

Transforming skills: popular music, adult education and learning for social change

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Abstract

Contemporary music has played a significant role in shaping the social and cultural history of the last half of the 20th century, and has provided a source of informal adult learning that has led to social change. However, its role in formal adult learning and education is largely under-theorised and under-researched. Given both the prominence of popular music as a cultural form in contemporary mass culture, and the overtly political nature of protest music, the relative lack of interest in its role and influence in processes of social change is rather surprising. This paper explores the educative power of contemporary music – defined as any popular (and not so popular) music that has received radio and later television airplay – and its role in social change. To this end, popular music is first contextualised in the mass media-dominated, modern world. Its ability to motivate and inspire adults to question, challenge and confront authority, and act on and redress social injustices and inequalities is then examined from a historical perspective. Whilst, as Berger (2000) argues, its potential use as a tool in formal educational settings remains largely unexplored, learning through contemporary music is examined in both informal and formal adult education contexts as learning for social change and, in its most powerful form, as a catalyst for conscientization (Freire 1970). As it has done in the past with its power to overturn official versions of ‘truth’ by offering a critical perspective on issues presented in the global media, it is argued that contemporary music can be used by adult educators and trainers to empower learners to initiate and participate in processes of social change.

Introduction

*T.V. is mechanized politics
remote control over the masses
co-sponsored by environmentally safe gases
watch for the PBS special
It's the perpetuation of the two party system
where image takes precedence over wisdom
Where sound bite politics are served to
the fastfood culture
Where straight teeth in your mouth
are more important than the words
that come out of it. (Disposable Heroes of Hiphopcity 1992, ‘Television, the
drug of the nation’).*

In an increasingly globalised and inter-connected world, the television-led global mass-(multi)media constructs and manages the flow of images and messages that shape the perceptions and consciousness of consumers. In doing so, it performs a central, if largely unacknowledged, role in the explicit and tacit learning of adults. In the process of ‘edutaining’ the masses, it legitimises and engineers popular consent to the universal truth claims of the globally triumphant, neo-liberal hegemony. News

broadcasts selectively report current events and shape a future that seems likely to be ever-more dominated by multi-national corporations and governments that are increasingly moving to the right. Advertising extols a white, male-dictated 'beauty myth', provides 'facts and figures' to convince 'uninformed' viewers that purchasing certain products or services will make them 'winners', educates on the virtues of governmental policy, and trains the populace to detect and report potential terrorists living among us. Documentaries reinterpret the past in the service of the present. 'Reality TV' documentaries such as 'The Colony' and 'Outback House' – with their depictions of modern day families 're-living' eras in the past, such as the pioneering and colonising periods of white Australia – purport to seek authenticity, yet present a sanitised version of the oppressive historical relations between indigenous peoples and the colonisers. The 'reproduced' colonisers work with the Aboriginal people and convict slaves to establish an egalitarian society, rather than re-enact the violence between the oppressors and oppressed that prevailed during this period (Elder 2005).

As fact and fiction blur and merge, and reality and fantasy blend into virtuality, truth falls victim to power. Baudrillard (1995, p.11) argues that 'we live in a hyperreality which results from the fusion of the virtual and the real into a third order of reality'. Modern 'cop shows' no longer depict good-versus-bad car chases and shootouts, but rather the methodical approach taken to pin suspects to crimes using modern technology and scientific investigation. Like news reports on technologised warfare, the civilian body count is low and criminals – often people from non-white minority groups – are brought to trial in American courtroom dramas where definitions of 'truth' and 'justice' are renegotiated. U2's front man, has complained: 'I can't tell the difference between the evening news and Hill Street Blues' (Bono 1988). The massive television audience can change the channel, but cannot escape the constant flow of information and covert education that is broadcast for uncritical consumption.

Whilst the mass media is undeniably a primary source of information and learning for mainstream society, this paper argues that one form of contemporary media – popular music – has often provided a critical perspective on historical and contemporaneous events, and issues such as racial, political and social injustice. As such, it provides one potential avenue for informing and educating adult consumers, both young and old, about versions of truth and justice that are silenced in other mass media. Indeed Chuck Dee, singer for Public Enemy, describes hip-hop as 'black America's CNN' (Mitchell 1996, p.25). Despite the prominence of popular music as a cultural form in contemporary mass culture and its historical influence in processes of social and cultural formation, little attention has been paid to its role in more formal adult learning and education and its potential contribution to social change. Berger (2000) draws attention to the potential use of contemporary music as a tool in formal educational settings. His examination of the use of protest songs for teaching and learning in social studies and social work is one of very few attempts to begin researching and theorising this topic.

A key contention in this paper is that contemporary music beyond the strict confines of the protest song has also worked to inform, educate and raise popular consciousness since the 1950s, and that it presents similar possibilities in the early 21st century. More specifically, popular music is a largely untapped resource in adult education and training for developing transforming skills – skills that adult learners require if they are to participate actively and effectively in processes of social change.

The paper opens with an examination of the evolution of popular music as a source of counter-hegemonic messages and learning, after which its future potential as a medium for adult learning for social change is explored, with specific reference to vocational education and training (VET). Based on research into, and analysis of, written and audio-visual sources of information, the paper outlines an historical and conceptual framework for further investigations into this under-researched topic.

A short history of contemporary music, adult learning and social change

*People try to put us d-down
Talkin' 'bout my gen-er- a- tion
Just because we get around
Talkin' 'bout my gen-er- a- tion
Things they do look awful c-c-cold
Talkin' 'bout my gen-er- a- tion
I hope I die before I get old
Talkin' 'bout my gen-er- a- tion...* (The Who 1965, 'My generation').

Since its inception as rock 'n' roll in the post-war economic boom in the United States (US), popular music has entertained, informed and educated modern generations and significantly shaped the social and cultural history of the last half of the 20th century. The rising popularity of rock 'n' roll, and of later other genres of popular music, is intrinsically linked to television replacing radio as the dominant mass medium and the growth of a youth culture brought about by economic, educational, political and social changes in industrialised nations in the 1950s (Miller 2000).

Rock was born into an age when, as the allied troops returned from the global conflict of World War II, many of the issues simmering at the time – such as those concerning relations between the white-dominated society and its African American members – were ignored and suppressed in favour of following a Western, suburban dream in a flourishing society. Somewhat ironically, rock owes its origins to African American music such as gospel, blues and rhythm and blues, which had in turn been heavily influenced by African American slave work songs. Based on a rich combination of traditional rhythms and cultural musical influences brought from sub-Saharan Africa and Christian spirituals, the songs not only served to relieve the boredom of the menial and repetitive work the slaves were involved in, but also often contained subversive code about escape or revolt against white slaveholders (Szatmary 2003). In the mid-1950s, record companies found a white market for African American inspired music – especially with the recording and promotion of white artists like Elvis Presley – that linked commercial interests through an emerging mass media to a youth culture movement ready to identify itself in opposition to the social norm.

Since its emergence in the 1950s to the present, youth culture has had a somewhat contradictory relationship with mass media and marketing. On the one hand, teenagers or young adults have used mass media to find an identity that differentiates them from the mainstream or general culture of their community, and in some cases also identifies them as rebels, as with many subcultures associated with contemporary music. On the other hand, however, a youth culture or subculture relies on conformity to a particular 'in group' that may have been created by the mass media. When such a culture comes to be viewed as mainstream or conformist, it is usually abandoned

(Miller 2000; Szatmary 2003). From its beginnings, popular music has carried with it significant angst which has manifested itself over time as rebellion against parents, social norms, institutions (including the institution of formal education), government and always, fundamentally, subversion of the dominant cultural paradigm.

The 1960s saw issues that had been suppressed in the 1950s come to the foreground, and much of the publicity given to these can be attributed to the messages and influence of contemporary music. With the birth of a new decade, contemporary music developed a social conscience, largely with the emerging popularity of folk music and later with a fusion of folk and rock. Songs were not only about cars and girls, as had previously been the case, but also about McCarthyism, the Civil Rights movement, social justice, the Cold War and the potential threat of nuclear annihilation. Later songs argued against the governmental involvement in and escalation of the war in Vietnam, television images of which were horrifying a growing audience. Contemporary music had also become a global trend, with the 'British invasion' led by the Beatles – usurping Elvis to become the most popular band in the industrialised world in 1964 (Szatmary 2003).

Contemporary music's educative power came to the forefront with artists like Bob Dylan and Joan Baez, writing and performing in what has come to be referred to as the 'protest era', especially in early 1960s Greenwich Village of New York which became the hub of the folk music movement. Berger (2000) argues that in the true sense of the genre, protest music – generally speaking, voiced from a left-wing perspective – both condemns and proposes solutions to social injustices. Whilst many songs during and after this era did not always propose solutions, they did function 'to educate, motivate, and raise consciousness' in listeners (Berger 2000, p.57).

Subversion of, and rebellion against, conservative social norms reached a new level in the late 1960s, led by the emergence of a young adult 'counterculture' – initially growing out of US college campuses, but later spreading throughout the Western world – as a movement of outspoken young adults seeking to stop the war in Vietnam through protests, rallies and even riots. The riots, unrest and rebellion in 1968 France, which started with young adults protesting against, among other issues, a restrictive education system and the Vietnam War, also contributed to the temper of the times on a global basis. 'Give peace a chance', the song by John Lennon, became the slogan for the US anti-war movement. Rock concerts, such as Woodstock in 1969, and popular music – mostly folk-rock, protest music – with its subversive yet often explicitly educative messages encouraging rebellion against and defiance of dominant cultural norms, played an integral role in educating young adult participants in the counterculture and motivating them to act against social injustices and inequalities.

In the early 1970s, the post-war boom came to a crashing halt with the oil embargo of 1973, resulting in slumps in national economies that ended a long era of full employment. England had not enjoyed all the spoils of this boom time, having incurred a large foreign debt in order to 'win' the war. By 1975, England was in recession and unemployment, particularly amongst school leavers, was at its highest since before World War II (Savage 1991). The tabloid press, such as Murdoch's *Sun*, served notice on the libertarianism of the 1960s. The new language of fear about social issues, such as pornography, education and vandalism, saw had middle-class

Britain seeking refuge in a Conservative Party moving to the right, led by Margaret Thatcher and her assertion of the individual over society (Savage 1991).

The optimism and utopian idealism of the 1960s had seemingly died from an excess of part two in contemporary music's 'unholy trinity' (sex, drugs and rock 'n' roll): three of the decade's big stars – Jimi Hendrix, Janis Joplin and Jim Morrison – expired within months of each other in 1970 and 1971. The rebellious edge of the previous decades' music had been blunted, having been increasingly marketed as an acceptable commodity and purchased into the mainstream by the maturing 'baby boomers'. This environment in 1977 London spawned punk, with young people rejecting mainstream conformism and corporatism (the 'politics of boredom') as an angry rebellion against consumerism and 'as a deliberate reaction to the mass commercialism of music' (Oh 2002).

The directly educative power of punk is debatable – lyrics were often sung quickly, mispronounced and screamed over distorted guitars. But there is a strong anti-authority/corporatist theme, both stylistically and when the angry and 'chaotic' noise is stripped back to reveal the lyrics. Punk, however, serves more as an historical and strident expression of anarchism, if not revolution, set against the backdrop of emerging neo-conservatism and commercialism. Artists like The Clash, lingering on into the early 1980s with their socialist overtones, raised the awareness of a young adult audience about US imperialism, the Sandinistas and the Spanish Civil War.

Punk significantly influenced later artists and sharpened the rebellious edge of contemporary music up to today. However, its short, angry life and overt anti-commercialism didn't halt the arrival of Music Television (MTV) in 1981. With MTV, the further commercialisation of contemporary music dramatically changed its critical-educational potential. Den Tandt (2004) argues that promotional costs associated with the corporate-run technologies of television meant that access to MTV required corporate financial backing. Music reached a larger global audience, but emerging artists with an overtly political message found it hard to get airplay, having to relinquish creative control to industry sponsors (Den Tandt 2004). Furthermore, the three-to-five minute video clip has led to a decline in live performances and creative spontaneity, and has had a reductive and sanitising effect on rock's messages.

In 1985, Bob Geldof and Midge Ure (from Ultravox) added their celebrity to the commercial and educative power of music to raise world awareness about, and money for, the starving people of Ethiopia. Thanks largely to MTV, the project culminated in the largest satellite and television link-up in history. Known as 'Live Aid', musicians played from two main stages in Philadelphia and London, but many smaller venues also joined in around the world. This was not the first time that music stars had gathered to raise money or awareness for world events. In 1971, George Harrison organised artists, including Dylan, Eric Clapton and Ringo Starr, to aid the ailing people of Bangladesh following political turmoil and severe flooding (Landau 1972).

Between 1976 and 1979, 'Rock Against Racism' in the UK – partially triggered by racist comments reportedly made by Clapton and David Bowie – organised almost 800 punk and reggae music events to confront rising racist attacks and youth support for the right-wing National Front (Karla et al 1996). Following Live Aid's \$150 million fundraising efforts, recent history has been marked with similar ventures,

including: the Artists United Against Apartheid single ‘Sun City’; ‘Farm Aid’ in the US; ‘WaveAid’ in Australia (following the Asian tsunamis in December 2004); and ‘Live8’ rock concerts scheduled around the G8 meeting in Scotland in July 2005. The Live8 concerts were a publicity component of the ongoing ‘Make Poverty History’ education for social change campaign. But rather than raising money, its purpose was to increase global awareness of the ‘shameful situation’ whereby 30,000 children die each day due to extreme poverty (Make Poverty History 2005). The campaign argues poverty is a result of the rich and powerful ‘pursuing trade policies’ that ‘put profits before people’ and the environmental sustainability of the planet. Rather than donate money, people were encouraged to lobby local politicians to bring about trade justice.

Musical movements led by people of colour – including 1970s’ reggae and hip-hop or rap popular from the late 1980s – have provided a significant source of informal learning that has crossed racial, cultural and geographical lines to influence (mostly young) adults on a global level (Oshun 2005). With its strong social liberation theme, reggae brought to the forefront many of the issues that people of colour had been singing about since the 19th century, including oppression at the hands of white people, black spirituality and religious freedom – often with an attempt to raise the critical and political consciousness of the listener. Whilst its name is now a marketing term applied to ‘softer’, more commercially acceptable, music of this genre, ‘hip-hop’ is more a culture than just music – ‘it is the heartbeat of American ghetto youth who claimed their own self-expression and used it to rise above their physical circumstances.’ (Oshun 2005)

Having become a product sold through the shopfront of TV, and with television shows such as the worldwide Idol ‘reality’ franchise, contemporary music has not escaped the media-led commodification of its creative process. Record companies – the music-making machine – have long tuned into the commercial value of the rebellious aspect of music. Even the often wild life of the rock star and its appeal to a young adult audience is marketed. There are still, however, pockets of resistance, as any of the music festivals around the world bear testament. Artists like Rage Against The Machine, Eminem, Marilyn Manson and even the ‘supergroup’ U2 have managed to circumvent or work with/against the commodification of contemporary music. Their commercial success has given them a stage to act as advocates for social justice, the environment, a voice for the oppressed and inveigh variously against poverty, war, cultural conformism and globalisation.

Contemporary music as adult education for social change

*Maybe it's just the time of year,
Maybe it's the time of man.
I don't know who I am,
But life is for learning.* (Joni Mitchell 1970, ‘Woodstock’).

Learning through contemporary music – and education instigated by the artist-songwriter – can be framed in terms of Newman’s (2000) definitions of forms of adult learning in social action. ‘Incidental learning’, he argues, might not be recognised immediately, but takes place during social action – a collective activity involving a group of people who might share, among other things, social background, a common history or interest. Incidental learning occurring through music, therefore, might occur

in the same fashion: a group of young adults with a shared interest in popular music see Midnight Oil perform at the closing ceremony of the Sydney 2000 Olympics. 'Informal education' is an organised, though not particularly structured, process that does not occur in a recognisable educational setting. Midnight Oil as musician/educators, moved by a social conscience and angered by an issue, realise their art can be an educative tool leading to potential social change: they write and perform a song aiming to educate their audience and perhaps motivate them to act to redress the issue. 'Non-formal learning' is when people become aware of the learning potential of their activities and decide to learn from these experiences (Newman 2000). Here learners would discuss the performance with each other: 'Midnight Oil had 'sorry' emblazoned on their clothes – why? What do they mean by 'how do we sleep when our beds are burning' (Midnight Oil 1986)? They realise that not only are they hearing music for entertainment, but they are also receiving a message. They act to learn more about the issues and discover that the slogan refers to acknowledging past injustices against indigenous Australians; the song is about returning the traditional lands of the Pintupi people of Central Australia. They may then act to change these unjust circumstances by expressing their newfound awareness and concerns about such issues on air or in print, and/or participating in a protest march.

However, contemporary music, as a source of incidental and informal learning, can be used in more explicit ways as a tool for teaching adults within formal educational settings. With its ability to speak to and engage people – particularly younger adults – contemporary music can be used to contextualise issues in the study of history, sociology and politics, to reveal deeper meanings not immediately apparent in formal texts and, with its power to affect the listener both intellectually and emotionally (Berger 2000), move learners towards a new level of critical awareness. As Karla et al (1996, p.128) argued within the context of growing racism in Europe, 'the role of musical production as an organising and historical tool in political struggle' is crucially important. In the mass media-fuelled, post-9/11 climate of fear and suspicion of people of colour, particularly those of Middle Eastern or Islamic appearance, the need for such processes of learning has assumed an even greater urgency.

Ma Rhea (2002) has used contemporary music to teach literacy to Aboriginal children in central Australia. As part of this process, she used Warumpi Band's 'My Island Home' to teach the National Anthem, as it provided a less abstract account of living 'girth by sea', 800 km from the nearest coast as Indigenous Australians. Whilst Ma Rhea's (2002) efforts focussed on children, there is much scope for the use of contemporary music for teaching literacy to a growing number of adults for whom English is a second language, or for whom compulsory education has failed – leaving them with low literacy skills – in order to empower them to better understand the world they live in and their predicaments therein. Song lyrics with subject matter relevant to current events can lead to critical analysis of events depicted in the mass media, and provide a deeper understanding of the ways that the language is used to represent and construct them in the service of powerful interests.

Mayo (1999) argues that the radical education theorist, Paulo Freire, revealed in his early writings a dichotomy based on relations of power and domination – whereby the powerful and the privileged (the oppressors) exert control over the less powerful and marginalised (the oppressed), and that the condition and reproduction of oppression are facilitated by, among other things, traditional mainstream education. Whilst the

oppressors in the economically globalised world are the stakeholders in multinational companies (including neo-liberal/neo-conservative politicians), the oppressed are the many who find themselves on the wrong side of globalisation and neo-liberal politics.

The marginalised groups of the current era include people who find themselves with one or more of the following conditions: those who cannot find enough paid work to support themselves or their families, including many who have been unable to find work for 12 months or more; people who struggle to keep up with technologisation, such as members of an aging population who have been retrenched from low-skilled jobs, people with low literacy skills, people who have been unsuccessful or not completed compulsory schooling, and people who do not speak English as a first language. People from these groups are joined by or share characteristics with immigrants and refugees – many escaping famine, war and political turmoil in their countries of origin, which are primarily the result of ‘rapid processes of globalisation’ (Zolberg et al 1989 in Castles and Vasta 1996, p.34), and indigenous peoples in colonised countries who have been dispossessed of their original homelands.

Many people from these relatively powerless groups ‘end up’ in the VET system. Historically the provider of (primarily male) working class education in Australia, VET has more recently become a policy ‘dumping ground’, dealing ‘cheaply’ with the political problem of what to do with those who can’t get jobs or university places (Taylor and Henry 1994). Rather than being considered a different, but equal, form of education, VET is seen as a second-best, or even the last, option for ‘equity groups’, such as women, indigenous people, people with disabilities, migrants, refugees, and unemployed people. Access and participation in VET programs remain inequitable and stratified along class, racial, ethnic and gender lines, and ‘socially constructed skill hierarchies ... have legitimised patterns of advantage and disadvantage within occupations and working class cultures’ (Anderson et al 2001/02, p.29).

According to Freire (1970, p.55), people from these groups are among those who are marginalised and ‘who deviate from the general configuration of a “good, organised, and just” society’: the oppressed. However, they are not referred to as such by their oppressors, but instead are given impersonal and dehumanising labels such as ‘the unemployed’, ‘the disabled’, ‘un-educated’ and/or ‘welfare recipients’ – statistical deviations that must be normalised, assimilated and ‘managed’ by correcting their social and cultural ‘deficits’. As Freire explains:

The oppressed are regarded as the pathology of the healthy society, which must therefore adjust these ‘incompetent and lazy’ folk to its own patterns by changing their mentality. These marginals need to be ‘integrated’, ‘incorporated’ into the healthy society that they have ‘forsaken’. (1970, p.55)

One ‘method’ used by the oppressors for ‘dealing’ with such persons, is what Freire (1970) refers to as ‘banking education’, where students play a passive role in learning and are treated as if they were empty vessels into which teachers (or trainers) deposit ‘universally good’ information, values and attitudes, leading to the domestication and subjugation of the learners (Thompson 2000). In addition, Freire (1970) cites Herbert Marcuse to argue that science and technology are used as powerful tools by the oppressors to maintain their oppressive order. One of the primary technologies of cultural oppression in contemporary times is the global mass media.

The most important potential role for contemporary music – particularly protest songs – in adult education for social change is as a catalyst for ‘conscientization’ (Freire 1970). Jesson and Newman (2005, p.258) describe conscientization as seeking to shift people from a naïve or fatalistic consciousness to a critical consciousness, ‘a state of mind in which they are aware of themselves within their social context and capable of acting to change it’. Further, the consciousness-raising effects of contemporary music can act as a form of politico-cultural literacy with which the disaffected can name and critique their circumstances, and in doing so provide a voice for marginalised groups and ideas in contemporary society. Contemporary music can not only potentially work to empower the oppressed in this way, but can also develop in the oppressors (who may not be aware they are oppressors) a self-critical understanding of their position in society, prompting them to take action to redress the situation. Freire (1970) argues that only through such a process can both parties liberate themselves from the shackles of oppressive social constructs and move towards a truly free society.

Conclusion: challenges for adult educators and trainers

*Career opportunities are the ones that never knock
Every job they offer you is to keep you out the dock
Career opportunities, the ones that never knock
(The Clash 1977, ‘Career opportunities’).*

Seidenfeld (2005) in his article, ‘Don’t let it be’, argues that the protest element and informative power of popular music is desperately waning in the modern era. He asks, ‘When has a new PowerPoint presentation changed the world?’ Adult educators committed to social change can start to reverse this trend. They can abandon PowerPoint presentations, seek out contemporary musical critiques and utilise this music’s sophisticated Esperanto to penetrate the assumptions and question the norms that are systematically reproduced by formal, institutionalised education. By unpacking the socio-political literacy and counter-hegemonic insights of contemporary music through Freirian processes of conscientization, the capacity for critical and reflective thinking can be cultivated in young and older adult learners alike. By informing, empowering and inspiring adult learners to understand and act on the causes of injustices and inequalities in workplaces, and the wider social structures and cultures in which they are located, adult educators can begin to equip their learners with knowledge and skills for social transformation.

Admittedly, the scope for using popular music to promote social change through adult learning is significantly more limited in VET than in adult, community and further education. The major stumbling block in VET is the dominance of competency-based training (CBT), a contemporary manifestation of Freire’s concept of ‘banking education’, in which ‘Learning has been reduced to little more than the instrumental and non-reflexive “acquisition” of pre-determined, fragmented and decontextualised “competencies” for *work*’, as distinct from the wider lifeworlds of learners (Seddon and Anderson in press). Furthermore, CBT is a technology of cultural dispossession and oppression in that it enables the ‘systematic exclusion of women and women’s skills in the skill hierarchies endorsed in VET (and) devalues the culturally-specific knowledges, skills and communicative styles of indigenous Australians and many

non-English speaking communities.’ (Anderson et al 2001/02, pp.28-29) In effect, it reproduces, rather than problematises, inequitable social structures and practices.

However seemingly impervious to the influence of teachers and learners, no curriculum or learning process is entirely devoid of spaces for alternative forms of learning that question, contest or subvert dominant values and norms. Future research will need to explore the educative potential of popular music as a site for resistance and the generation of oppositional narratives about oppressive social and economic relations, including those that prevail in workplaces. Given the dominance of CBT in VET, it will also need to identify spaces and strategies for using popular music as a tool for social and cultural empowerment in and beyond the workplace.

Berger’s (2000) examination of the uses of popular music in the vocational preparation of social workers provides some clues for adult educators and trainers. At the very least, popular music provides a rich and relevant curriculum and learning resource for programs in adult literacy, English language, and basic education and employment skills for disadvantaged groups, with potentially wider applications in fields such as workplace communication, marketing, creative arts, legal and welfare studies, society and culture. In such programs, the challenge for teachers committed to socially critical education and training is to recognise that one of the key competencies that learners require, especially those from marginalised and disenfranchised groups, are transforming skills – those that develop and expand their capacity to become active and critical participants in workplace and social change.

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