety of interpretations and practices in Europe, from middle ages onward. In the 1960s and 1970s, having been inspired by the ideas of the Brazilian educationist Paulo Freire (1970, 1993) when Latin America made imaginative developments in theory and practice (Kane, 2001; Carrillo, 2011) “they strongly influenced the global approaches to Popular Education, albeit in some contexts

terms like ‘radical education’ or ‘education for transformation’ retained more currency” (Kane, 2013, p. 82).

Specifically, in Spanish and Portuguese, the lingua francas of Latin America, the adjective ‘popular’ suggests belonging to the people, the majority of a nation’s who, in the Latin American context, are usually poor. So,

> It carries connotations of social class and could often be translated into English simply as ‘poor’ or ‘working class’. ‘Educación popular (Spanish) or ‘educação popular’ (Portuguese), then, communicates the idea of an education of and for ‘the people’ rather than elite. More recently, as people organised around issue like gender, human rights and interculturalism, ‘popular’ stretched to include these initiatives too; since the mass of people involved come from lower economic sectors anyway, however, class-based nuances generally still apply (Kane, 2013, p. 82).

It can certainly be said that, in Latin America, Popular Education is conceptualised as both a social movement of educators and educational philosophy-cum-practice. In other words, “on the one hand it is a broad and open movement, which a degree of articulation and organisation (such as CEAAL [the Latin American Council for Adult Education]… and other regional networks), while, on the other, it is a particular brand of critical thinking” (Zarco, 2001, p. 30). In and outside Latin America, most definitions of Popular Education now shared a number of characteristics, as they are described in the following table.

Table 1 – Definitions of Popular Education in and outside Latin America

Definitions	Guiding principle
All education is considered political in that if it fails to challenge social injustice and inequality, by default it promotes it	Socio-political
Education should encourage people to be authentic 'subjects' of change, to think critically and act for themselves, not follow leaders.	Socio-political and cognitive
There are different types of knowledge, engendered by different social circumstances, and education should consist of dialogue among them.	Cognitive
Exciting methodologies have been developed to put proposals into practice. However, while Paulo Freire criticised the 'banking' ('knowledge transfer') approach to education as elitist and dehumanising, the alternative is not simply a formulaic application of learner-centred methods: these also can have reactionary purposes.	Cognitive
The concern is to help groups, or movements, collectively to take action to try and bring about social change.	Socio-political
Popular Education refers to a general practice covering a variety of social actors – from peasants to factory workers, women to Indigenous people's groups and so on – and a variety of topics, whichever generate interest in bringing about change.	Socio-political

Source: Adapted from Kane (2013)

The definitions are oriented by cognitive and socio-political principles in and outside America Latina. However, contemporary definitions of Popular Education continue to vary and none definition is definitive or absolute. Furthermore, in both Latin America and Europe there still remains variety in how Education Popular is understood, conceptually, and how it is put in practice. For example, from the point of view of the socio-political principle, it can mean Marxist, social democrat, nationalist, feminist, religious, environmentalist views, with many combinations and variations in-between (Kane, 2001; Scandrett, 2001; Nicholas, 2001).

A systematic comparison between Popular Education in Latin America and Europe[7] reveals some differences involving the approaches in the two regions. A first difference from the European perspective in relation to America Larina is that in much of Europe state education is so widespread that by definition education means 'state education'. On the other hand, "in Latin America, state provision is variable and, where deficient, popular education can fill the vacuum. In Europe, popular education either complements or competes with state education, on the outside in social movements or on the inside, in a struggle to promote its alternative philosophy and practice" (Kane, 2013, p. 89). A second difference lies in the nature of social movements. In the Europe of wealthy economies and welfare states, theorists usually characterised social movements as more middle-class than their Latin American counterparts, concerned with deepening democracy and improving the quality of life in a post-materialist society, rather than struggling for basic material needs (ibid.). Another difference is the extent to which an articulated popular education movement exists independently of the state. In Latin America it is a broad and open movement, with a degree of organisation and articulation. While the situation varies across countries, outside the state, "at least, such organisation seems significantly weaker in Europe" (ibid., p. 90).

Anyway, it is possible to establish a connection between Popular Education and Gramsci's Marxist perspectives. Such a connection is frequent mainly in Latin America, as a reaction to the unequal and dependent societies generated by colonisation. Societies with veins opened by imperialist exploitation, according to Galeano (1998). As dependency theorists have shown, the social and economic condition of theses societies "is in large part the historical product of past and continuing economic and other relations between the underdeveloped satellite and the now developed metropolitan countries. Furthermore, these relations are an essential part of the capitalist system on a world scale as a whole" (Frank, 1972, p. 3). That is to say, for dependency theory, the capitalist system has enforced a rigid international division of labour which is responsible for the underdevelopment of many areas of the world. The dependent states supply cheap minerals, agricultural commodities, and cheap labour, and also serve as the repositories of surplus capital, obsolescent technologies, and manufactured goods. These functions orient the economies of the dependent states toward the outside: money, goods, and services do flow into dependent states, but the allocation of these resources is determined by the economic interests of the dominant states, and not by the economic interests of the dependent states. This division of labour is ultimately the explanation for poverty (Dos Santos, 1973).

In such a context, Latin American Popular Education finds in Gramsci important contributions. For example,asa crucial area of civil society, adult education was conceived by Gramsci as having an important role to play in the 'war of position'both at the level of adult education within movements challenging the established state of affairs or at the level of individuals and enclaves operating in and against the state (Borg, Buttigieg and Mayo, 2002). In focusing on social change, Gramsci affirms that where civil society is 'gelatinous', like Russia in 1917, a frontal attack on the state, which he calls a

'war of movement', could succeed. But in advanced capitalist societies where civil society is highly developed, a different strategy is required - a 'war of position'. That is to say, "the hegemonic power exercised by the bourgeoisie through the organisations of civil society has to be increasingly undermined by the countervailing power of the social movements based on the growing activity of the members of these movements, linked together under the leadership of the working class" (Simon, 1999, p. 85-86). Therefore, social change consists "in the transformation of the social relations of civil society, as the basis for the transformation of the state apparatuses and of the organisations of civil society - churches, schools, political parties, trade unions, etc., as well as the family" (ibid., p. 86).

We can find in some of Gramsci's writings a yearning for the creation of a cultural association for workers, one that offers space where workers can debate all that is of interest to the working-class movement. Gramsci wrote that such an institution "must have class aims and limits. It must be a proletarian institution seeking definite goals'" (Gramsci, 1985, p. 21). In other words, such a perspective is committed to the development of counter-hegemonic activities. In this sense, there is a closeness between the Gramscian perspective and Popular Education taking into account, for example, social change. Bothrecognise that counter-hegemonic resistance involves struggling over the hearts and minds of people, their attitudes, beliefs, and emotions about the world. So, social change presupposes the formation of a new set of standards, new views, new ways of feeling, thinking and living.

Basically, counter-hegemony is essentially the process that challenges normative views about social and political reality - e.g. the idea that capitalism is the only viable economic and political arrangement that is available (Gramsci, 1987). This moral and intellectual process of counter-hegemony is also an

educational and affective one, because praxis and understanding are rooted in ‘feeling’. That’s to say, “the popular element feelsbut does not know or understand; the intellectual element knows but does not always understand, and in particular does not always feel” (ibid, p. 418). Gramsci here makes a distinction between the ‘people-nation’ that ‘feels’ and the intellectuals who ‘know’ and suggests that one does not really know without feeling, just as one does not really feel without knowing; feeling, understanding and knowing are all entangled together (Levinson, 2001). For counter-hegemony, then, this ‘feeling’ is necessary in understanding how people make sense of their world and their daily lives, and most importantly, how they can resist the dominant ideas, which are the ideas of the ruling class applied to society as ideology, according to Marx and Engels (1998).

Following a similar perspective of such an approach, Popular Education is conceived by Paulo Freire, from a counter-hegemonic standpoint, as a proposal that seeks to promote educational experiences that are transformative, empowering, transgressive and even subversive. His *Pedagogy ofthe Oppressed* aims at helping learners find a sense of agency in their lives through the process of ‘conscientization’ (Freire, 1970). In this way, to be counter-hegemonic is to resist the definitions and understandings of reality and truth that the dominant groups in society proffer to further their own interest. For instance,definitions and understandings concerning ideations about social class, race, gender, sexual orientation, environment, climate change and economic arrangements of the society, etc.

Popular Education develops a critical pedagogy committed to an anti-oppression and emancipatory approach. “It keeps at its centre the need to problematize both the overt and covert exercise of domination - subordination

in social structures and processes as part of exploring points of commonalities among various social groups" (Chisholm, 2015, p. 3).

4.1. Popular Education and a new society: 'no outsiders'

The term 'there are no outsiders' comes from Desmond Tutu, the Anglican Archbishop Emeritus of Southern Africa who, during the apartheid period, became known for his work in building a new state where everyone would be recognized and equal. Tutu often repeats the following: we are made for togetherness and for the beautiful things we know. We are made to tell the world that there are no outsiders. All are welcome: black, white, red, yellow, educated, not educated, male, female, gay, straight, all, all, all (ACNS, 2004).

As an ethical judgement, Tutu's words can serve as an emblem for Popular Education today, because, as we have seen it above, the guiding principles of Popular Education are both cognitive and political. Therefore, on the one hand, it is enabled to confront the logics of power and exclusion that exist in the various spheres of society, and, on the other hand, it develops a type of knowledge committed to social change. Taking that into account, there are some themes that are central to the agenda of contemporary Popular Education. From now on I will focus some of them.

4.1.1 - Black Lives Matter Movement goes to school: A Popular Education practice

In February 2021, although Popular Education theorists did not realize[8], the Black Lives Matter Movement developed a typical Popular Education action, as reported by The Philadelphia Inquirer: 'Black Lives Matter Movement goes to school to teach students about social justice' (The Philadelphia Inquirer, 2021).

> It was a week of activities developed under the motto 'all skin colours are as good as each other'. As it has been related by The Philadelphia Inquirer: This week [from Feb. 1 to 5], the first graders in Tamar LaSure-Owens' class have started social studies lessons the same way every day: belting out the lyrics to a Black Lives Matter song that encourages them to speak up about social injustice. LaSure-Owens used the catchy song to engage students in her virtual class at the Leeds Avenue School in Pleasantville to mark Black Lives Matter at School Week of Action. Teachers across the country are sharing lessons and having frank conversations about the movement with students of all ages. In Philadelphia, where more than 50% of students are Black, students began learning about the Black Lives Matter movement in 2017. Other cities, including New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles, are also teaching it. The idea was the brainchild of the Caucus of Working Educators, an activist group within the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers. The Black Lives Matter movement in schools has taken on new meaning ignited after the killing last year of George Floyd by a white police officer in Minnesota. His death after an officer kneeled on his neck for more than eight minutes sparked unrest around the world and protests, some organized by students.

The National Education Association, one of the country's largest teachers' unions, encouraged its members to participate in activities. It called for implementing restorative justice practices, hiring more Black teachers, and mandating Black history and ethnic studies.

In other words, what Black Lives Matter Movement did was to develop a practical action of Popular Education. Furthermore, its history is in tune with the perspectives of Popular Education. The Black Lives Matter Movement was co-founded in 2013 by three black community organizers: Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors, and Opal Tometi. Garza, Cullors and Tometi met through "Black Organizing for Leadership & Dignity" (BOLD), a national organization that trains community organizers. They began to question how they were going to respond to what they saw as the devaluation of black lives after George

Zimmerman's acquittal in the shooting death of African-American teen Trayvon Martin in February 2012. Garza wrote a Facebook post titled "A Love Note to Black People" in which she said: "Our Lives Matter, Black Lives Matter". Cullors replied: "#BlackLivesMatter". Tometi then added her support, and Black Lives Matter was born as an online campaign. This emergence stage quickly escalated to coalescence, as the movement became nationally recognized for its street demonstrations following the 2014 deaths of two African Americans: Michael Brown - resulting in protests and unrest in Ferguson - and Eric Garner in New York City.

Since the Ferguson protests, participants in the movement have demonstrated against the deaths of numerous other African Americans by police actions or while in police custody. But the police killing of George Floyd was the spark that unleashed pent up generalized feelings of outrage about racial injustice in the US and in many other countries around the world. Then, what began as a call to action in response to police violence and anti-Black racism in the U.S. is now a global initiative to confront racial and social inequities in society, including environmental injustice.

The Black Lives Matter Movement expresses a collective sense of outrage. So, movements like it are key actors in the process of developing Popular Education actions taking into account the interests of outsiders.

4.1.2 – Drugs and Popular Education: knowledge to change perceptions and policies

What's a drug? In the broadest sense, a drug is any substance that has an effect on either mind or body. However, for substances that act on the mind (psychoactive), including stimulants, sedatives, hallucinogens, deliriants or dissociatives, the term drug has acquired a negative meaning. In the

pharmacological sense, caffeine, nicotine and alcohol are drugs just as cocaine and heroin are (Global Commission on Drugs Policy, 2017).

In popular usage, "drug" has taken on a different meaning. Over the last century, "drug" has come to mean a psychoactive substance that is illegal. In this sense, cannabis is a drug while alcohol wouldn't be; and substances such as morphine are "medicines" when proposed by doctors, and "drugs" when not prescribed by them. Psychoactive substances are more accepted by society when supplied as medicines. Whether a substance is a drug in this usage depends on the intention behind its use, the mode of administration and the social class of the person who use it. While in many cases the active substances remain the same, the perception is very distinct. Therefore, as the sociology of deviance states (Becker, 2001, p. 4), "whether a substance is a narcotic or a medicine is decided not by the substance's pharmacology, but by how the State decides to treat it."

Anyway, drug use is, and always has been, a reality in our societies. Every year, hundreds of millions of people around the world use illicit substances - for many it is about enjoyment, for some it is to relieve pain, while for others it is for traditional, cultural or religious reasons. Despite the widespread and non-violent nature of drug use, the predominant government response to this issue is to enact highly punitive policies that criminalize those who use and/or possess drugs. Such policies, which were reinforced with the signing of the United Nations drug control treaties in the second half of the 20th century, are implemented with the misguided hope that drug use and the wider drug market can be eradicated, something that the evidence reveals is an impossibility (Global Commission on Drugs Policy, 2016).

In the early 2000s, an estimated 185 million people globally aged 15–64 (4.7 percent of the world's population) had consumed an illicit drug in the previous 12 months; by 2014, this number had risen 33 percent to 247 million (5.2 percent of the world's population). The number of people who were dependent on drugs "increased disproportionally" from 27 million in 2013 to 29 million in 2014. At the same time, the illegal cultivation of opium poppies increased to the highest levels on record in 2014, reaching almost 320,000 hectares globally, while cocaine production rose 38 percent from 2013 to 2014 (ibid.).

A lot of factors, of course, account for increases and decreases in the use and production of drugs. What can be observed, though, is that punitive approaches have unequivocally failed in their goal to extinguish the market. Worse, these approaches have led to devastating health and social consequences for people who use drugs and wider society. On a daily basis, significant human rights abuses are carried out in the name of drug control, from the use of the death penalty and extrajudicial killings, to torture, police brutality and inhumane drug treatment programs.

Furthermore, the labelling of people who use drugs is probably one of the most devastating. It does not differentiate 'problematic drug use' from other forms of use and generates stigmas that are inescapable and destructive of individual identity. The language used when speaking about or referring to people who use drugs "has a tremendous impact on how they view themselves and how they are viewed by others. Public opinion and media portrayals reinforce each other while contributing to and perpetuating stigma associated with drugs and drug use" (Global Commission on Drugs Policy, 2016, p. 27). In general, no medical condition is more stigmatized than 'addiction'.

> Commonly encountered terms such as “junkie,” “drug abuser,” or “crackhead” are alienating, defining people who use drugs solely by their consumption of a particular substance and designating them as “others” – physically inferior or morally flawed individuals. Negative language use also extends to people in recovery who are referred to as “clean,” implying they were previously unclean or dirty (ibid., p. 28).

Stigmatization has a perverse double effect: one hand, the more society stigmatizes and rejects people who use drugs, the fewer opportunities for treatment will be on offer; on the other hand, stigma drives individuals who need help away from those services that are available.

In short, repressive and prohibitionist drug policies create far more harm than the drugs themselves. So,

> we need new approaches that uphold the principles of human dignity, the right to privacy and the rule of law, and recognize that people will always use drugs. In order to uphold these principles all penalties— both criminal and civil—must be abolished for the possession of drugs for personal use. While a number of countries have implemented decriminalization policies, many still rely on penalizing the user with civil sanctions, a punishment that is disproportionate to the act (Global Commission on Drugs Policy, 2016, p. 11).

In such a process of changing perspectives on approaches to drugs, Popular Education has a fundamental role to play. This means that it must be a channel for spreading knowledge about a new conception of drugs and their policies.At the same time, some strategies of the new drug policies can be implemented through Popular Education.

In that way, first of all, it is necessary to change the perceptions about drugs. Therefore, there is a need to change how we talk on them. Some terms should be avoided, being replaced by others, according to the following table.

Table 2 - Better language on drugs

Use	Don't use
Person who uses drugs	Drug user
Person with non-problematic drug use	Recreational, casual, or experimental users
Person with drug dependence, person with problematic drug use, person with substance use disorder; person who uses drugs (when use is not problematic)	Addict; drug/substance abuser; junkie; dope head, pothead, smack head, crackhead etc.; druggie; stoner
Substance use disorder; problematic drug use	Drug habit
Has a X use disorder	Addicted to X
Abstinent; person who has stopped using drugs	Clean
Actively uses drugs; positive for substance use	Dirty (as in "dirty screen")
Respond, program, address, manage	Fight, counter, combat drugs and other combatant language
Safe consumption facility	Fix rooms
Person in recovery, person in long-term recovery	Former addicts; reformed addict
Opioid substitution therapy	Opioid replacement therapy

Source: Adapted from Associated Press (2017).

In addition, the theoretical status of Popular Education enables its approach on drugs to assume three propositions formulated by Becker (2001): 1) Drug does not denote a scientific or pharmacological category. "It points, rather, to a category that reflects how a society has decided to treat a substance, and it implies a classification of substances in which the term 'drug' has an ambiguous status" (ibid, p. 2) The category to which a substance is assigned affects how people who ingest that substance are treated and that, in turn, affects what the substance in question does to and for them; 3) Consequently the solution to the problem implies a redefinition of the phenomena involved. This seems like a simple solution, but it is not currently available, "because the power to define is concentrated among people whose interest gives them no incentive to take that easy step" (ibid., p. 2).

4.1.3 – Prisons and Popular Education: teaching to transform reality

Not all crimes are given equal weight. Society generally socializes its members to view certain crimes as more severe than others. For instance, in modern North American society, crimes are classified as one of two types based on their severity. Violent crimes (also known as "crimes against a person") are based on the use of force or the threat of force. Rape, murder, and armed robbery fall under this category. Nonviolent crimes involve the destruction or theft of property, but do not use force or the threat of force. Because of this, they are also sometimes called "property crimes." Larceny, car theft, and vandalism are all types of nonviolent crimes.

Anyway, the corrections system, more commonly known as the prison system, is tasked with supervising individuals who have been arrested, convicted, and sentenced for a criminal offence. But the well-known problem of using imprisonment to respond to criminal offenders is that prison influences individual behaviour and self-understanding, but often not in the way intended.

Prisons are agents of socialization. The act of imprisonment itself modifies individual behaviour and can make individuals more criminal. When we add to this insight the sociological research into the social characteristics of those who have been arrested or processed by the criminal justice system — variables such as gender, age, race, and class — it is evident that social variables and power structures are key to understanding who follows a criminal career path.

The institutionalized individual by the penal establishment "adheres" to his new stigmatized identity according to the particularities expected from the label that the prison imposes on him or her. Such an identity is internalized, and he/she continues to carry it even outside of prison (Goffman, 1963). Labelling has a long-lasting effect.

Consequently, it's created a negative publica perception of offenders and ex-offenders, which is reinforced by media. Thus, it's propagated a sensation of moral panic in society about them, a concept (Cohen, 1972). That's to say, moral panic designates a feeling of fear spread among many people that some evil threatens the well-being of society. It occurs when a condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests. In this sense, their nature is presented in a stylized and stereotypical fashion by the mass media, as well as moral barricades are raised by editors, religious and politicians to combat "the enemy".

Recent public debates in countries like Canada on being "tough on crime" often revolve around the idea that mandatory minimum sentences and alternative sanctions are effective practices for controlling some crimes. There are a number of alternatives to prison sentences used as criminal sanctions in Canada including fines, electronic monitoring, probation, and community service. These alternatives divert offenders from forms of penal social control, largely on the

basis of principles drawn from labelling theory. They emphasize to varying degrees compensatory social control, which obliges an offender to pay a victim to compensate for a harm committed; therapeutic social control, which involves the use of therapy to return individuals to a 'normal state'; and conciliatory social control, which reconciles the parties of a dispute to mutually restore harmony to a social relationship that has been damaged (Little, 2016).

Overall, the traditional perspective on the development of education in prisons emphasizes that it is a pillar of effective rehabilitation. Thus, it is understood that prison education transforms prisoners' lives, but it can also benefit society by building safer communities and reducing the significant financial and social costs arising from reoffending.

As a "hopeful perspective", such an understanding has its value. But the reality involving offenders and ex-offenders is more 'complex'. For example, the implications of stigma and moral panic are ignored by many of the traditional approaches to prison education. It is also generally ignored that the collateral effects of the imprisonment of one family member include negative impacts on the other family members and communities (Wildeman, 2010).

Taking into account that the theoretical status of Popular Education enables it to address issues such as stigma and moral panic, its approach to prison education shows itself with more analytical consistency than the traditional perspective. Therefore, there are some key propositions of Popular Education for the educational intervention in prisons. For instance:

I. Prison education should consider how to help students cope with their sentence, limit the damage that the institution does to them and reflect on how to build on students' strengths. "These are not the instrumentalist indices of

change that underpin authoritarian rehabilitation or more traditional educational measurements, but may be more authentic indicators of change and transformation" (Behan, 2014, p. 29).

II. Adult education is more than just the accumulation of knowledge or the acquisition of skills; it seeks to locate learning in a wider social context, taking into account the students' life history. Thus, education in prisons should be different from strictly school education and socialisation.

III. Education can and should mean different things to different people. Analysed in this context, education can play an important role in encouraging the individual to move away from a life of crime, not just to desist from breaking the law, but also to recognise himself or herself as a social actor able to intervene in the construction of society.

IV. Prison education, while potentially finding an accommodation with traditional rehabilitation programmes, should distinguish itself from these programmes.

V. Prison education should be committed to the development of anti-stigmatising actions.

VI. Defence of non-custodial sentences and restorative justice for some crimes.

Many non-custodial sentences involve community-based sentencing, in which offenders serve a conditional sentence in the community, usually by performing some sort of community service. The justification for these types of programs is that rehabilitation is more effective if the offender is in the community rather than prison. A version of community-based sentencing is restorative justice

conferencing, which focuses on establishing a direct, face-to-face connection between the offender and the victim. The offender is obliged to make restitution to the victim, thus "restoring" a situation of justice (Little, 2016).

5. Conclusion

It is not easy to develop approaches on deviants. Since deviant activity is activity that is likely to be punished if it comes to light, it tends to be kept hidden. So, researchers and educators are compelled to confront the biases that have shaped points of views and practices in society. This demands transgression or a 'transgressive pedagogy', as Bell Hooks says (Hooks, 1994).

Consequently, Popular Education, as an education for outsiders, scrutinizes and confronts the social construction of social positions and material conditions. In this way, it should point out that social controls affect individual behaviour, in the first instance, through the use of power, the application of sanctions (Becker, 1963). Valued behaviour is rewarded and negatively valued behaviour is punished. Control would be difficult to maintain if enforcement were always needed, so that more subtle mechanisms performing the same function arise. Among these is the control of behaviour achieved by affecting the conceptions persons have of the to-be-controlled activity, and of the possibility or feasibility of engaging in it.

Such a "systemic engineering" has very concrete social effects. For instance, in general, researchers and educators do not question the label "deviant" when it is applied to particular acts or people but rather take it as given. In so doing, they accept the values of the group making the judgment. It is easily observable that different groups judge different things to be deviant. This should alert us to the possibility that the person making the judgment of deviance, the process by which that judgment is arrived at, and the situation in which it is made may all

be intimately involved in the phenomenon of deviance. To the degree that researchers and educators "assume that acts that break rules are inherently deviant and thus take for granted the situations and processes of judgment, they may leave out an important variable" (Becker, 1963, p. 4). In other words, if researchers and educators "ignore the variable character of the process of judgment, they may by that omission limit the kinds of approaches that can be developed and the kind of understanding that can be achieved" (ibid, p. 4). This is not the analytical focus of a Popular Education for outsiders; its focus is based on 'transgressive pedagogy'.

That is to say, a pedagogy that expands beyond societal and institutional boundaries by engaging directly with questions of bias that perpetuate systems of domination, and also finds new ways to teach diverse groups of students (Hooks, 1994). Such a process is related to the construction of meaning at the subjective level and to the dynamic interactions between that level and other decisive processes in the configuration of knowledge, as well as in the construction of social life.

As we have seen in this paper, the ability to make rules, apply them and to label other people are essentially power differentials. In this way, structures of hierarchy are created in every sphere of life. As Chomsky (1995) says, unless a rational justification for these structures can be given, they are illegitimate and must be challenged. Therefore, a Popular Education for outsiders should contribute to dismantle them, to increase the scope of human freedom.

Notes

[1]According to the sociology of deviance, rules mean all the prescriptions laid down in society. They can have a general character as well as a specific meaning. In this way, they can refer to the definition of roles concerning social class, ethnicity and gender, but they can also concern the prohibition of behaviours and habits, such as smoking marijuana. “Social rules are the creation of specific social groups. Modern societies are not simple organizations in which everyone agrees on what the rules are andhow they are to be applied in specific situations. They are, instead, highly differentiated along social class lines, ethnic lines, occupational lines and cultural lines” (Becker, 1963, p. 15). Differences in the ability to make rules are essentially power differentials. For instance, the upper class creates rules for the working class and on the other hand it emphasizes that when a property is not privately owned but shared by the public, a problem known as the 'tragedy of the commons' can emerge. Hence, according to the upper class, for individuals or businesses to deploy their capital goods confidently, a system must exist that protects their legal right to own or transfer private property. That’s to say, rules. Therefore, we can conclude that rules play a role of social control.

[2]Sometimes superficial interpretations of outsiders and deviants describe the approaches of Howard Becker and Erving Goffman as affiliated to the same analytical perspective. However, this is a misunderstanding. By the way, Becker himself stated the following: "Erving's lineage is quite different from mine. I think that Erving’s lineage was Durkheim, Radcliffe Brown, Lloyd Warner” (Becker, 2003, p. 23).

[3]“Brazil's anti-corruption prosecutor: graft is endemic. It has spread like cancer”, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/dec/30/brazil-anti-corruption-prosecutor-deltan-dallagnol-lava-jato-investigation. Accessed on March 14, 2021.

[4] That is probably the case of the so-called Operation Car Wash in Brazil.

[5] In such a perspective, it is fundamental to consider Taylor, Walton and Young’s ‘The New Criminology’. It was one of the first approaches to bridge the gap between criminological and sociological theory and demonstrated the weaknesses of classical and positivist criminology. It became known as critical criminology. They tried to establish the ‘fully social theory of deviance’ and stated that the approach to crime should consider, for example: I) the structure of society; II) the structural "macro" background to the deviant act; III) the immediate cause of the deviant act and the act itself; IV) the impact of the act (both immediate and on a larger scale); V) the societal reaction to the act and the impact of that reaction (both on the individual and on society). See Taylor, Walton and Young (2013).

[6]Market society is a society in which the pursuit of private gain increasingly becomes the organising principle for all areas of social life – not simply a mechanism that can be used to accomplish certain circumscribed economic ends. According to Currie's concept (Currie, p. 134), “in a market society all

other principles of social or institutional organisation become eroded or subordinated to the overarching one of private gain. Alternatives sources of livelihood, of social support and of cultural value – even of personal identity – become increasingly weakened or obliterated, so that individuals, families and communities are more and more dependent on what we somewhat misleadingly call the 'free' market to provide for their human needs – not only material needs but cultural, symbolic and psychic ones as well."

[7]That means the group of countries in the region with characteristics of relatively prosperous Western democracies. The countries of the former Soviet bloc are not included.

[8]In general, approaches in Popular Education have had difficulties in focusing on contemporary educational and social phenomena. As a consequence of this, many books and articles have merely repeated perspectives on Popular Education developed in the 1960s and 1970s.On the new challenges of Popular Education, see Jiménez (2015) and Carrillo (2011).

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