KATE ROGERS & MEGAN HAGGERTY

# 10. LEARNING THROUGH VOLUNTEERING IN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: THE CASE OF THE FRENTE CÍVICO

## INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a reflection on volunteer learning and community development by examining the case of the *Frente Cívico*, a social movement in Cuernavaca, México set out to protect a regional cultural historic site from being destroyed in order to make room for a big-box store. The purpose of this study is to further understand the content and processes of informal learning within social movements. This case shows the unique forms of learning possible for volunteers engaged in community development projects. As noted in the introduction to this book, in community development it is possible to identify three main models of practice: social planning, locality development, and social action (Rothman 1987). The case discussed in this chapter is a clear example of the social action approach.

Although participation[1] in a social movement is not typically considered "volunteering", most social movements exist and survive because of people who volunteer. Considering the various levels on the scales of volition, remuneration, structure and intended beneficiaries (Cnaan, Handy & Wadsworth, 1996; see Chapter One), there are few grey areas in terms of volunteering for the *Frente Cívico*. Although it is impossible to speak for all of the participants in the movement, it is safe to say that the majority were there by free choice and had no remuneration. The organization's structure is formal: it was developed for the purpose of facilitating the participation of people interested in its goals and values, and was formally registered as a non-profit civil association. Regarding the fourth and last dimension of Cnaan et al.'s framework, the act of volunteering for the *Frente Cívico* was largely altruistic, because the volunteers themselves would not receive any material benefit from their actions, although they would have enjoyed the preservation of the site together with the rest of the local community. Even when considering the more dichotomous definition of volunteering and its four main characteristics of being freely chosen, unpaid, part of an organization, and benefiting the community, much participation in social movements can be considered volunteering. In the example of the *Frente Cívico* this is certainly the case. One significant aspect of volunteering in a social movement is that the volunteer activities tend not to be individually directed, but rather collectively organized. Collective volunteering usually involves actions that are designed, organized, and supervised by the group in spite of the individual participant's intentions or preferences (Hustinx & Lammertyn, 2003).

*F. Duguid, K. Mündel & D. Schugurensky (Eds.), Volunteer Work, Informal Learning and Social Action, 195–218.*

Social movements, both old and new, are significant sites of learning (Welton, 1993, Livingstone, 2000), yet learning in social movements comprises only a small portion of the literature in the non-formal and informal learning fields. An area of study known as 'social movement learning' has emerged, but the links between this and the non-formal and informal learning processes are still little explored. Indeed, very little of the research to date has addressed the actual competencies that people gain through volunteering in social movements. This chapter will make a contribution to address this gap by exploring what volunteers learn through their experiences in social action-oriented community development. In doing so, and building on the literature on social movement learning and on experiential learning processes, we aim to bring insight to the various processes of learning found in social movements.

This first part of this chapter will describe the history and development of the *Frente Cívico* movement. The second part will analyze the learning experienced by the volunteers who participated in the movement. The discussion of learning has been organized in five sections: issues, skills, strategies, critical analysis, and learned hope. The conclusions provide a reflection on the non-formal, informal and experiential learning processes that took place within the movement.

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: CASINO DE LA SELVA[2]

In the early 20th century, Manuel Sanchez constructed a hotel in the then small but growing city of Cuernavaca. The hotel's architect, Félix Candela, built a unique and dramatic structure, with a similar style later used to design the opera house in Sydney, Australia. The hotel was first called Hotel de la Selva and later, with the introduction of gambling, was renamed Casino de la Selva. The hotel lot covered a single city block, approximately 9.5 hectares, and was a large green space full of gardens and hundreds of trees of many types. The government of Lázaro Cárdenas eventually closed the Casino, yet the name stuck and is still used today even though there has not been a casino there for over seventy years. For a number of decades the *Casino de la Selva* (Casino in the Jungle) functioned as a hotel for middle and upper class citizens from the state of Morelos and all over México, as well as for tourists and ambassadors from around the world. The hotel attracted a variety of local and international figures, including Rita Hayworth and Al Capone. During the 1950s and 1960s, Sanchez invited many famous, as well as struggling, Mexican and Spanish artists (including Diego Rivera, David Siqueiros, José Clemente Orozco and Jose Renau) to come and paint the walls and hallways of his hotel, and invited sculptors to fill the gardens and walkways with their work. The hotel featured significant artwork, including murals of famous Mexican painters and a vault that Colombian writer Gabriel García Márquez called the "Mexican Sistine Chapel". Thus the *Casino de la Selva* became famous for its over 1400 square meters of original painted murals, as well as countless other unique artistic creations in and around the hotel.

The *Casino de la Selva* changed ownership and eventually became the property of the state of Morelos due to back-taxes that were owed. Over time the hotel's grounds, swimming pools and tennis courts were opened to the public. The site was used for an annual spring fair, as well as for art exhibitions and other community events. The state government covered the cost of maintaining the building and the site through tax revenue and, in 1992, paid to have the murals professionally restored. Over the past seventy years the *Casino de la Selva*– although it has gone through short periods of change or of little use– has been an almost constant part of social life in Cuernavaca. In the year 2000, *Casino de la Selva*, valued at $63 million US dollars, was quietly and illegally sold to a big-box chain (Costco) for $10 million US dollars. In the beginning of 2001, there were rumours in the city that there were new owners who were intentionally destroying the murals.

## THE FRENTE CÍVICO MOVEMENT

Over a period of six months, as more people realized that the *Casino de la Selva* had been sold and was in the process of being destroyed, concerned citizens met together and decided to form an organization to deal specifically with the issue of the sale and destruction of the *Casino de la Selva*. They called themselves *El Frente Cívico Pro Defensa del Casino de la Selva* (The Civic Front for the Defence of the Casino in the Jungle). The *Frente Cívico*, as they became more commonly known, was made up of three major organizations: CCCAM (the Cultural Care Council for the Arts of Morelos State), SERPAJC (Service, Peace and Justice of Cuernavaca), and the Guardians of the Trees.[3] In addition to these three groups, there were also other citizens, some of whom were from a centre-left party (PRD, or Democratic Revolutionary Party), and others from various Base Christian Communities, as well as a group of committed young volunteers. Although the total number of volunteers fluctuated over time, there are estimates of between 50 and 100 regular members and approximately 20 or 30 core volunteers who played leadership roles in the movement.

The *Frente Cívico* became legally registered as a civil association in June of 2001, and almost immediately thereafter it began a legal process in the courts against the state government in an attempt to prevent the destruction of the *Casino de la Selva*, the murals, the trees and the site itself. During this time several *Frente* committees were appointed to investigate, learn and document what was significant about the location under dispute. The group documented in detail the 1400 square metres of original paintings and murals, the 700+ trees (many over 100 years old), plants and small wildlife, and mapped the surrounding area of two hospitals, a seniors residence, and numerous primary and secondary schools. This place was also the location of an unexcavated Olmec ruin, where over 200 objects of archaeological significance had been found and documented. The *Casino* is also near the main 'people's market' where many people from Cuernavaca and surrounding areas make their living. Furthermore, adjacent to the site there already exists a large grocery

store called *Comercial Mexicana*, owned by Costco. In a short time, the *Frente* volunteers, as a result of their collective learning, were in a position to argue that this was a completely inappropriate location for the two large box stores that were scheduled for construction.

In light of these factors, *Frente Cívico* decided that this struggle would be best directed as a struggle against Costco international using that location, instead of against Costco in Cuernavaca. Many volunteers in the movement were against neoliberalism and its corporate agenda, and were concerned about multinational dominance over local businesses. In this context, there was a conscious, though not unanimous, decision to focus their fight against Costco international locating box stores at the *Casino de la Selva* site. Their plea was that the company should choose another site outside of the downtown area, one that held less social, cultural, historical and community significance to the city and its people.

It is important to note that most decisions within *Frente Cívico* were made through assemblies. Assemblies were part of the weekly or daily meetings of the movement where everyone had the opportunity to speak, share information and give opinions, followed by a majority rule vote. The only requirement for participation in the vote was participation in the movement (no matter how limited) and being present at the assembly. This allowed for an unusually equal say between the very vocal or highly educated members and those who are more commonly marginalized in this society like youth and street vendors. In many cases, volunteers who were asked to lead 'fact-finding' missions or be spokespeople to the media were often seen as the leaders of the movement. Yet, the actual 'leadership' were those 20 male and female volunteers who were the most active and committed members. The practice of decision-making through assemblies, coupled with an intentional system of horizontal leadership, created an active democracy among the members.

The main strategy followed by *Frente Cívico* volunteers was non-violent direct action, relying heavily on Ghandi's principles of *ahimsa* (non-violence) for challenging oppressive powers. The volunteers of the group SERPAJC (Service, Peace and Justice) actively taught other movement members about these principles and related social action strategies. For example, *Frente Cívico* members investigated which government office was in charge of the environmental impact study. Once the location was clear, they held a 'sit-in' and hunger strike, chaining themselves to office desks for a day and a night, until they were allowed to speak with the head of the department and receive a copy of the impact study. The high value attached to democracy within the movement and the belief in non-violence shaped the structure of the movement. These elements place the *Frente* in the category of a 'new' social movement.[4] One of the major symbolic non-violent direct actions taken by the movement was a two-month blockade of one of the many entranceways to the site of *Casino de la Selva*. This seemingly limited act brought much attention to the struggle of *Frente Cívico* and opened up many opportunities to educate local residents. This location also gave opportunity for volunteer members to hand out information flyers and hang banners that raised awareness about the issues at stake.

Although this blockade was mainly symbolic, it was able to slow down some of the destruction of the *Casino de la Selva*.

The *Frente* also decided to lobby for a referendum. With the changing of the government in the previous election, the state of Morelos had failed to select the three officials for the positions of the *Consejo de participación ciudadana* (Council of citizen participation) in charge of managing a state referendum. The *Frente Cívico* pressured the government to appoint people to these positions by gathering 20,000 signatures from citizens of Cuernavaca, requesting a referendum on the issue of Costco in the *Casino de la Selva*. When the government refused, the movement decided to take on the referendum for themselves, learning all the steps for this extensive undertaking. The result was an overwhelming 'no' to Costco in the *Casino de la Selva* and 'yes' to a cultural park on the site instead. Despite it, those in power ignored these results and allowed Costco to continue the destruction of the site.

In June of 2002 there was a closed meeting within the state government to approve the environmental impact study of the area. The study was presented and approved in less than two hours – another illegal act by the government since the impact study should allow a minimum of two weeks for review. This approval opened the way for Costco to begin cutting the trees in the *Casino de la Selva* the morning of August 21, 2002. That was a pivotal day for the *Frente Cívico* movement. From the blockade outside the walls of the *Casino de la Selva* movement, volunteer members realized that the trees were being cut down, and spread the word in a systematic manner. Many movement members arrived, as well as people from nearby neighbourhoods, including a squatters' settlement also threatened by the construction of the mega-stores. With the increase in numbers it was decided that they would take over a second entrance in an attempt to prevent the entry of further machinery for felling trees.

By the evening, approximately 60 people (not including members of the local media who had come to film the protest) had two blockades firmly in place as well as a partial blockade of the street. At around 8 p.m., 400 state police arrived in full riot gear and announced their intention to remove the blockades. With the protestors outnumbered seven to one, the police started grabbing and arresting people, beating with clubs those who resisted and even some who did not. The police arrested 36 people, some of whom were merely bystanders, but many of whom were core members of the movement. Fortunately for the *Frente Cívico* and the protesters, there were several reporters who witnessed and filmed most of the violence and repeatedly broadcast it on the news over the next few days. These broadcasts drew a high level of response from many citizens in Cuernavaca who, although they may not have participated, supported the struggle of the movement against Costco and were appalled at the use of violence by the police.

The day following the arrests, August 22, 2002, there was a 3,000-person march denouncing both the police brutality and the state government who authorized it. The next day, 8,000 people protested outside of the State Attorney's Office. Coincidentally, there was a cultural festival organized for the 24th and 25th of

August in the *zócalo* (the main city square), which turned into an opportunity for education of the population and for organizing further protests. On August 26, the protesters were released from prison, and the following day they led a march of 15,000 – the largest march in the history of the state. However, these protests had little effect on altering Costco's actions.

In the following months, from September to December, there was a slow decline in the momentum of the movement. Costco cut down all the trees and bulldozed the buildings, completely destroying everything of value. As a result, many people felt that there was nothing left to fight for, yet many of the core volunteers of the movements continued with their struggle on a number of levels. The main concerns were the legal charges against those who had been arrested. Other activities were planned as well. In early November, for *El Dia de los Muertos* (the Day of the Dead), *Frente Cívico* made an *ofrenda* (traditional shrine) outside of the *Casino de la Selva* in mourning of the destruction. During the rest of November, there began the discussion of entering the site to occupy it. The date set for this action was December 15, which was considered the last opportunity to gain back the site. Since not everyone was in agreement, in the end this action was cancelled.

Over the next year, several smaller actions occurred. In January 2003, the *Frente* discreetly sent two of its members to Costco's shareholders meeting in Seattle, USA, where they interrupted the proceedings with their testimonies of Costco's actions in Cuernavaca. This had a profound impression on many of the shareholders who were unaware of the situation, with the outcome that Costco now has a policy that requires a cultural impact study to be done before any deal is made, both in the United States and elsewhere. Around February 2003, the *Frente Cívico* volunteers held a 13 day hunger strike in the government palace, with a round-the-clock sit-in lasting 81 days. They were eventually evicted by the police when a number of the members went to another meeting held on the issue, leaving the sit-in with too few people to protect it.

Despite the incredible efforts and the many successes of *Frente Cívico* and all those who supported this movement, the *Casino de la Selva* was destroyed, including the hotel, the murals, the ruins and the trees. Costco claims to have saved and restored the murals, supposedly now on display in a small museum on the site, but their destruction has been clearly and irrefutably documented in the award winning film by Pablo Gleason (2003), *El Casino de la Selva: La defensa del patrimonio* (The Casino in the Jungle: The defence of the patrimony). On September 5, 2003, an inauguration was held for the two new big-box-stores and the small museum that stands on what was once the beautiful and irreplaceable *Casino de la Selva*.

After the inauguration of Costco, many of the volunteers returned to their original groups and took up various other struggles. At the same time, new movements and organizations were being born from this struggle. One member called *Frente Cívico* the '*matriz*' (the womb) of social struggle. Another interesting and significant result of this movement is that other social movements from all over México have contacted and continue to contact volunteers of the *Frente* for advice, counsel and support for their own particular movements.

## LEARNING IN THE FRENTE CÍVICO

The field of social movement learning takes an educator's view of the vast field of social movement analysis. Social movements have been analyzed for many years by political scientists, sociologists and specific social movement scholars. Approaching social movements from these diverse perspectives has resulted in analyses on wide-ranging aspects of social movements, from membership to the impact of the social and political context on social movement outcomes (McAdam, 1996). However, until the mid 1990s, very little attention had been given to the learning that occurs within social movements. As the first State of the Field Report on Social Movement Learning notes, social movement theory "focuses on what movements do and how they do it and not on what its members think. Knowledge is seen to be largely outside the sociologists' areas of competence according to them." (Hall et al. 2006, p. 7). In contrast, the field of adult education has had a long history of analyzing specific movements, including feminist, labour and environmental movements of the past and present, whose work has been combined, compared and added upon to form the emerging field of social movement learning. The State of the Field report tries to bring this literature into a cohesive whole, based on the belief that "a deeper understanding of the educational dimensions of social movements will be of use to social movement organizations and activists" (Hall et al., 2006, p. 5). Quite simply, social movement learning comprises two dimensions:

a) learning by persons this, Della Porta and Diani (1999, pp. 14–15) have outlined the four characteristics that are most frequently referred to by social movement scholars: who are part of any social movement; and
b) learning by persons outside of a social movement as a result of the actions taken or simply by the existence of social movements (Hall & Clover, 2005, pp. 584–589).

The most widely adhered to definition of social movements comes from Snow, Soule and Kriesi, who state that "Social movements can be thought of as collectivities acting with some degree of organization, and continuity outside of institutional or organizational channels for the purpose of challenging or defending extant authority, whether it is institutionally or culturally based, in the group, organization, society, culture or world order of which they are a part" (2004, p. 11). Social movement scholars tend to refer to four main characteristics of social movements: informal interaction networks, shared beliefs and solidarity, collective action focusing on conflict, and use of protest (Della Porta and Diani, 1999, p.14–15).

The emerging literature on social movement learning attempts to bring to light the opportunities for learning within social movements, and documents the existence of the predominantly nonformal and informal learning that occurs within the movements. One unique aspect of social movement learning is its focus on the collective (Hustinx and Lammertyn, 2003). As Livingstone (2000, p.6) states, "the collective aspects of our informal learning, the social engagement with others, is

an integral part of any actual knowledge acquisition process". This collective learning is not without tension. Welton (1993) notes that the learning processes are different for each group and can be full of tension and conflict, both within the new movements and between them, yet movements can and do converge at crucial points of shared concern. This focus on the collective, through convergence on areas of shared concern, allows movements the opportunity of focusing on learning for the public good, as opposed to the dominant trend of learning for individual gain that has been identified by Baptiste (1999) and Finger (1989).

There has been a move to recognize that social movements are not merely important learning sites (as Welton, 1993, puts forward), but are also important arenas for knowledge production. John Holford (1995), in "Why Social Movements Matter," suggests a "move from the appreciation that social movements are important phenomena in the learning process of the individuals (and even collectively of the groups and organizations) which compose them, to a view that they are central to the production of human knowledge itself" (p. 101). Although the theoretical discussions around social movement learning are strong, particularly within the field of adult education, there is still little research on the actual learning that takes place within social movements. Hall et al. (2006) note that although many researchers speak of the importance of educational activities in social movements, few engage in in-depth studies. The literature that does exist has focused on the processes of learning, the amount of time and particular subjects of learning, as opposed to competencies gained (Livingstone, 2000). Finger and Asun (2001) and Hall et al. (2006) profess that social movement learning is a unique type of learning that would not otherwise have occurred in other circumstances or places. It is therefore imperative to study social movement learning in order to understand both what is learned and how this learning takes place.

Our analysis of learning within the social movement is based on information received through analysis of the two previously cited film documentaries, *Frente* movement documents, and from interviews of eight movement volunteers undertaken by Kate Rogers in 2006. These members were selected through the snowballing method of sampling, where a member suggested that she speak with a specific participant and so on. Of the eight people interviewed, four are women and four men, with an age range from twenty to sixty-some years old. All of the eight interviewees were part of the core group of movement volunteers, which consisted of approximately 20 to 30 people, in a movement of 50 to 100 participants in total.

It is perhaps obvious but important to note that not all volunteers learned the same things or at the same pace or depth (Livingstone, 2000). Yet the movement's need to have their members informed and to have them develop certain skills seemed to have prompted various strategies for promoting learning and sharing information, such as workshops, assemblies and communication chains (which will be discussed in further detail in the *Processes of Learning* section). Through participation in the *Frente Cívico* movement, volunteers learned about many different things.

These learnings are presented in five categories: learning about issues, learning skills, learning strategies, learning critical analysis, and learning hope.

### *Learning About Social, Political and Environmental Issues*

Through their participation in the *Frente* Cívico, volunteers learned about many issues and social problems. Among them were environmental issues, legal issues, community issues, the impact of big business on small business, art history and the destruction of art. Their learning about environmental issues included a detailed investigation into the environmental impact study: what the requirements were, how long the process should take, who approved this study, and what laws they had to abide by. Other learning in this area included tracking the promises made by Costco to protect some of the trees and to plant new ones. For example, the company promised and claimed to have donated and planted 30,000 trees, but the *Frente* committee could not find out when or where (or if) this had been done. They also investigated the ecological impacts of losing the diversity of the *Casino* site. They researched how many meters of green space their city had and then how many it should have according to the UN, and shared this information with the public. Learning about legal aspects of the struggle included learning about laws of land-use, land sale and construction, as well as about the law of cultural patrimony and other laws associated with the economy and economic impacts. *Frente* volunteers also had to learn how to contest charges placed on movement members at the time of their arrest.

Another form of learning about these issues for movement volunteers was through the need to share some of this information in order to educate the public. The volunteers put great energy into studying specific issues, writing about them, and informing the larger public about the results through information flyers, street dramas and banners for the education of the larger community. Moreover, *Frente Cívico* volunteers noted that the very act of teaching others was an important form of learning in itself. This finding confirms the insight provided by Hall et al. when they pointed out that "what we all know as facilitators of learning is that nothing is as powerful a stimulus to learning as the necessity to teach or inform others (2006, p.7)". This was particularly true for the *Frente Cívico* volunteers. The learning of the volunteers was therefore intimately connected with the teaching of the general public, including Mexican citizens and foreigners. This learning differs from the learning of many other volunteer groups in that it was not learning mainly for personal or group development. Rather, it was learning to directly affect the wider public and inspire informed collective action.

### *Learning Skills for Effective Horizontal Organization*

*Frente Cívico* volunteers learned many skills as a result of participation in the movement. The initial focus centred on learning how to form a new organization

and then learning how to create an appropriate and desired structure, in this case a horizontal leadership structure. This structure included the formation of committees in charge of investigating certain areas, like environmental issues, legal aspects, artistic history, and the like. These committees were also in charge of learning and applying skills such as document writing, preparing press releases, presenting in public, speaking to the media, designing and making banners, distributing information flyers, among many other activities. These are skills that are useful in a variety of settings and are essential in an effective social movement. Through these committees the movement chose to intentionally create ways to facilitate group learning. The horizontal leadership structure certainly contributed to facilitate group learning, but also meetings and decision-making processes.

There were also substantial skills learned surrounding communication and interpersonal skills in the context of working together as a group. Movement volunteers intentionally set out to learn from and about each other, and to learn how to work well together. Many interviewees commented on how they learned about the importance of working in and for community through participation in the movement. Others mentioned coalition building skills, and especially the challenges of uniting diverse groups and interests within the struggle. Another volunteer noted that through the internal democratic process the group learned increased tolerance and how to minimize differences. Some talked about the benefits of getting to know each other well in the movement ("learning about everyone's strengths, weaknesses and qualities"), and one participant felt that the personal growth and the collective learning of the group was in part due to the varying social-economic statuses of people involved. It is pertinent to note that many of these democratic, communication and interpersonal skills are similar to the learned skills cited in many of the other chapters of this book.

Another skill developed by the *Frente Cívico* volunteers was how to access and use effective the local and mainstream media. This is a particularly important skill for movements that depend largely on public support for their success. There was much discussion surrounding how to get the press involved and how to get positive media attention. Certain participants were involved in contacting local, national and international media, making press releases and building relationships with journalists in order to facilitate their access to media coverage. News of Costco in Cuernavaca came out in the local and in the international press (as far away as Korea) thanks to the learning done by participants on how to effectively contact international media outlets. Learning about media appears to be a unique feature of the social action oriented volunteers, and a feature that is distinct from the learning of other volunteer groups explored in this book.

### *Learning Strategies for Action*

Volunteers also reported learning many strategies as a result of their participation in the *Frente Cívico*. One of the first strategies undertaken by the newly formed group

of volunteers concerned the legal aspects of the sale of the *Casino* and the planned construction. This strategy focused on taking legal action to prevent its destruction and the Costco construction. A committee researched the topic in detail and confirmed that the sale of the *Casino de la Selva* was illegal because the appropriate processes were being bypassed in order to achieve the needed permits. There was also the long and challenging process of how to find and how to pay lawyers, so that the movement could initiate legal proceedings against the government of the state of Morelos. A committee of volunteers took this task, and relayed the information to the rest of the movement. Then, they decided as a larger group how to present this information to the public. Some volunteers refer to this process as a significant learning experience.

The central strategy for this movement was the use of the Gandhian model of non-violent direct action as a method of attempting to prevent Costco from destroying the *Casino de la Selva*. Various strategies of direct action were taught by using the expertise of SERPAJC (*Servicio, Paz y Justicia*) – one of the groups that was part of *Frente Cívico* and that has a history of working for peace through non-violent direct action, specifically with the Zapatista movement. They used that experience and knowledge to teach and prepare the other *Frente* volunteers in theories and strategies of social action. Through these activities, movement volunteers were learning how to tailor actions to specific needs, places and people in a way that would be non-violent and produce favourable outcomes.

Related to non-violent direct action, volunteers made a realization of the need to take radical actions in order to shift the power imbalance between the state and the movement. These strategies also involved the use of symbolic discourses and the use of religious/cultural symbols in movement actions. A few interviewees discussed their awareness of the importance and impact of symbolic actions, such as the effectiveness of the blockade of one site entrance even though there were many other entrances. They mentioned the positive responses of people, the increased public awareness of the issues, and how this increased pressure on the government. Also related to symbolic actions was the realization of the power and impact of religious/cultural symbols in a protest. For example, they spoke about the power of using a statue of the Virgin to help prevent a bulldozer from destroying their blockade. The realization of the power and impact of these types of actions and the importance of connecting them with the local cultural traditions was an effective strategy of the organization, and also an important source of learning for the volunteers.

The *Frente Cívico* volunteers also learned about strategies to raise awareness among the general public. For example, *Frente Cívico* volunteers approached the high commission of the United Nations and requested a visit to discuss issues related to the destruction of the site, and asked for a definition of 'social justice' and associated rights. The volunteers also studied and implemented strategies such as the use of drama and performance to create interest and to educate people. Some volunteers reflected about their learning about the importance of continuously explaining to the public what *Frente Cívico* was doing and why they were doing

it, because many people were unfamiliar with and surprised by the radical actions of the group. Movement volunteers were also aware of the need to approach the struggle from perspectives other than that of an activist. Some volunteers chose to approach certain issues in their role as parents, which helped others outside the movement to identify with them and with their motivations. The movement explored how to raise awareness of the international and local boycott of Costco. They did this through creating a document on what a boycott is, what a non-violent struggle is and what type of actions they entail. They explained that these things are legal and are important forms of exercising democracy. Volunteers had constant discussions on how to inform and raise consciousness of the general public, and some cited these exchanges as a source of learning. In some of these discussions, a volunteer used the word *conmover*, which was defined as "when the other person starts to move and is able to transform his or her actions." This implies that the intention was not to ask other people to take action, but rather to inspire them to take action as a result of their own motivation.

The *Frente Cívico* volunteers also learned about the different aspects of referenda and the legalities to implement them. This included researching the legal aspects of referenda, how they are implemented and by whom. Through their study process, the volunteers realized that the state government had not fulfilled its duties by neglecting to appoint the state council in charge of referenda. The movement also learned how to design information documents, and developed an educational guide that had three sections: what is a referendum, why do we want a referendum, and how is it part of democratic life and participation. For the referendum, the volunteers created a list of four questions, and in so doing they had to learn how to be impartial in their wording. Then they took to the streets and neighbourhoods of Cuernavaca, learning appropriate and effective ways to do door-to-door petitioning and poll taking for the referendum, as well as how to construct a database for the generation of referendum results.

One of the essential strategies was the decision of *Frente Cívico* volunteers to work against both the government and the company, instead of focusing on just one. Along these lines, volunteers learned how to unify various groups struggling around different elements of the same issue (for example, the environmentalists against the cutting of the trees and the art community against the destruction of the murals). In short, the *Frente Cívico* volunteers learned the strategy of unifying their struggle, both in terms of how they organized themselves internally and how they approached the external issues.

### *Learning Critical Analysis*

Although it is important to learn about the most urgent issues faced by the organization, it is important to note that the volunteers' learning did not end at those issues. Perhaps the most meaningful aspect of the movement was learning how to analyze, discuss, debate and move forward to address these issues and beyond.

Clover and Hall (2000) write about "how people learn not just about the issues and problems, but how to critically and constructively discuss and debate them, and then work collectively to define the future they want for their community and how they are going to get there" (p. 9). Some volunteers observed that the *Frente Cívico* was like a school of sociology and political science for the participants, but especially for the younger volunteers, because it helped them to locate the contradictions in Mexican society. Interviewees noted that, as a result of participation in the movement, they learned how to analyze and apply critical thinking skills, and gained a better understanding of society. This was probably one the most enduring and valuable learning outcomes.

One of the areas of learning to engage in critical analysis related to the discussions about the propaganda of the state government. Critical thinking skills allowed volunteer participants and those that came in contact with the movement to deconstruct the government rhetoric and reconstruct a clearer and more accurate understanding of the reality of the situation and of their contexts. An example of this took place when the government began referring to *Frente* members as 'terrorists'. Movement participants responded by researching the definition of terrorist, who they are and what they do, and then presenting this information to the public through flyers and television spots. A critical analysis was essential in this process of decriminalizing those who question the government.

Other learning surrounding critical analyses and government rhetoric was through the realization that the government sees 'development' and 'growth' as the highest form of achievement – the creation of streets, new concrete buildings and commercial spaces. The volunteers examined the different approaches to urban development and questioned the assumption that mega-stores always bring progress. Through their discussions, the volunteers developed a capacity to distinguish between the government approach to development and their own approach to development, which they understood as the creation of a healthy city through creating community spaces and active democracy. This analysis allowed the group to link this local issue with the broader issues of the globalization of the American culture and the neoliberal economic model, manifested in government and transnational companies' global destruction of cultural traditions and spaces. They also learned how to question government propaganda about jobs that would be generated by Costco by looking for statistics on the number of jobs generated by mega-stores in other cities and including this information in flyers that were distributed to the public. This involved a conscious choice to not just appeals to people's emotions about the issue, but also to provide a reasoned argument based on facts.

In addition, their critical analysis allowed *Frente* volunteers to better understand the role of mainstream media, particularly the influence of government and private economic interests on the media. Volunteers reported that they came to understand the relationship between the government and its power to shape people's understanding of their situations through control of the means of communication. This learning also appears to be unique to social movement volunteers, in comparison to other volunteer

groups in this book. There was a realization that the means of communication can and do transform reality. One interviewee used the example of *1984*, by George Orwell, and related this to what happens through the media in México in terms of framing reality through constructed images on television and in the news. Another movement volunteer pointed out that the means of communication are subordinate to the economy. This volunteer pointed out that their collective analysis turned to how to inform citizens of what was happening in a society where "the means of communications are controlled by hegemonic powers".

The *Frente Cívico* volunteers also reported significant learning in their analysis of the meanings and practices of democracy. Part of this learning involved critical thinking about different ways of implementing democracy, for example, the difference between voices truly being heard and considered versus a few people making all the decisions in the group (Freire, 1969/2004; Baptiste, 1999). This allowed movement actions to move to another level with the collaboration of different people with different perspectives. Similar to the volunteers of the Toronto Tenant Participation System (see Chapter Eight), there was also an analysis of how to promote participatory democracy within society. Movement volunteers realized the need to actively learn about creating a culture of democracy and then communicate that to the public. In this process, the *Frente Cívico* volunteers also had good discussions on how to get Cuernavaca residents involved in the decision-making process of the organization, so that everyone could have a say in what they want their city to be like. This included the need for people to know their rights (the right to breath clean air, drink pure water, and have well-paid work), and about what it means to be an active citizen.

### *Learning Hope and Political Efficacy*

A key learning of *Frente Cívico* volunteers was that social change is possible. For the volunteers participating in the movement it became clear that it is possible for a small group of committed citizens to confront and impact large social powers such as the government and multinational corporations. For the interviewees, this movement was a reminder of the importance of challenging injustice and of citizens' potential to have a positive impact on their society. A related theme was the unexpected learning that occurred through the *Frente*'s relationships with existing and emerging left-leaning community-based social movements. One volunteer participant referred to this as the unanticipated phenomenon of "contagion."

Indeed, the support received and given by the *Frente Cívico* allowed for these movements to develop a social strength that they would not have had without each other. This was demonstrated during the march of 15,000 people that included many other social organizations and movements from Cuernavaca and surrounding areas. This collaboration between movements gives an example of the opportunity for movements to be in solidarity with and learn from each other. This way, as a *Frente* volunteer suggested, each organization is not "starting from zero".

Connection, support, solidarity and learning between movements have the potential to strengthen the social power of a movement. Protesters on the blockade of the entrances stated clearly that they would have been forcefully evicted by police had it not been for the physical presence of other movements. These exchanges between social movements were significant in terms of learning solidarity, developing political efficacy and creating hope.

### *Linking the Learning of Frente Cívico Volunteers to the Literature*

The learning acquired by volunteers of the *Frente Cívico* movement confirms some postulations of social movement learning theorists. Moreover, this research adds new findings to the literature on *what* people actually learn through social movements, a previously under-researched area. Through recognition of learning in social movements, both participants and theorists can see the way that groups deal with "political opportunities" and "horizontal leadership" in a dynamic manner. Social movement theorists recognize that contexts are continually changing (McAdam, 1996). However, it is less recognized that the social movement volunteers are also in constant flux. As *Frente Cívico* volunteers show, through their collective learning they simultaneously change the three interrelated areas of their context, their group dynamic and themselves.

In contrast to the individual focus of much of the adult education literature, the case of *Frente Cívico* emphasizes the importance of group learning. This is not just the "collective self-education" suggested by Tobias (2000, p. 422), but rather it is an iterative process: it is the community that learns collectively. The movement also reflects the findings of Hustinx and Lammertyn (2003), in that actions are collectively-directed – i.e. designed, organized and supervised by the group, despite individual pressures. In this manner, social movements, therefore, may be a way that citizens have been combating the exclusive focus on the personal or individual that many adult educators herald as an increasingly alarming trend. In this way, social movements such as *Frente Cívico* offer hope for adult educators of a refocusing of learning on and for the public good. It is equally important to recognize the trends in competencies and issues learned in community development oriented towards social action. Although this is only one case study, many of the items learned echo the competencies and issues learned in other social movements and other organizational contexts like the ones discussed in other chapters of this book. The identification of these common areas of learning may encourage future social movement activists to learn from other groups, instead of re-creating the wheel for each new situation they have to confront.

The case of *Frente Cívico* confirms that significant learning does occur in social movement individuals and groups. In this context, the word *significant* is used to suggest that the learning that occurs is different in depth, form and content from learning in other aspects of life. For example, in the *Frente Cívico* movement, it can be argued that the volunteers who participated in organizing and in direct actions

would not have learned in other areas of their lives, to the same extent, about the complexities and interconnections of the neoliberal agenda and how it manifests itself through corporate and government connections. As Mathias Finger (1989) noted, "learning within social movements... has a more powerful impact on society than does all of the learning that takes place in schools" (cited in Hall et al., 2006, p. 8). Although this has not been (and perhaps cannot be) proven, it is a reasonable proposition that provides an interesting challenge for further research. One volunteer suggested that the chief value of the movement was the learning opportunities for the youth. He pointed out that educating young people and motivating their increased civic and political participation was "the most important heritage of the *Frente Cívico*" He added that "the struggle of *Frente Cívico* was worth it, if nothing else for this, for this legacy of young people who are here in favour of a change." Through these statements, this volunteer implied that this would not have happened outside of the setting of the movement. As noted above, this is an interesting hypothesis that calls for future research.

## PROCESSES OF LEARNING IN THE FRENTE CÍVICO

In the case of *Frente Cívico*, what volunteers learned was intricately tied to the processes through which such learning took place. Three overarching processes of learning emerged from the narratives of the volunteers: non-formal learning, informal learning, and experiential learning. Two of these processes (non-formal and informal learning) have been used as typologies in social movement learning theory (see Hall et al., 2006). The third, experiential learning, is well rooted in the adult education field (Kolb, 1984), but has not been used substantially in the social movement learning literature. When dealing with social movements, these processes of learning often overlap with each other, as there is not often an independent formal learning objective that would separate them. Clover and Hall (2000) mention a combination of processes "can most effectively support action for change at the community policy or market levels" (p. 17). The objective is always towards action after the learning, such that the social movement chooses whichever process of learning best fits their needs at a particular moment.

### *Non-formal Learning*

Non-formal learning is learning that is not formal (i.e. occurs outside of formal schooling) but is both organized and intentional, and usually short-term and voluntary (see Introduction and Chapter One). *Frente Cívico* is a social movement that has intentionally used organized forms of learning for its volunteer participants, especially through workshops, seminars and formal presentations for movement participants. These non-formal education programs and activities were often led by some movement volunteers who were also members of other groups like SERPAJ (one of the three groups that helped to form *Frente Cívico*).

One of the key areas of non-formal learning was non-violent direct action. This was done through workshops on the meaning of non-violence and on Gandhian principles. In these workshops, one of the main topics was direct action. This involved learning a) how to create specific actions that targeted specific people or situations; b) how to tailor actions to specific needs, places and people in a way that would be non-violent and produce favourable outcomes; c) how to construct their demands; and d) how to do surprise actions in order to get people's attention. As a follow up to the non-formal learning experiences, volunteers engaged in further learning for particular purposes. For instance, after a workshop on direct action, some volunteers had to learn who in the government was in charge of a certain permit, when it was scheduled for approval and then doing specific actions in that person's office, while providing opportunities for media attention.

Other themes that were covered through non-formal learning processes centred around learning laws of land-use, land sale and the processes of legal permits; learning about environmental issues; and learning about referenda and how to implement them. These topics were taught through workshops and seminars open to all participants. Sometimes they were taught by movement volunteers and sometimes by contributors from outside the movement. In some cases, these issues were researched by various committees of volunteers and then presented to the rest of the movement participants. This is an example of how the movement addressed the fact that not everyone could learn everything at the same time or in the same way outside of a more organized system. The intentional and organized process of disseminating information or learning skills was essential to the success of this social movement.

It is of significance that some of the non-formal group learning that *Frente Cívico* volunteers experienced was the result of previous non-formal and informal learning of individuals belonging to other social movements in the area. This suggests that there is a natural cycle of learning between social movements in an area (geographical or topical), although further research is warranted to see how much this takes place in other social movements. In fact, Hall et al. (2006) highlight the possibility of inter-movement learning as one of the main practical impetuses for the field of social movement learning. Through sharing the learning taking place in one social movement, volunteers can use this knowledge to ease the experience of the next social movement. Non-formal learning was an essential part of the learning processes of the *Frente Cívico* and, in combination with informal learning and experiential learning, brought the depth and breadth of learning within the movement to new levels.

### *Informal Learning*

Much of the learning of the *Frente Cívico* took place through informal processes, outside of a classroom (formal learning) or workshops (non-formal learning). As Livingstone (2000) says, "To study informal learning empirically, we have...focus

on things that people can identify for themselves as actual learning projects or deliberate learning activities beyond educational institutions" (p. 5). Schugurensky (2000) describes three types of informal learning: self-directed learning (intentional and conscious), incidental learning (unintentional but conscious), and tacit learning (unintentional and unconscious). The third one has been characterized as difficult to uncover, due to its unintentional and unconscious nature. The following section will therefore focus on each of these, although a greater emphasis will be placed on self-directed and incidental learning.

Using the definition of self-directed learning as learning that is both intentional and conscious, we could identify many aspects of self-directed learning that were articulated by movement volunteers. In general, interviewees indicated that there was a lot of learning surrounding communication and working together as a group. Although it could be argued that much of this learning or that some of the elements were unintentional, there was an obvious conscious intent to communicate well, to learn from and about each other, and to learn how to work well together. A practical example of this intentional and conscious learning was when the members developed a system of communication amongst themselves through the use of cellular phones and networks of communication for emergency purposes. Another example is the learning that occurred in terms of how to work together with people of different ages, social identities, cultures and sexes. Part of this involved intentionally addressing issues relating to gender and gender roles within the group.

Volunteers also expressed the intention of learning from each participant of the group and valuing their different ways of thinking and seeing a situation. This relates to the importance given by volunteers to everyone having their voice heard in the movement. One volunteer, who is an educator herself, used a Paulo Freire quote: "we educate each other mediated by the world." She explained this as referring to how we use our experiences that we live and how we educate each other through these experiences and through listening to each other.

Incidental learning, understood as unintentional but conscious learning, was also found throughout volunteers' experiences. Some of the incidental learning experienced by volunteers was around the topic of building community within their movement. Many interviewees commented on how they learned about the importance of working in and for community through participation in the movement and through the practice of democracy in the assembly. As well, many of the strategies learned were the result of incidental learning, such as the effect of public awareness on increasing government pressure, and the power and impact of religious and cultural artefacts and symbolic actions.

Tacit learning, usually acquired through socialization, remains one of the greatest gaps in the area of informal learning, due to the obvious difficulties in studying learning that is both unintentional and unconscious (Schugurensky 2000). As such, there were few incidents in the *Frente Cívico* movement that could be clearly defined as informal learning through socialization. However, the area of learning hope may be an example of this socialization. Although not explicitly articulated by

the volunteers of the movement, the theme of hope was recurrent in the interviews. This is somehow paradoxical because of the fact that the movement did not succeed in its main goal, which was the preservation of the *Casino de la Selva*. One important question about informal processes within a social movement is how and where the learning takes place. Clover and Hall (2000) say that "for activists and community organizations and groups concerned with planning for intentional learning within a social movement context, sensitivity to how and where the learning takes place is critical" (p. 17). Reflection on this question within the *Frente* led to an emphasis on the assemblies as a learning site. The assemblies and group processes constitute an excellent example of creating and facilitating processes of non-formal and informal learning.

### *Experiential Learning*

Experiential learning is more than just learning through experience. It is an intentional process of experience, analysis and action. This process has strong connections to the 'see, think, act' model that connects theory and practice with cultural action (Freire, 1969/2004). As mentioned in Chapter One, most volunteer activities involve learning through experience but do not generally fit the model of experiential learning, as they miss the connection between reflection and new action. In contrast, the learning processes that took place within the *Frente Cívico* movement can be considered part of the experiential learning model. Although the *Frente* was formed as a movement to prevent the destruction of the *Casino* site, one of its main goals was the learning of its volunteer members, as well as the learning of the larger community. This involved constructing opportunities for reflection and analysis of the group's experiences and actions. The process of reflection and analysis leads to new and deeper understandings, which in turn brings a new cycle of learning and action (Kolb, 1984). What is also unique about this case is that the learning of the *Frente Cívico* was not premised on individuals but it was rather collective. The learning comes from the group's experiences, is processed in group reflection and analysis and adds to the collective understanding of the situation, as well as modifies the group's actions. Moveover, as noted about, volunteers learned not just about the problem, but developed together a collective understanding of the situation and the actions that needed to be put in place in order to preserve a historic place.

Other results of the experiential learning process included the development of concrete approaches to analysis. There was an intentional decision to analyze the issues as they related to each other or, in other words, analyzing the plurality of the problem. This is not only an example of learning but also an example of knowledge creation within the movement. This also confirms Holford's premise (1995) that social movements go beyond acting as mere learning sites and become important in the production of knowledge. One aspect of learning and knowledge creation was *Frente* members approach to the analysis of the historic situation and then comparing it with the current situation. For example, they educated themselves on

issues of the economic reality of their area, and how and why it has changed over the past ten years. They found evidence to document that economic decline was attributed in part to job loss associated with the influx of mega-stores that put local stores and agricultural producers out of business. Thus, through the learning that took place in the movement, volunteers were able to discover new elements of their social, political and economic context and convey this new knowledge to the public.

When reflecting on the experiential learning of the *Frente Cívico*, the factor of political opportunities (McAdam, 1996) is a useful frame for understanding some of their success and failures as a movement. For example, many of the movement volunteers were aware that the *Frente Cívico* movement was able to proceed and achieve what it did because of the current and historical political context, and was limited in its achievements because of such context. A few people mentioned that the struggle against Costco had its roots in liberation theology (see Vigil, 2007), as well as in previous local movements and the social consciousness that came from them. One member said that if the fight for the *Casino de la Selva* had taken place before the year 2000, when the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) was in power, the participants would have most likely been "disappeared" before the movement gained momentum, while others noted that if the movement had happened a few years later, it is likely that they would have succeeded. Thus, it is obvious, even to those immersed within the movement, that although the political context does not dictate what is possible, it does shape the reality in which the movement lives and grows through opening and constraining opportunities. A similar argument is advanced by Hall (2004) when he notes that "what comes out of social movement action is neither predetermined nor completely self-willed; its meaning is derived from the context in which it is carried out and the understanding that actors bring to it and/or derive from it" (p. 233). Thus through the process of experiential learning, *Frente* members were able to come to the understanding of political constraints and opportunities, and to shape the movement's actions accordingly.

Another significant and obvious experiential learning process was participants' learning from their own mistakes or from reflections on what they would change in retrospect. Many people interviewed reflected back on the moments and places where there was opportunity to win if things had been done differently. For example, a couple of volunteers stated that it was a mistake to take the big march (of 15,000 people) to the *zócalo* (the main city square) instead of to the *Casino* site for a re-taking of the land, and that this would have changed the outcome of the struggle. There was also reflection on the difficulties of incorporating more people into the struggle and in raising people's consciousness. Volunteers pointed out that Cuernavaca is a big city, and yet so few were actually involved in the movement. At the same time, they observed that although more people meant more power for the movement, it also meant less control and ability to predict outcomes, as was demonstrated on the evening of August 21, 2002, especially if there is not sufficient training in non-violent protest. Although much of this analysis took place post-movement, this is still significant experiential learning in that the *Frente* members were still involved

in supporting and counselling other social movements. Thus, the understanding gained from this experiential learning process was applied to create new cycles of action and reflection for other movements.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Although social movements are not typically considered as sites for volunteering, social movement participants can be considered as volunteers, as their work is unpaid and often they do it for the benefits of others. The learning of social movement volunteers has unique features and its study can contribute to the increasing body of knowledge on learning through volunteering. The *Frente Cívico* is an example of what Welton (1993) identifies as a conversion of movements, where various groups focused in completely different areas found motivation to work together and formally create a new organization, new learning opportunities and new knowledge. *Frente Cívico* confirms what Holford (1995) has postulated - namely the importance of knowledge creation within the movement. Through this continual cycle of learning, creating knowledge and generating actions, one can see the cycle of experiential learning in practice within the movement.

Hall (2002) argues that social movements not only allow for learning, but that this learning occurs at levels that cannot be replicated in other situations: "It may be argued that more adults learned about the nature of global market structures and the problems generated by them in the several days of the Seattle demonstrations before the WTO meetings than from any adult education conference yet organized" (p. 13). The same can be argued for the *Frente Cívico* in that there was obvious learning within the movement, but beyond that, this learning was unique and would not have taken place through the everyday activities of participants in contexts outside the movement. Some of the tangible learning included new knowledge about social, economic or legal issues, new skills (such as learning to strategize, to engage in critical analysis) and new attitudes, such as hope and political efficacy. A common feature of learning in social movements is the practicality of the learning for the purpose of taking action and the focus on the betterment of the community, not only the individual.

As one movement volunteer stated: "education is the base of everything we do." One of the factors that may have contributed to the breadth and depth of learning that occurred within this movement is the variety of processes of learning. Organized learning sessions, workshops and committees, plus self-directed learning about issues and actions, and the incidental but conscious learning together allowed participants to understand more than if these had not been done in combination. Through well-planned education and training sessions, plus reflection and evaluation after direct actions were taken, movement participants were able to take their learning to a deeper level than would have been possible without these reflections and intentional informal learning opportunities. Thus, this movement suggests that the combination of learning processes increases the effectiveness of the learning that occurs.

The informal learning processes within the movement fit the informal learning typology proposed by Schugurensky (2000). Most informal learning in the *Frente Cívico* movement was self-directed and incidental. It is likely that tacit learning was also present through socialization, but this is difficult to analyze as people learn while embedded in their environments. Yet, the area of learning hope may be an example of this unintentional and unconscious learning process. Although not explicitly articulated by movement participants, the theme of hope was recurrent in the interviews in spite of the fact that the movement did not succeed in its main goal (the preservation of the *Casino de la Selva*).

In terms of experiential learning processes, this intentional cycle of observing, analyzing and taking action was clearly present in the *Frente Cívico* movement. Without this reflection and analysis, the learning would have been lost, and new knowledge would not be generated. The presence of this learning model is significant in that it is not commonly identified in volunteer learning processes or in social movement learning theories. Yet, this form of learning is a powerful catalyst for creating new knowledge and new actions. Considering the effectiveness of this learning process, it would be useful to consider its application in other volunteer situations.

Another significant aspect of the learning in this social movement was the focus on the collective. This is seen through the intentional horizontal leadership structure and through the use of assemblies and committees. The individual learner fades into the background, and the benefits of their learning focus on the movement as a whole. Even when the individual has significant learning or previous experiences, these are used to enhance the whole and to advance the movement. Thus, this movement is an example of how volunteering can be focused on collective learning and not just on individual learning.

The following quotation perhaps best expresses the meaning and significance of the *Frente Cívico* movement in defense of the *Casino de la Selva* and the feelings of many volunteers who partook in this movement:

> And so I would like to confront directly the issue of hope. My hope is most seriously challenged by the fact of decline, of loss. The things that I have tried to defend are less numerous and worse off now than when I started, but in this I am only like all other conservationists. All of us have been fighting a battle that on average we are losing, and I doubt that there is any use in reviewing the statistical proofs. The point – the only interesting point – is that we have not quit. Ours is not a fight that you can stay in very long if you look on victory as a sign of triumph or on loss as a sign of defeat. We have not quit because we are not hopeless. My own aim is not hopelessness. I am not looking for reasons to give up. I am looking for reasons to keep on. (Wendell Berry, 2003, p. 122)

This seems to be the most significant learning by the members of the movement and by those who came in contact with the movement: that there is hope for positive

social change, even in the face of huge obstacles and unlikely odds, and that this hope does not depend on the winning or losing of a particular struggle. This is a most significant finding, because hope has not been identified by social movement learning theorists as a "learning", and yet people have long recognized the need for hope as a prerequisite for inspiring change. This learned hope is lived out through choices to act and to take part in the changing of this world.

## NOTES

[1] In this chapter the terms participating and volunteering are used interchangeably.

[2] The information on the history of the *Casino de la Selva* is mainly drawn from two film documentaries: *El Casino de la Selva: La defensa del patrimonio* (The Casino in the Jungle: the defence of the patrimony) by Pablo Gleason (2003); and *La Batalla del Casino de la Selva* (the Battle of the Casino in the Jungle) by Óscar Menéndez (2004).

[3] In Spanish, these organizations are known as: *Consejo Ciudadano Cultural para las Artes del Estado de Morelos* (CCCAM); *Servicio, Paz y Justicia de Cuernavaca* (SERPAJC); and, *Los Guardianes de los Árboles* (the Guardians of the Trees).

[4] According to Welton (1993) new social movements are characterized by four principles: concerns for ecology, social responsibility, grassroots democracy, and non-violence (p. 160).

## REFERENCES

Baptiste, I. (1999). Beyond lifelong learning: a call to civically responsible change. *International Journal of Lifelong Education, 18*(2), 94–102.

Berry, W. (2003). *Citizenship papers.* Washington, DC: Shoemaker & Hoard.

Clover, D.E., & Hall B.L. (2000). In search of social movement learning: The Growing Jobs for Living project. NALL Working Paper, 18. Retrieved August 2, 2008, from http://www.oise.utoronto.ca/depts/sese/csew/nall/res/18insearchof.htm

Cnaan, R.A., Handy, F., & Wadsworth, M. (1996). Defining who is a volunteer: Conceptual and empirical considerations. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly, 25*(3), 364–383.

Della Porta, D., & Diani, M. (1999). *Social movements: An introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Gleason González, P. (Producer & Director). (2003). *El Casino de la Selva: La defensa del patrimonio* (The Casino in the Jungle: The defense of the patrimony) [Motion picture]. México: Push & Play Producciones.

Finger, M. (1989). New social movements and their implications for adult education. *Adult Education Quarterly, 40*(1), 15–22.

Finger, M., & Asun, J.M. (2001). Adult education at the crossroads: Learning our way out. *Global perspectives on adult education and training.* United Kingdom; England: Palgrave.

Freire, P. (2004). *Education for Critical Consciousness.* New York: Continuum International. (Original work published 1969).

Hall, B.L. (2002). The right to a new utopia: Learning and the changing world of work in an era of global capitalism. Retrieved July 12, 2006, from http://www.umanitoba.ca/unevoc/2002conference/text/papers/hall.pdf.

Hall, B.L. (2004). Social movement learning: Theorizing a Canadian tradition. In T. Fenwick, T. Nesbit & B. Spencer (Eds.), *Contexts of adult learning*. Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing.

Hall, B.L., & Clover, D. (2005) "Social movement learning" in L. English (Ed.) *International Encyclopedia of Adult Education.* London: Palgrave Macmillian.

Hall, B.L., Turay, T., Chow, W., Dragne, C., & Parks, E. (2006). State of the field report: Social movement learning [Electronic version]. University of British Columbia.

Holford, J. (1995). Why social movements matter: Adult education theory, cognitive praxis, and the creation of knowledge [Electronic version]. *Adult Education Quarterly*, *45*(2), 95–111.

Hustinx, L., & Lammertyn, F. (2003). Collective and reflexive styles of volunteering: A sociological Modernization Perspective. *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, *14*(2), 167–187.

Livingstone, D. (2000). Exploring the icebergs of adult learning: Findings of the first Canadian survey of informal learning practices. *The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education, 1*(2), 49–72.

McAdam, D. (1996). Conceptual origins, current problems, future directions. In D. McAdam, J.D. McCarthy & M.N. Zald (Eds.), *Comparative perspectives on social movements*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Menéndez, O. (Producer & Director). (2004). *La batalla del Casino de la Selva* (The battle for the Casino in the Jungle) [Motion picture]. México: Macario Producciones.

Rothman, Jack (2001). Approaches to community intervention. In Rothman, J., Erlich, J.L., and Tropman, J.E., *Strategies of Community Intervention* (6th ed.). Itasca, IL: F.E. Peacock, pp. 27–64.

Schugurensky, D. (2000). The forms of informal learning: Towards a conceptualization of the field. NALL Working Paper, 19. Retrieved September 6, 2006, from http://www.oise.utoronto.ca /depts/sese/csew/nall/res/19formsofinformal.htm.

Snow, D., Soule, S., & Kriesi, H. (Eds.) (2004). *The Blackwell companion to social movements.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Tobias, R. (2000). The boundaries of adult education for active citizenship – institutional and community contexts. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, *19*(5), 418–429.

Vigil, J.M. (Organizer). (2007). *Getting the Poor down from the Cross.* Association of Third World Theologians (EATWOT/ASETT). Accessed August 3, 2008 from http://servicioskoinonia.org/LibrosDigitales/LDK/EATWOTGettingThePoorDown.pdf

Welton, M. (1993). Social revolutionary learning: The new social movements as learning sites [Electronic version]. *Adult Education Quarterly*, *43*(3), 152–164.

## AFFILIATIONS

*Kate Rogers*
*International Support Worker Program,*
*Loyalist College*

*Megan Haggerty*
*Independent to Consultant*