European Journal for Research on the Education and Learning of Adults, Vol. 14, No. 1, 2023, pp. 177-196

Deriving a theory of learning from social movement practices: A systematic literature review

Mai Atta
The Pennsylvania State University, USA (mma6173@psu.edu)

John D. Holst
The Pennsylvania State University, USA (jdh91@psu.edu)

Abstract

The field of Adult Education is rich with general theories of learning but limited in terms of theories that inform social movement learning (SML). Today, there are several conceptualizations of SML, but little learning theory development based directly on empirical studies of SML. This article aims to present findings from a systematic literature review of empirical studies on social movement learning (SML). We collected and identified 69 empirical studies focusing on adult learning and education within social movements for this literature review. We purposely focused on empirical research studies and did not include works that conceptualise or theorise social movement learning outside of actual empirical studies of SML. From our review of empirical studies, we have identified five elements we believe could serve as the foundation of a theory of learning and education in social movements.

Keywords: social movement learning, systematic literature review, dialectics of learning and education, popular education, radical adult education

Introduction: Popular Education and Social Movement Learning

Radical popular education is part and parcel of social change. This social change, however, is consciously and collectively achieved through organised social movements. The relationship between popular education and social movements has been a topic of interest for several decades now (e.g., Sur, 1987; Walters & Manicom, 1996; Kane, 2001), and has been more recently addressed by Torres Carrillo (2016).

ISSN 2000-7426

http://doi.org/10.3384/rela.2000-7426.4334
www.rela.ep.liu.se

Largely parallel to the decades-long interest in popular education and social movements, has been the developing body of literature that falls under the moniker of social movement learning (SML). Our contribution to this special issue focuses on the empirical research that has been developing in the subfield of SML. We feel that the popular education tradition, particularly its focus on educational practices, can potentially re-anchor SML in considering the role of the popular or movement education in social movements. We also feel that SML can enrich popular education through its focus on the learning elements within organised efforts for social change.

The adult education field is rich with learning theories (e.g., Illeris, 2018; Merriam & Baumgartner, 2020). In the subfield of SML, several scholars have attempted conceptualising the nature of SML (e.g., Hall & Turay, 2006; Holst, 2002; Niesz et al., 2018). The SML subfield also has a growing number of empirical studies of learning within social movements. Nevertheless, when we look to our field's broader learning theories, they do not necessarily provide us with theories directly drawn from or directly related to learning that takes place in social movements. Moreover, when we look at SML's conceptualisations, it is not clear that these SML's conceptualisations stem from empirical research of actual instances of learning in social movements. Finally, the empirical studies of SML describe specific cases of SML in various social movements but tend not to theorize or look into the characteristics of this learning beyond the particular circumstances. In short, we do not have significant development of a theory of learning in social movements.

Given that the field is increasingly interested in learning and theories of learning; and that the field has a growing number of empirical studies of learning in social movements, we feel it is time that the subfield of SML begin to work toward theorising SML. In other words, begin to develop a theory of learning in social movements. In this article, we report on a systematic literature review (Tight, 2019) of empirical research studies on learning in social movements to identify elements of a theory of learning in social movements. Given the number of empirical studies we found for this literature review, we do feel that the field is ready to begin this theoretical project. We realize that our effort is only a beginning, and we present it to the field with the hope that others will engage in this long-term project of theorising the nature of learning in social movements.

Research purpose and methodology

Our systematic literature review addresses two gaps. First, there is a lack of a theory of SML in our field's theories of learning, and second, we believe there is a gap in theorising in the empirical research on SML. In this study, we reviewed 69 empirical studies of SML. We aimed to analyse the learning identified in each study in its particular context and we tried to find the building blocks of a theory for social movement learning across these studies. We wanted to examine if social movements had unique learning elements.

Searching for Empirical Studies in the Literature

To find empirical research studies on SML, we searched ERIC, Proquest education, GALE global issues, Women & social movements (USA and international), and WorldCat. We concentrated on empirical research studies and excluded conceptual or theoretical studies on SML. An example of such theoretical work would be Holst (2002). In our first search query, we paired ‘Adult Education,’ ‘Adult Learning,’ and ‘Lifelong Learning’ with the following keyword descriptors: social movements, labour union, LGBTQ movement, community organising, aboriginal, indigenous, race education, the

student movement, activism, social change, Marxism, communism, colonialism, abolition, anarchism, imperialism, anti-imperialism, women's movement, and socialism. This query generated 10,000 hits. Many of these results were irrelevant since they came from different disciplines (nursing, political science, human development, or family studies) or were theoretical, not empirical. We then searched for 'adult education,' 'adult learning,' and 'lifelong learning.' We linked these phrases with an AND command with the keyword descriptors 'social movements' and 'social movement learning'. This query produced 118 articles.

We engaged in a further refinement of the 118 articles by eliminating 1) K-12 focused studies, and 2) eliminating studies that focused on the history or culture of social movements, not pedagogy, learning, or education. After this refinement, we identified 69 empirical studies concentrating on adult learning and education within social movements, which we list by publication date in Table 1 (see appendix 1). The studies included empirical research on labor (Bleakney & Choudry, 2013; Schied, 1993; Spencer, 1995; Terriquez, 2011; Woodin, 2005), environmental (Bowles, 2006; Kim 2011; Walter, 2012; Ollis & Hamel-Green, 2015), queer (Walker, 2009), social justice (Brown, 2018), health awareness (DiFilippo, 2015; Endresen & Von Kotze, 2005), women's (Drew, 2015), animal rights (Vea, 2020) movements.

Data analysis

Though empirical studies only make up a small percentage of the literature on social movements in our field, we were nonetheless able to recognise similarities in the ways in which movements educate and organise. We kept a log of all 69 of our studies on a Google spreadsheet. We classified each study by publication year, research methodology, learning theories employed, social movement studied, movement region, theoretical frameworks if available, and movement cause. Since our literature analysis focused primarily on the learning and educational activities within the movement, we had little difficulty extracting data from the studies. We frequently took quotes from participant interviews as well as any descriptions of educational materials or activities.

Coding data

We applied the thematic analysis process outlined by Braun & Clarke (2006) to our studies in order to find codes and generate themes. We utilised a theoretical thematic analysis in which we approached the extracted data with predetermined questions and used them to code our data.

In this first phase of data analysis, we used Engeström's (2018) four questions on learning theories to analyse the research studies and to look for codes: Who are the learning participants? Why do they learn? What do they learn? How do they learn? We added our own fifth question to for the analysis: What are they learning for? Holst (2002) suggests that it is crucial to understand the movements and the learning within them, but it is also important to understand the political direction or goals of social movement learning and education (Holst, 2002; Köpsén, 2011; Mayo, 1999).

Generating and reviewing themes

Using our codes from the five questions, we were able to find within- and cross-movement themes. Despite variation in movement knowledge production based on regional location and movement causes, we found that similar themes emerged across movements. At this point, we began to review our spreadsheet to compare the codes.

When we saw that particular themes appeared multiple times within certain codes as well as across codes, we assigned these themes to the codes (question) where they had appeared most frequently.

Once we identified all the themes, we reviewed them and combined related themes into broader themes. For instance, the themes ‘triggered by shame’ and ‘feeling anger toward injustice’ were combined under the theme ‘emotions as a catalyst for learning within social movements’. Another approach we used was to connect themes that did not have the same exact meaning but were related in terms of participant situations and perspectives. An example of this was the theme of ‘agency and autonomy’, which was the result of integrating and combining the previous themes of ‘independence’ and ‘feeling in control of one’s surrounding’ into one.

Findings

In the findings section, we will describe the data collected and explain the results of the two phases of analysis. The goal here is simply to illustrate the codes and themes that emerged from our extracted data. Then, in the following discussion section, we will discuss our interpretation and the significance of these findings in the SML literature.

Findings from the Phase I analysis of using Engeström’s questions and our own question

Who are the learners?

Beginning with Engeström's first question of who the learning participants in movements are, the research studies in our review focused on the learning of members (e.g., Martin, 1988; Vea; 2020), whom we identified as activists who organise the movement, participants (e.g., Lee 1993; Ollis & Hamel-Green, 2015), whom we identified as people who join the movement, and finally the public who observe the movement from the outside. Few scholars (e.g., Church et al., 2016; Díez-Gutiérrez & Díaz-Nafría, 2018; Roy, 2012) have considered the public in terms of SML research. When they have considered the public, it has been in the form of visitors or the audience of social justice events such as film festivals.

What do learners learn?

By examining what members learn from and about movements, we identified three types of learning and the knowledge they lead to: practical or instrumental learning, raising individual and social consciousness, and experiencing more connectedness. First, instrumental learning includes knowledge that helps members execute daily tasks. Instrumental learning includes computer literacy (Bleakney & Choudry, 2013), media literacy (Roy, 2014), gardening (Walter, 2013), farming (Flowers & Swan, 2011; Scandrett et al., 2010), public speaking (Chovanec et al., 2007; Larri & Whitehouse, 2019; Schied, 1993), and leadership (Harris, 2002). Instrumental learning helps people reject prevailing hegemony, or common-sensical thinking, and helps them build movement-based meaning (Saguy & Ward, 2011; Walter, 2012).

Second, raising individual and social consciousness involves increasing people's understanding of their social, political, and economic realities. Participants learned to be involved by organising and tackling public problems. This expertise came from studying their country's economic, political, and power dynamics. Participants learned about the

history of movements and social change in their cities (Langdon, 2011) and worldwide through lectures, workshops, and field visits (Bleakney & Choudry, 2013; Brown, 2018; O'Donnell, 2014).

Last is community development and engagement. Examples include forming alliances (Walter, 2007), exercising solidarity (Ollis & Hamel-Green, 2015; Roy, 2012; Woodin, 2007), and building community (Harris, 2002; Serrat et al., 2016; Woodin, 2007). Working in movements gave members social support, which enabled them to communicate with neighbours and officials. This connectedness, it is argued, led to horizontal structures within movements, unlike hierarchical or authoritarian systems in society. Participants realised that 'you are not a number here; you are a person integrated with other people who are producing knowledge' (O'Donnell, 2014, p. 280). This understanding gave people empathy for other marginalised communities (Hamilton, 2016).

Why do people learn?

Studies that use empirical methods to investigate why people learn focus on members of social movements who are actively involved in organising activities. According to the findings of our review, participants in movements consciously organise learning activities in order to develop skills and knowledge they see as necessary to achieve the goals of the movement. We also believe that these activities are examples of intentional educational endeavours. According to the literature, the primary motivation for learning is functional. Participants and activists alike are interested in acquiring new knowledge in order to improve their capabilities for participating in movement-related activities. In addition, they need to arm themselves with the necessary knowledge in order to participate in community discussions.

How do people learn?

Looking at how people learned, we found four modalities. Some movements show elements of a community of practice where participants learn from more experienced members (Foroughi, 2013; Ollis & Hamel-Green, 2015; Underhill, 2016). Movement members learn about advocacy and organising by observing other members' daily activities. Another popular form of learning was the instruction and facilitation of skills and professional development workshops such as fundraising and letter writing (Ollis, 2020; Schedler, 1993). These are examples of intentional educational efforts within movements. They are most definitely how people learn, but it is learning directly facilitated by others in the movement. Finally, we identified self-generated learning activities where people advance their own learning (Schedler, 1993; Tobias, 2000) often followed by reflections and discussions (O'Donnell, 2014; Zieliska et al., 2011). These modes are not mutually exclusive, they can be combined.

What are people learning for?

Finally, when examining the purpose of learning within movements, we found four common elements in the empirical studies: strengthening communities, building collective power, pursuing new identities, and seeking change, liberation, and emancipation. A member of a movement in Serrat et al.'s (2016, p. 77) study said they joined the movement to 'avoid being manipulated'. Another group of women activists said SML was their source of collective power and liberation because the 'City Department of Environment couldn't continue to sit in [their] faces and lie to [them] about

what was going on' (Bowles, 2006, p. 56). In Lee's (1993) study, women said their participation in the movement enabled them to learn about their new identities as immigrants.

Findings from the Phase II analysis

After organising and analysing the empirical studies based on Engeström's four questions and our additional question, we identified five main themes that we believe can be building blocks of a learning theory for social movements. The first element is reflection as a way to bridge events and experiences with education. In this case, activist-educators lead the educational process by helping members and participants to examine and reflect on their own experiences. Secondly, we identified enhancing agency and autonomy as characteristics of learning within and from social movements. Our analysis has shown that participants' agency facilitates their taking the lead and responsibility for their learning. The third element is the importance of emotions, an affective element that plays a role in members' participation in learning within and from the movements. Next, unlearning, or reversed learning has negative and positive impacts on participation. An unfavourable outcome of the unlearning is that when participants start to face challenges during their organising, there is a tendency that they unlearn the knowledge that led them to be engaged with the movement initially. A positive outcome of unlearning is when participants rid themselves of knowledge that is not helpful to their participation and replace it with new knowledge. Finally, depending on where activists organise, the broader political atmosphere influences their education.

From event to experience in social movement learning and education

Participants of social movements apply various tools to educate and organise one another, and one of the most common tools was reflecting on their own experience. Members of social movements witness or participate in events that are not turned into experience unless they revisit and reflect on them. That is when experience can turn into learning. We understand this revisiting and reflecting on events as intentional acts to generate learning. We also understand this to be a major task of popular education in social movements. In other words, these intentional pedagogical acts by movement activists are social movement education dialectically linked to social movement learning; Social movement learning does not occur spontaneously; it is a result of pedagogical activity within movements. What we found, then, in this review of research on social movement learning, was actually evidence of social movement education; the intentional acts of movement members to generate learning. Köpsén (2011) states that this education's political purpose or direction are determined by the amount of critical reflection allowed in the learning process. Faced with encouraging or frustrating events from social movement participation, activists cannot help but keep asking questions about their practice, the reason for and the result of their work; 'this process, self-questioning, and self-answering, is exactly the process of reflection' (Kim, 2011, p. 324).

We also found in our review less intentionally pedagogical activity in movements that also leads to learning. A learner's contemplation of a given event is strongly dependent on their cognitive praxis and reflection on it, which is arguably maximised when a learner's reality and community are acknowledged in the process. This ongoing process of directed action and reflection contributes to the participants' learning. These forms of directed action and reflection were difficult to capture in the literature because they were not necessarily intentionally designed as educational by the members. Our

review of research studies indicates that knowledge creation occurs within the movements' everyday activities, which is sometimes difficult to assess. More empirical research is needed to understand this type of learning and how movements utilise the generated knowledge of these experiences.

Agency and Autonomy

SML is rooted in movement participants' perceptions of their agency and autonomy within their communities (Sandlin & Walther, 2009). This agency stems from their realisation that they are subjects within their environments and not mere objects that react to their surroundings. Autonomy is built on participants' willingness and ability to create spaces of 'counter-hegemonic' learning that values their knowledge and experience over experts. Learning within or through social movements is an autonomous educational tool that enhances people's ability to seek solutions to their own specific problems, as well as a means to exercise autonomy and power in order to transform existing institutional relations (Hemphill & Leskowitz, 2013). Additionally, autonomy in SML represents a discourse where workers, women, and indigenous people get the chance to create their 'useful' knowledge that is born from and thus relevant to their very own realities. These groups increasingly choose to engage and learn from meaningful educational activities that reflect the 'situation of real people' (Gillespie & Melching, 2010).

Though agency and autonomy are often thought of as processes of individualisation, in social movements, they are collective endeavours (Kapoor, 2007). These collective practices are viewed as means to reclaiming power. Participants make their movements to be powerful platforms through which they feel they matter, experience solidarity, and can be actively engaged in problem solving. Most simply put, people coming together in organised ways and around a common vision gives them more power. In Kapoor's (2007) research, for example, one participant said: 'I am not powerful by myself. But when we sit together… much more is accomplished' (p. 29).

Emotions as an affective element of SML

Learning is both driven by emotions and an emotional process (Vea, 2020). Movement participants talk about experiencing a wide range of emotions, including fear, anger, despair, shame, hope, empathy, satisfaction or trauma, and acknowledged how these feelings resulted from their participation in and helped facilitated their learning within movements (e.g., Endresen & Von Kotze, 2005; Ollis, 2020; Underhill, 2016; Vea, 2020). In some studies (e.g., Drew, 2015; Foroughi, 2013), members of movements who through their activism overcame the feeling of shame, were able to better participate and become more active members of movements (Drew, 2015; Foroughi, 2013). Other studies (e.g., Hill, 2004; Mirshak, 2020), highlighted that oppressed populations could repurpose the feeling of rage and anger toward injustice and use it to facilitate their learning about themselves and their lived realities and how they can change those realities while at the same time building feelings of community and connectedness (Bowles, 2006; Woodin, 2007).

We found that researchers often identify the role of emotions in SML, nevertheless, affective learning does not capture the totality of SML; rather, in our view, it is more accurate to claim that SML has an affective element. Our review has pointed to the idea that emotions either triggered, mediated, or enhanced the learning process in social movements. Given these findings, we believe it is important that movement activists and educators acknowledge these emotions in their educational practices in order to enhance learning and participation within movements.

Unlearning as both positive and negative

Finally, and related to our findings on emotions, our review affirms Baltodano et al.'s (2007) notion of 'learning in reverse' or 'delearning' as Zielińska, Kowzan, and Prusinowska (2011) called it, which refers to the disappointment or negative learning that can tear movements apart. This learning can be a result of intergroup conflicts or members' burnout. After one of these experiences, one participant in Zielińska et al.'s study commented, 'Sometimes, by sharing our knowledge, we demobilise people who would otherwise challenge the 'police order' again. Maybe they would even succeed, because something might have changed meanwhile or because our knowledge was 'wrong'' (p. 265).

More research is needed to understand the dynamics of this learning as it leads individuals to believe that their work has no significant impact. Other social movement scholars, on the other hand, have suggested that 'unlearning' can be constructive. An example of this would be the trend of women from marginalised backgrounds opting to give birth at home rather than in hospitals (DiFilippo, 2015). In addition, in Gillespie and Melching's (2010) study in Tostan, it was found that women had to unlearn everything about female genital cutting that they had been taught by people in power. Alternately, these women's involvement in the movement helped educate them about their own bodies and the ways in which they care for their health. Unlearning or reversed learning in movements centres reflection as a core element in social movement education. Kim's (2011) study showed that when activists experience frustration with their movement experience, they keep looping back and questioning their participation, resulting in an ongoing process of unlearning and relearning. A challenge for movement activists in their educational work is to balance unlearning or reverse learning in order to maintain or build a movement without allowing these emotions to derail it.

Surrounding environments shape learning and organisation

A prevalent theme in the literature was how the movement's context affect the types of activism of the movement and leads to various forms of knowledge production. In Figure 1, solid-lined arrows point to each quadrant's learning. To comprehend this learning/context link, researchers need to study the relationships between the goals of a movement, the worldviews of a movement's members, and the movement's socio-historical circumstances. Local cultures and surroundings of social movements may impose different educational roles on activists; in some movements, activists become adult educators (Martin, 1988; Schedler, 1993). Other movements plan education alongside other organisational activities (Baltodano et al., 2007; English, 2005).

Ollis (2008), for example, distinguishes two types of activists: lifelong activists and accidental activists, based on how they became involved in social movements, their political environment at the time, and the type of formal schooling they received. The lifelong activist is someone who received formal education in politics, law, or the humanities and grew up in a politically permissive community. These lifelong activists tend to be well-versed in social movements and have experience participating in a variety of protests and campaigns. An accidental activist, on the other hand, is someone who became involved in organising due to a series of events in their life. They were motivated to protest for a variety of reasons, such as personal circumstances or a specific social crisis. Their education is rapid and ongoing because they need to keep learning, act and organise at the same time. Other scholars (Kapoor, 2007; Kim, 2011) use Foley's (1999) approach to classify activists depending on their surroundings, level of struggle, and local context. Foley emphasised learning in, from, and within the struggle, where struggle can

be a continual process for some movements like the struggle for liberation or a single event like struggling to find a job or learn something new. Foley (1999) claimed that this type of learning helps individuals evolve into 'knowledge-creating...beings,' (p. 64), which necessarily makes social movement members knowledge producers (Flowers & Swan, 2011).

In other words, the distinctions between social movements based on their surrounding environments or contexts are vital for SML scholars to recognize because they impact how these movements educate or generate learning. Established movements have more prerequisite critical and formal political training and may operate in an environment with more public involvement with politics. These movements, then, have preestablished access to knowledge and educational resources before they even begin to organize. Other movements, however, face or emerge in contexts with less favourable conditions for learning and education and must create them as they begin to respond to existing injustices and inequalities.

Discussion

The Dialectics of Learning and Education

Exploring empirical research studies on 26 different countries and a wide range of movements demonstrates that the discourse of learning and education within the context of social movements has changed over time. We found that more studies focused on learning within the movements or used a discourse of learning in their analysis and only a few studies (Martin, 1988; McGregor & Price, 2010; Roy, 2014; Walter, 2012) examined how movements educate their participants. Between 1988 and 2005, scholars employed a discourse that was more oriented toward analysing educational practices and pedagogies. This research described education as a purposeful activity among a group of people rather than a spontaneous process. Since 2005, researchers have focused more on learning than education, or at least have used a learning discourse to describe what in the previous period was identified as education. The SML studies in this latter period we examined reflected what Biesta (2012) identified as a trend to separate learning from education, leading to a conceptualisation of learning as an individual process.

There is no doubt that social movements are sites of learning and knowledge production, whether within or from the movement. How, why, and which knowledge is produced within movements is an essential element for theorising SML. Movements, however, are also sites of education. If in developing a theory of SML, we fail to consider learning in dialectical relation with education, we fail to see the social nature of learning itself. Following Freire (1993), we understand learning in dialectical relation to education. This puts the pedagogical practices of movements at the centre of our theorising from the empirical studies we reviewed. To put this more simply, social movements have educators, or if you will, teachers. Much of the practice of social movements is intentionally educational in that people, and in particular activists, engage in activities that are crafted to assist their own and other's learning. This learning, however, does not happen spontaneously or in isolation from others; it is the product of specific people's actions in relation to others that are pedagogical in nature whether consciously so or not. Therefore, there are people in movements who educate through what they do in the movement. They are movement educators.

Some studies from both periods (e.g., Butterwick & Elfert, 2015; Martin, 1988) did examine how members learn collectively, reflect on learning from one another, and how

education had a radical effect on the participants of the movement. In other words, for these researchers, educating within social movements was political in every sense and had consequences and actions that stem from its political nature. Nevertheless, we clearly saw a shift over time from a discourse of education to a discourse of learning in the research studies even though the dialectical relationship between learning and education in actual movements continues unabated. Today's learning-oriented research seems to be well distanced from Paulston's (1980) research in which he specifically refers to 'social-movement education' (p. xiii) and his definition of 'movement education' he developed with Lejeune (Paulston & Lejeune, 1980) as 'structured learning activities, developed and controlled by a social movement within a liberating framework, for the express purpose of meeting movement needs, priorities, and goals' (p. 30). For us, Freire's (1993) insistence on seeing education and learning as dialectically related is a way forward for future research that seek to identify and understand learning as part and parcel of (educational) practices of social movements.

Building blocks of a theory of social movement learning and education

Previous researchers have situated learning within social movements along one or more dimensions (Cooper, 2007; Duguid et al., 2007; Foroughi, 2013; Scandrett et al., 2010; Serrat et al., 2016).

In this section we, present social movement literature's theorisation before addressing our findings and proposed SML building blocks. Overall, the available theories were based on sample studies or a specific movement, with questionable generalisability to SML across movements. Also, the typologies we examined did not provide enough details on the pedagogical aspects of social movements, but rather borrowed from human resources and development literature.

Schugurensky (2000) defines informal learning as a mix of learning types. Although the term informal learning captures an important form of learning, it is still too broad when it comes to explaining its causes, results, and manifestation. Using two continuums, he proposed a typology for informal learning. Intentional vs. unintentional and conscious vs. unconscious. He outlined three learning types: socialisation, incidental learning, and self-directed learning. Kluttz and Walter (2018) expanded on Scandrett et al. (2010) to conceptualise climate justice learning. They identified three main education levels: micro (individual learning), meso (reframing the individual perspective), and macro (the world and the power dynamics outside the movements). These levels are on two continuums: disordered and organised learning and individual and collective learning. These continuums were an excellent way to visualise how learning and education occur within the movement, and we use them below to explain our proposed building blocks.

To theorise social movement learning, we tried to situate each of its elements we identified above based on its intentionality, consciousness, and educational method. In Figure 1, we identify four quadrants: QUAD 1: formal and non-formal instruction (intentional and conscious), self-directed learning (intentional and conscious); QUAD 2: incidental learning (unintentional but conscious); QUAD 3: through observing other members (intentional and unconscious); and QUAD 4: social and spontaneous learning (unintentional and unconscious).

This is our attempt to develop a theory of the nature of SML. Figure 1 shows what social movements participants actively do for internal education, which is a combination of self-directed learning and non-formal instruction methods. The building block of this work is reflection. Educators of the movements, regardless of whether they self-identify as such,

help movement participants make meaning of their own experience through the creation of various learning experiences.

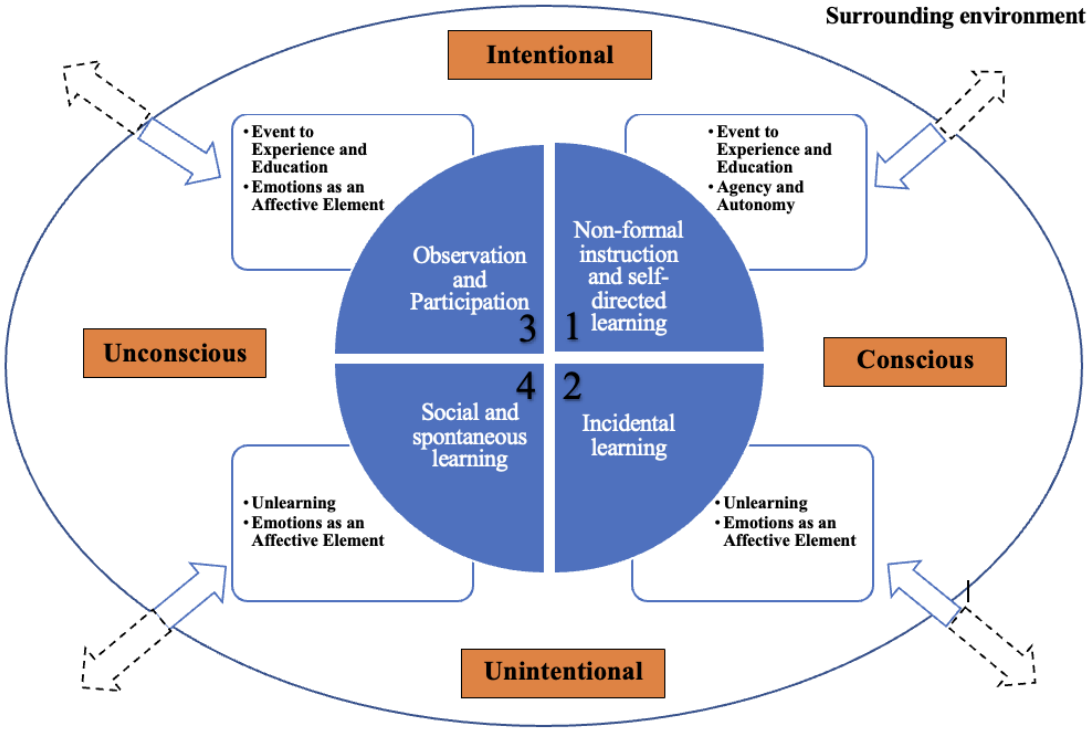
In the first quadrant, learning is pre-planned and mainly occurs before the movement acts and sometimes within organising for the movement. In the second quadrant, incidental learning occurs when members are conscious that their participation produces knowledge and furthers their learning, but this is an unintentional process and results from their engagement. In the third quadrant, learning occurs through observing other members and participating in various activities within the movement. Members observe other members engaging in tasks and try to learn from them in an intentional process. However, the analysis has shown that they are not usually conscious of how this observation results in significant learning experiences. The fourth quadrant is the most challenging form of learning, and we have less empirical data from current studies to explain it. Learning occurs due to social connections and is mostly invisible and hard to measure because it is unintentional and unconscious, so it requires researchers' investigation and observation because participants are mostly not aware of it.

We placed our suggested four elements of SML on the quadrant at moments where we believe that element was most prevalent. In the first quadrant, where learning is an intentional and a conscious process, the elements of education as a result of reflection on events that create experiences, and agency and autonomy are more prevalent. Our analysis revealed that both scholars and interviewed participants could quickly identify intentional and conscious learning due to its nature, and because it often requires prior planning. In the second and fourth quadrants, where subtle experiences and social connections take place, elements of unlearning and emotions as drivers for learning are more prevalent. Finally, in the third quadrant, watching other participants perform tasks emphasise the elements of reflection as an educational tool along with emotions.

In summary, each form of learning in the four quadrants represents an educational process. Our review of the literature revealed that social movements always have someone or some people to assist members in learning, designing learning experiences, or advancing learning. Learning within movements is rarely spontaneous; it is more commonly the result of someone, or some people consciously engaged in activities that create learning.

To separate these, or to only present the pedagogical work that occurs within movements as learning processes is a double error. Because first, it separates what is a dialectical process; it becomes one side. Second, and relatedly, it underplays one of the most important roles of social movements, which is to educate; to be sites of education and to be schools. To fail to see movements and those within them as educators is to miss one of their major purposes: to educate.

Figure 1. Elements of a theory of SML (authors' own figure)



Conclusion

We began this article by placing radical popular education in the context of social movement learning. As we argue for the need to consider learning and education as dialectically related, so as to avoid a one-sided focus on learning, SML researchers may want to consider that popular education has maintained the term education precisely because popular educators understand very well that they play an educative role in organised efforts for social change. To overcome the teacher/student contradiction as Freire (1993) insisted is not to make everyone only learners, but to make everyone learners and educators. There is no question that learning takes place in social movements, we should heed popular educators, however, and not forget that education also takes place in social movements.

The elements of learning we have identified can be interrelated, but each can be unique within a movement. We found that for most researchers, prevailing learning theories could not explain what was happening within movements. Current research focuses on activists' experiences and explicitly non-formal educational activities. Future studies should identify the learning process that emerges from pedagogical work or what we would define as education that turns events into experience through conscious reflection. This focus could help us understand how people transform and use experience-based knowledge.

Our research has two major limitations that could be addressed in future research. To begin, the study focused on existing literature in the field of adult education and lifelong learning, which resulted in a set of empirical research studies on progressive, left-oriented social justice movements. We did not examine, because we did not find, any research on right-wing movements. Second, we found that the literature we examined did not fit neatly into a Global North-South dichotomy. The studies appear to focus predominantly on the Global North. However, there have been several studies of Global South immigrants and refugees in Global North countries, as well as Indigenous Peoples within Global North countries. This prevented us from studying how specific educational practices were related to specific geographies, and it may limit any universality of our findings.

Moving forward, we believe more empirical research efforts are needed to explore ways to capture four things: first, how members learn within and from the educational activities of movements and the extent to which these activities are consciously conceived of as educational; second, the invisible, incidental, and unintentional aspects of SML; third, more focus on the reverse learning aspects of SML will undoubtedly provide valuable insights and findings. Finally, we need more empirical studies to understand how movements educate those outside the movements in the surrounding environment as we depict with dotted arrows in Figure 1. Here, we can begin to uncover the pedagogical impacts of social movements in creating new policies, new social relations, and new ways of viewing the world beyond the activist milieu within movements. To do this, adult educators should consider the work in the sociology of social movements (Almeida, 2019) where scholars have developed theories and conceptual frameworks perhaps better suited for understanding the impact of social movements on their surrounding environments.

The typology developed by Paulston and Altenbaugh was written in 1988, before the SML explosion. The concept of SML is useful because it focuses on how people change in movements and what movements do, but we have lost sight of identifying the things that people in movements do that change others when we do not see movements as both sites of learning and sites of education.

As researchers, we are particularly interested in movement pedagogical work that purposefully creates learning events and revisits and reflects upon them. We believe that this pedagogical work demonstrates the dialectical relationship between education and learning and more fully captures the breadth of pedagogical activities within and by social movements. It potentially leads the field to consider the need not for a theory of learning in social movements, but rather a theory of learning and education within social movements. As a result, we should consider SMLE. Dare we create a new acronym?

References

Almeida, P. (2019). *Social movements: The structure of collective mobilization*. University of California Press.

Baltodano, C., Choudry, A., Hanley, J., Jordan, S., Shragge, E., & Stiegman, M. (2007). Becoming an immigrant worker: Learning in everyday life. *Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education*, *20*(2), 99-113.

Biesta, G. (2012). Have lifelong learning and emancipation still something to say to each other? *Studies in the Education of Adults*, *44*(1), 5-20. https://doi.org/10.1080/02660830.2012.11661620

Bleakney, D., & Choudry, A. (2013). Education and knowledge production in workers' struggles: Learning to resist, learning from resistance. *McGill Journal of Education/Revue des sciences de l'éducation de McGill*, *48*(3), 569-586. https://doi.org/10.7202/1021920ar

Boumlik, H., & Schwartz, J. (2016). Conscientization and third space: A case study of Tunisian activism. *Adult Education Quarterly*, *66*(4), 319-335. https://doi.org/10.1177/0741713616652475

Bowles, T. A. (2006). There's no place like home: Black women's activism and knowledge construction in the environmental justice movement. *Adult Education Research Conference*, 54–59.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative research in psychology*, *3*(2), 77-101. https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa

Brown, E. J. (2018). Practitioner perspectives on learning for social change through non-formal global citizenship education. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, *13*(1), 81-97. https://doi.org/10.1177/1746197917723629

Butterwick, S., & Elfert, M. (2015). Women social activists of Atlantic Canada: Stories of re-enchantment, authenticity, and hope. *Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education*, *27*(1), 65-82.

Chen, A. C. R., & Rhoads, R. A. (2016). Undocumented student allies and transformative resistance: An ethnographic case study. *The Review of Higher Education*, *39*(4), 515-542. https://doi.org/10.1353/rhe.2016.0033

Choudry, A. (2014). Activist research and organizing: Blurring the boundaries, challenging the binaries. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, *33*(4), 472-487. https://doi.org/10.1080/02601370.2013.867907

Chovanec, D., Ellis, L., Goudar, N., Hamdon, E., Jamal, Z., & Piquette, C. (2007). Activist-Students: Radical Adult Education from Community to Campus–and Back Again. *Adult Education Research Conference*, 677-683.

Church, K., Landry, D., Frazee, C., Ignagni, E., Mitchell, C., Panitch, M., Patterson, J., Phillips, S., Terry, P., Yoshida, K., & Voronka, J. (2016). Exhibiting activist disability history in Canada: Out from under as a case study of social movement learning. *Studies in the Education of Adults, 48*(2), 194–209. https://doi.org/ 10.1080/02660830.2016.1219479

Cooper, L. (2007). Workers' Education and Political Consciousness: a Case Study from South Africa. *The Economic and Labour Relations Review*, *17*(2), 183–198. https://doi.org/10.1177/103530460701700211

Díez-Gutiérrez, E., & Díaz-Nafría, J.-M. (2018). Ubiquitous learning ecologies for a critical cybercitizenship. *Comunicar*, *26*(54), 49-58. https://doi.org/10.3916/C54-2018-05

DiFilippo, S. H. (2015). Resistance and relearning: Women's experiences choosing midwifery and home birth in Ontario, Canada. *Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education*, *27*(3), 43-63.

Drew, L. (2015). Embodied learning processes in activism. *Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education*, *27*(1), 83-101.

Duguid, F., Mündel, K., & Schugurensky, D. (2007). Learning to Build Sustainable Communities through Volunteer Work in Urban and Rural Settings: Insights from Four Case Studies. *Adult Education Research Conference*, 169-174.

Endresen, K., & Von Kotze, A. (2005). Living while being alive: Education and learning in the Treatment Action Campaign. *International journal of lifelong education, 24*(5), 431-441. https://doi.org/10.1080/02601370500169822

English, L. M. (2005). Third-space practitioners: Women educating for justice in the global south. *Adult Education Quarterly, 55*(2), 85-100. https://doi.org/10.1177/0741713604271851

Engeström, Y. (2018). Expansive learning: Towards an activity-theoretical reconceptualization. In K. Illeris (Ed.), *Contemporary theories of learning* (pp. 46-65). Routledge.

Flowers, R., & Swan, E. (2011). 'Eating at us': Representations of knowledge in the activist documentary film Food, Inc. *Studies in the Education of Adults, 43*(2), 234-250. https://doi.org/10.1080/02660830.2011.11661615

Foroughi, B. (2013). Toronto community housing: Tenant participation and informal learning. *Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education, 25*(2), 35-52.

Foley, G. (1999). *Learning in social action*. Zed Books.

Freire, P. (1993). *Pedagogy of the oppressed* (M. Bergman Ramos, Trans.). Continuum.

Gillespie, D., & Melching, M. (2010). The transformative power of democracy and human rights in nonformal education: The case of Tostan. *Adult Education Quarterly, 60*(5), 477-498. https://doi.org/10.1177/0741713610363017

Grayson, J. (2011). Organising, educating, and training: varieties of activist learning in left social movements in Sheffield (UK). *Studies in the Education of Adults, 43*(2), 197-215. https://doi.org/10.1080/02660830.2011.11661613

Hall, B. & Turay, T. (2006). *State of the field report: Social movement learning*. University of British Columbia.

Hamilton, R. (2016). The Mule Train–Adult learning and the Poor People's Campaign 1968. *Studies in the Education of Adults*, *48*(1), 38-64. https://doi.org/10.1080/02660830.2016.1155848

Harris, C. (2002). A sense of themselves: Leadership, communicative learning, and government policy in the service of community renewal. *Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education*, *16*(2), 30-53.

Hemphill, D., & Leskowitz, S. (2013). DIY activists: Communities of practice, cultural dialogism, and radical knowledge sharing. *Adult Education Quarterly, 63*(1), 57-77. https://doi.org/10.1177/0741713612442803

Hill, R. J. (2004). Activism as Practice: Some Queer Considerations. *New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education, 102*, 85-94. http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/ace.141

Holst, J. D. (2002). *Social Movements, Civil Society, and Radical Adult Education. Critical Studies in Education and Culture Series*. Bergin & Garvey.

Holst, J. D., & Vetter, M. A. (2016). Beyond NGOization: Challenging neoliberalism in a Chilean trade union school. *Adult Education Research Conference*, 143-149.

Illeris, K. (2018). *Contemporary theories of learning: Learning theorists in their own words* (2nd ed.). Routledge.

Ismail, S. (2009). Popular pedagogy and the changing political landscape: a case study of a women's housing movement in South Africa. *Studies in Continuing Education, 31*(3), 281-295. https://doi.org/10.1080/01580370903271479

Jennings, L. B., & Da Matta, G. B. (2009). Rooted in resistance: women teachers constructing counter-pedagogies in post-authoritarian Brazil. *Teaching Education, 20*(3), 215-228. https://doi.org/10.1080/10476210903096047

Kane, L. (2001). *Popular education and social change in Latin America*. Latin America Bureau.

Kapoor, D. (2007). Subaltern social movement learning and the decolonization of space in India. *International Education, 37*(1), 10-41.

Kilgore, D. W. (1999). Understanding learning in social movements: A theory of collective learning. *International journal of lifelong education*, *18*(3), 191-202. https://doi.org/10.1080/026013799293784

Kim, J. (2011). The characteristics of learning in social movements: A pilot study of an environmental organization. *Adult Education Research Conference*, 320-325.

Kluttz, J., & Walter, P. (2018). Conceptualizing learning in the climate justice movement. *Adult Education Quarterly*, *68*(2), 91-107. https://doi.org/10.1177/0741713617751043

Köpsén, S. (2011). Learning for renewal; learning in a trade union practice. *Journal of Workplace Learning*, *23*(1), 20-34. https://doi.org/10.1108/13665621111097236

Langdon, J. (2011). Democracy re-examined: Ghanaian social movement learning and the re-articulation of learning in struggle. *Studies in the Education of Adults, 43*(2), 147-163. https://doi.org/10.1080/02660830.2011.11661610

Larrabure, M., Vieta, M., & Schugurensky, D. (2011). The 'new cooperativism'in Latin America: Worker-recuperated enterprises and socialist production units. *Studies in the Education of Adults*, *43*(2), 181-196. https://doi.org/10.1080/02660830.2011.11661612

Larri, L., & Whitehouse, H. (2019). Nannagogy: Social movement learning for older women's activism in the gas fields of Australia. *Australian Journal of Adult Learning, 59*(1), 27-52. https://search.informit.org/doi/10.3316/aeipt.223412

Lee, J. A. (1993). Organizing with immigrant women: A critique of community development in adult education. *Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education*, *7*(2), 19-42.

Martin, B. (1988). Education and the environmental movement. In T. Lovett (Ed.), *Radical approaches to adult education: A reader* (pp. 202-223). Routledge.

McGregor, C., & Price, J. (2010). Websites as civic tools for advocacy: An examination of two Canadian adult literacy sites. *Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education, 22*(2), 27-46.

Meek, D. (2011). Propaganda, collective participation and the 'war of position'in the Brazilian landless workers' movement. *Studies in the Education of Adults, 43*(2), 164-180. https://doi.org/10.1080/02660830.2011.11661611

Merriam, S. B., & Baumgartner, L. M. (2020). *Learning in adulthood: A Comprehensive guide* (4th ed.). John Wiley & Sons.

Mirshak, N. (2020). Education as resistance: Egyptian civil society and rethinking political education under authoritarian contexts. *Critical Sociology*, *46*(6), 915-930. https://doi.org/10.1177/0896920519856398

Narushima, M. (2004). A gaggle of raging grannies: The empowerment of older Canadian women through social activism. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, *23*(1), 23-42. https://doi.org/10.1080/0260137032000172042

Niesz, T., Korora, A. M., Walkuski, C. B., & Foot, R. E. (2018). Social movements and educational research: Toward a united field of scholarship. *Teachers College Record*, *120*(3), 1-41. https://doi.org/10.1177/016146811812000305

O'Donnell, J. L. (2014). Quien sabe mas lucha mejor: Adult educators' care of the self practices within social movements in Buenos Aires, Argentina. *Adult Education Quarterly*, *64*(4), 267-284. https://doi.org/10.1177/0741713614535837

Ollis, T. (2008). The 'accidental activist': learning, embodiment and action. *Australian Journal of Adult Learning*, *48*(2), 316-335. https://search.informit.org/doi/abs/10.3316/informit.316046179504619

Ollis, T. A. (2020). Adult learning and circumstantial activism in the coal seam gas protests: Informal and incidental learning in an environmental justice movement. *Studies in the Education of Adults*, *52*(2), 215-231. https://doi.org/10.1080/02660830.2020.1750828

Ollis, T., & Hamel-Green, M. (2015). Adult education and radical habitus in an environmental campaign: Learning in the coal seam gas protests in Australia. Australian *Journal of Adult Learning*, *55*(2), 202-219. https://search.informit.org/doi/10.3316/aeipt.209714

Paulston, R. G. (1980). Preface. In R. G. Paulston (Ed.), *Other dreams, other schools: Folk colleges in social and ethnic movements* (pp. ix-xiv). University Center for International Relations, University of Pittsburgh.

Paulston, R. G. & Lejeune, D. (1980). A methodology for studying education in social movements. In R. G. Paulston (Ed.), *Other dreams, other schools: Folk colleges in social and ethnic movements* (pp. ix-xiv). University Center for International Relations, University of Pittsburgh.

Paulston, R. G., & Altenbaugh, R. J. (1988). Adult education in radical US social and ethnic movements: From case studies to typology to explanation. In T. Lovett (Ed.), *Radical approaches to adult education* (pp. 114-137). Routledge.

Roy, C. (2012). 'Why don't they show those on TV?': documentary film festivals, media and community. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, *31*(3), 293-307. https://doi.org/10.1080/02601370.2012.683610

Roy, C. (2014). Telling stories of resistance and change: Organizers of film festivals contribute to media literacy. *Canadian journal for the study of adult education*, *26*(3).

Rule, P. (2011). Cross-learning: The possibilities of a learning dialogue between the HIV & AIDS and disability movements. *Studies in the Education of Adults*, *43*(2), 216-233. https://doi.org/10.1080/02660830.2011.11661614

Saguy, A. C., & Ward, A. (2011). Coming out as fat: Rethinking stigma. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, *74*(1), 53-75. https://doi.org/10.1177/0190272511398190

Salazar, E. M. (2008). State terror and violence as a process of lifelong teaching–learning: the case of Guatemala. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, *27*(2), 201-216. https://doi.org/10.1080/02601370801936374

Sandlin, J. A., & Walther, C. S. (2009). Complicated simplicity: Moral identity formation and social movement learning in the voluntary simplicity movement. *Adult Education Quarterly*, *59*(4), 298-317. https://doi.org/10.1177/0741713609334137

Sawchuk, P. (2001). The Pitfalls and Possibilities of Labour Movement-Based E-Learning. *Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education*, 160-165.

Scandrett, E., Crowther, J., Hemmi, A., Mukherjee, S., Shah, D., & Sen, T. (2010). Theorising education and learning in social movements: Environmental justice campaigns in Scotland and India. *Studies in the Education of Adults*, *42*(2), 124-140. https://doi.org/10.1080/02660830.2010.11661593

Schied, F. M. (1993). *Learning in Social Context: Workers and Adult Education in Nineteenth Century Chicago*. LEPS Press.

Schugurensky, D. (2000). *The forms of informal learning. Towards a conceptualization of the field* (Working Paper No. 19-2000). https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/bitstream/1807/2733/2/19formsofinformal.pdf

Serrat, R., Petriwskyj, A., Villar, F., & Warburton, J. (2016). Learning through political participation: A case study of Spanish elders involved in political organizations. *Adult Education Quarterly*, *66*(2), 169-187. https://doi.org/10.1177/0741713615627013

Schedler, P. E. (1993). Autonomy: Solution, Transition or Possibility? Women's Emancipation and Education. *Studies in the Education of Adults*, *25*(1), 31-41. https://doi.org/10.1080/02660830.1993.11730581

Spencer, B. (1995). Old and new social movements as learning sites: Greening labor unions and unionizing the greens. *Adult Education Quarterly*, *46*(1), 31-42. https://doi.org/10.1177/0741713695046001003

SUR. (1987). Educación popular y movimientos sociales [Popular Education and social movements] [Special issue]. *Proposiciones*, *15*.

Terriquez, V. (2011). Schools for democracy: Labor union participation and Latino immigrant parents' school-based civic engagement. *American Sociological Review, 76*(4), 581-601. https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122411414815
Tight, M. (2019). *Documentary research in the social sciences*. Sage.
Tobias, R. (2000). The boundaries of adult education for active citizenship fiinstitutional and community contexts. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, *19*(5), 418-429. https://doi.org/10.1080/026013700445549
Torres Carrillo, A. (2016). *Educación popular y movimientos sociales en América Latina* [Popular Education and social movements in Latin America]. Editorial Biblos.
Underhill, H. (2016). Learning in revolution: perspectives on democracy from Egypt's UK-based diaspora activists. *Contemporary Levant, 1*(1), 25-37. https://doi.org/10.1080/20581831.2016.1149357
Underhill, H. (2019). Learning in social movements: Emotion, identity and Egyptian diaspora becoming'logically and emotionally invested'in the continuing struggle. *Australian Journal of Adult Learning*, *59*(3), 365-388. https://search.informit.org/doi/10.3316/ielapa.833011317420014
Vea, T. (2020). The learning of emotion in/as sociocultural practice: The case of animal rights activism. *Journal of the Learning Sciences*, *29*(3), 311-346. https://doi.org/10.1080/10508406.2020.1748036
Walker, W. (2009). Adult Learning in the Queer Nation: A Foucauldian Analysis of Educational Strategies for Social Change. *New Horizons in Adult Education & Human Resource Development, 23*(3), 10-17.
Walter, P. (2007). Activist forest monks, adult learning and the Buddhist environmental movement in Thailand. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, *26*(3), 329-345. https://doi.org/10.1080/02601370701362333
Walter, P. (2012). Cultural Codes as Catalysts for Collective Conscientisation in Environmental Adult Education: Mr. Floatie, Tree Squatting and Save-Our-Surfers. *Australian Journal of Adult Learning, 52*(1), 114-133. https://search.informit.org/doi/10.3316/ielapa.424057402099126
Walter, P. (2013). Theorising community gardens as pedagogical sites in the food movement. *Environmental Education Research*, *19*(4), 521-539. https://doi.org/10.1080/13504622.2012.709824
Walters, S., & Manicom, L. (1996). *Gender in popular education*. Zed.
Webb, D. (2019). Here we stand: The pedagogy of occupy wall street. *Australian Journal of Adult Learning, 59*(3), 342-364. https://search.informit.org/doi/10.3316/informit.832992684448756
Woodin, T. (2005). Building culture from the bottom up: The educational origins of the Federation of Worker Writers and Community Publishers. *History of Education, 34*(4), 345-363. https://doi.org/10.1080/09614520500129537
Woodin, T. (2007). 'Chuck out the teacher': radical pedagogy in the community. *International Journal of Lifelong Education, 26*(1), 89-104. https://doi.org/10.1080/02601370601151471
Zielińska, M., Kowzan, P., & Prusinowska, M. (2011). Social movement learning: From radical imagination to disempowerment? *Studies in the Education of Adults, 43*(2), 251-267. https://doi.org/10.1080/02660830.2011.11661616

Appendix 1

Table 1. Empirical studies on SML

Author	Theoretical Framework	Participants/ Movement/ Location	Global North/South
Martin (1988).	n/a	Anti-uranium movement activists in Australia	Global North
Schedler (1993).	n/a	Women's group in the Liberal Party and Leiden University in the Netherlands	Global North
Lee (1993).	Post-modernist and post-structuralist feminist theories	Women immigrants and refugees in Canada	Global North
Schied (1993).	Radical adult education	Workers Nineteenth Century in Chicago	Global North

Spencer (1995).	New and Old social movements	Canadian Labour Union focused on Environmental issues in Canada	Global North
Kilgore (1999).	Sociocultural learning and Critical Consciousness	Social movement groups	Global North
Tobias (2000).	Self-directed learning	Active citizenship programs in New Zealand	Global North
Sawchuk (2001).	E-learning	40 labour activists in Canada	Global North
Harris (2002).	Emancipatory and Transformative Learning	Rural activists in Canada	Global North
Narushima (2004).	Feminist and developmental theories	Raging Grannies' movement in Canada	Global North
Woodin (2005)	Community-based learning and Freire's literacy theories	The Federation of Worker Writers and Community Publishers in the U.K.	Global North
English (2005).	Third space theory	13 women (from Canada, Asia, and Africa) doing international adult education in the Global South	Global South
Endresen & Von Kotze (2005).	Frere's theory of humanization	HIV-positive activists in South Africa	Global South
Bowles (2006).	Interpretivism	Environmental justice movement in the USA	Global North
Baltodano et al. (2007).	Learning as a social process for learners to develop a political analysis of their context	Immigrant workers in Canada	Global North
Kapoor (2007).	Decolonizing methodologies and social movement learning	Social movement activists in India	Global South
Duguid, Mündel & Schugurensky (2007).	Social movement learning	Volunteers of 4 community organizations in Canada	Global North
Walter (2007).	Environmental adult education	Activist forest monks and Buddhist environmental movement in Thailand	Global South
Woodin (2007).	Radical pedagogy	Worker writing groups in the U.K.	Global North
Chovanec et al. (2007).	Popular education	Youth unions in Canada	Global North
Cooper (2007).	Radical adult education	Members of South African Local Government Union	Global South
Salazar (2008).	Feminist intersectionality and Freire's theories of teaching and learning	Maya women who experience state violence in Guatemala	Global South
Sandlin & Walther (2009).	Foucault	Adults who practice simplicity in the USA	Global North
Ismail (2009).	Freire and Gramsci's theories	Women from South African Homeless People's Federation	Global South
Walker (2009).	Foucauldian power-relations theory to create educational experiences	Queer Nation movement	Global North
Langdon (2009).	Post-colonial lens with Freire and Habermas' theories	Women's movement and Anti-mining movement in Ghana	Global South

Jennings & De Matta (2009).	Using radical education to build counter-pedagogies.	Women educators in Brazil	Global South
Gillespie & Melching (2010).	Freire and Dewey's theories	Female rural activists in Senegal	Global South
Scandrett et al. (2010).	Lifelong education theory of Ettore Gelpi	Environmental justice movement in Scotland and India	Global North/South
Köpsén (2011).	Communities of Practice and Freire	Trade unions in Sweden	Global North
Kim (2011).	Marx (use-value and exchange-value), self-directed learning and	Five environmental social movements in the USA	Global North
Terriquez (2011).	n/a	Latino immigrant workers and parents in the USA	Global North
Flowers & Swan (2011).	Informal learning	Food Movement activists	
Zielińska, Kowzan, & Prusinowska (2011).	Collective learning, situated learning, and social movement learning	Activists at the University of Gdańsk in Poland	Global North
Saguy & Ward (2011).	Narrative learning theory	Fat rights movement and Queer movement in the USA	Global North
Langdon (2011).	Foley's learning in/from struggle	Social movement members in Ghana	Global South
Grayson (2011).	Popular worker's education and Gramsci's social movement theory	Labour movement in the U.K.	Global North
Larrabure, Vieta & Schugurensky (2011).	Informal and non-formal learning	Socialist Production Units in Venezuela and Worker-Recuperated Enterprises in Argentina	Global South
Meek (2011).	Gramsci's hegemony	Brazilian Landless Workers' movement	Global South
Rule (2011).	Collective and social learning	HIV & AIDS and disability movements in Uganda, Zambia and South Africa	Global South
Walter (2012).	Collective learning and identity and counter-hegemonic knowledge production	Environmental Movement in the USA and Canada	Global North
Roy (2012).	Freire's Pedagogy of indignation	Audience of community film festivals in Canada	Global North
Walter (2013).	Transformative learning, communities of practice and place-based learning.	Food Movement in the USA	Global North
Foroughi (2013).	Informal learning	Tenants of Toronto Community Housing Corporation in Canada	Global North
Hemphill & Leskowitz (2013).	Community of practice and Freire	Community of anarchist, anticapitalist "Do-It-Yourself" activists in the USA	Global North
Bleakney & Choudry (2013).	Non-formal and informal learning	Immigrant workers in Canada	Global North
Drew (2015).	Embodied learning and situated learning	Activists in the animal rights movement in Australia	Global North

Roy (2014).	Collective learning and experiential learning	Audience of documentary film festivals in Canada	Global North
O'Donnell (2014).	Foucault	Popular educators in Argentina	Global South
Choudry (2014).	Marxist theory	Activist researchers in the Philippines	
Butterwick & Elfert (2015).	Feminism and narrative learning	27 elder women social activists in Canada	Global North
Ollis, & Hamel-Green (2015).	Bordieau's habitus and situated learning	Protestors against fracking in Australia	Global North
DiFilippo (2015).	Critical feminist lens and transformative learning	Women health movement in Canada	Global North
Boumlik & Schwartz (2016).	Third-space theory	An NGO and a female activist post the Jasmine Revolution in Tunisia	Global South
Church et al. (2016).	Learning through object and story- based cultural production	Professors and activists working on a Disability History museum exhibition in Canada	Global North
Hamilton (2016).	Adult education	The Poor People Movement	Global North
Serrat, Petriwskyj, Villar & Warburton (2016).	Informal learning	Elders' political participation in Spain	Global North
Holst & Vetter (2016).	Gramsci's cultural hegemony	Members of a Trade Union School in Chile	Global South
Underhill (2016).	Social movement learning	Egyptian revolution activists in the Diaspora	Global South
Chen & Rhoads (2016).	Critical race theory and ethnic studies	Staff and faculty allies of undocumented students in a university	
Brown (2018).	Transformative learning and non-formal learning	Citizenship education in UK and Spain	Global North
Kluttz & Walter (2018).	Feminist theories	Climate Justice movement in the USA	Global North
Díez-Gutiérrez & Díaz-Nafría (2018).	Expanded learning	Participants of vocational training center for employment in Spain	Global North
Larri & Whitehouse (2019).	Communities of practice and action learning	Elder activist women in Australia	Global North
Underhill (2019).	Emotions in social movement learning and Boler's 'Pedagogy of discomfort'	Egyptiandiaspora activists in the U.K.	Global North
Webb (2019).	Radical pedagogy	Occupy Wall Street activists in the USA	Global North
Ollis (2020).	Critical Pedagogy and new social movements	Activists from a coalition of anti-coal seam gas groups in Australia	Global North
Vea (2020).	Emotions and learning in sociocultural activity	Animal Rights movements in the USA	Global North
Mirshak (2020).	Gramscian framework	Civil society organizations in post-uprisings Egypt	Global South