Patterns of Variation in Sociomusical Identity of School-goers in a Condition of Social Vulnerability and Musical Gaps in their Education

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Sociomusical identity pursues integrative goals, as it establishes bridges between musical identities from a perspective based on transculturation and post-ethnicity. The current study aims to observe the influence of social groups in the construction of sociomusical identity, using a simple random sample comprised of 417 students who attend Chilean schools classified in a condition of social vulnerability. The chosen nonexperimental quantitative method is survey research, as two scales were applied to measure musical activities in different social groups. Results indicated that the musical performance variable explains social differences in the distribution of sociomusical capital because, just as Western culture fosters the musician-listener dualism, it also causes gaps in sociomusical identity. In conclusion, differentiation points in sociomusical identity are linked to social matters concerning musical performance, as school-goers' musical practice is not encouraged inside nor outside of schools.

Keywords: musical identity; sociocultural capital; musician; musical preferences; cross-hybridization process.

Introduction

Musical identities may be consolidated by the role that a creative individual plays in society (Randles and Ballantyne 2018), for instance, when musicians are involved in meaningful professional experiences, as they get the chance to "perform and maintain their identity" in societally-relevant settings (Preti and Welch 2013, 360). It is also understood that a person's musical self-concept is internalized throughout life (Burland and Davidson 2002) and, in the case of non-musicians, musical identities are constructed based on their musical preferences which are determined by age and level of musical training received, if any (Hargreaves, Miell, and MacDonald 2002).

According to McPherson, Davidson, and Faulkner (2012), there exists a dualism between musicians and listeners regarding their experiences in and with music. This

dualism can be interpreted as reductionist because individuals' music experiences are mainly influenced by other people during infancy, gaining self-determination progressively in adolescence and adulthood. Therefore, individuals can have several musical identities in longitudinal and transactional terms, giving rise to "conflicts between their 'personal' identity and a more 'public' or professional identity" (Green 2011, 17). This musician-listener dualism is deeply rooted in Western culture and is depicted through concerts or global media, as musicians play an active role while listeners or consumers act contemplatively (Heimonen and Hebert 2010). In contrast, aboriginal and indigenous cultures foster participative musical behaviors because all members actively participate in playing instruments, singing, dancing, or doing another activity required by the community's worldview (Baily 2011). Consequently, musical identities can be encouraged within a social group, as these are negotiated with other individual and communal identities related to the context where people learn, both in personal and collective terms (Garnett 2016).

In this study, sociomusical identity is placed within transculturation studies (Steingress 2004b), as it is influenced by intergenerational interactions among family members (Martínez-Cantero and Casas-Mas in press; Valenzuela, Codina, and Pestana 2020) and digital information provided by friends and social media (Harnish 2005). Sociomusical identity can be useful because it pursues integrative goals, establishing bridges between diverse musical identities (Angel-Alvarado 2020); it may be simultaneously affected by the musical routine of relatives, musical culture at academic or working organizations, and close friends' musical preferences. Therefore, sociomusical identity refers inextricably to the representation of the family history or genealogy because, according to Kippen (2002), it determines social positions in functions of individual behaviors exhibited to the community through singing,

instrumental playing, dancing, listening, aesthetical sense, creative thinking, and/or any other communal activities undertaken by the community. For instance, family environments may influence music learning through backgrounds, dispositions, and expectations, even when demographic and cognitive variables are controlled for (Corrigal and Schellenberg 2015; Sloboda and Howe 1991).

Considering the above, we aim to observe the influence of social groups in the construction of sociomusical identity, considering a sample comprised of students who attended schools in socially vulnerable conditions because, according to Söderman and Sernhede (2016), schools tend to teach musical styles belonging to the *milieu* in marginalized environments. The Chilean school system serves as an ideal research context for three reasons: 1) only two in five learners attend schools with a music room (Duarte, Juareguiberry, and Racimo 2017); 2) public schools mainly teach students of the country's most socioeconomically disadvantaged families (Durán and Kremerman 2015), who, in Chile make a median income per capita of USD 490 (National Institute for Statistics, 2020); and 3) learners and teachers from public schools convey grades of disconformity regarding facilities and provisions for music education (Angel-Alvarado and Lira-Cerda 2017; Angel-Alvarado, Quiroga-Fuentes, and Gárate-Gónzalez 2022). Therefore, the Chilean school system does not ensure equal opportunities for accessing music lessons, depriving mainly students who attend public schools. Hence, the term social vulnerability is understood as a contextual factor in the current study, encouraging critical conversations in the public eye to overcome those social inequities.

Our methodological position is to explore statistical patterns of variation in sociomusical identity of school-goers who attend public schools classified governmentally in a condition of social vulnerability in order to identify existent musical gaps within a particular schooling context. Thus, the theoretical variable is

centered on sociomusical identity of school-goers, contextualizing the study in a set of public schools attended by students who live in environments of extreme poverty, as our intention is to contribute to the improvement of their conditions and opportunities. Those schools are managed by one local council from the Colchagua province, through its Department of Education. This has served to homogenize demographic aspects of the sampling unit. We thus identify the following research question: What patterns of variation are identified in sociomusical identity from the viewpoint of school-goers?

Understanding identity from a sociomusical perspective

Bourdieu (1986) defines sociocultural capital as an individual's dispositions, cultural goods, educational qualifications, and membership in a group or groups, including family, nationality, neighborhood, and social class/socioeconomic status. All of these provide capital that can be exchanged for other forms of capital and experience because "the different types and subtypes of capital at a given moment in time represent the immanent structure of the social world" (Bourdieu 1986, 242). In this regard, *sociomusical capital* is proposed as a subtype of *sociocultural capital*, given that personal and collective experiences can be analyzed from a perspective centered on music as a social practice (i.e., Fuhrmann, 2011). Therefore, there are "things people know but never need to explain" (Weidman 2012, 230).

Social differences may be observed in the distribution of sociomusical capital because personal experiences intertwine with the social world's immanent structure (Bernal, Castro-Tejerina, and Blanco 2017), promoting sociomusical mobilization (Hennion 2016). Hence, society plays a determinant role in sociomusical identity construction because, on the one hand, each social group provides specific musical goods and, on the other hand, every individual internalizes sociomusical capital in a

particular way. Given that sociomusical identity is inextricably linked to family history, we consider that "no family genealogy or history can be wholly trusted as a representation of fact, but that does not mean all are in every aspect untrue. Certainly, any reasonably representative genealogy is the result of long and detailed research" (Kippen 2002, 114).

Sociomusical identity encompasses elements of modern life with ancestral knowledge holistically through the inclusion of foreign, electronic, or digital instrumentation in local performance (Guerrero 2007), giving rise to processes of "preservation, adaptation and innovation" (Harnish 2005, 265). In other words, sociomusical identity can be understood from a cross-hybridization process because it "interprets cultural contacts as the source of a syncretism that is established in a third space and creates a new kind of identity and otherness" (Steingress 2004a, 187). Hence, the cross-hybridization process explains fusion music from a perspective based on interculturality and post-ethnicity (Casas-Mas 2018; Van Klyton 2014) because ancestral legacies and symbolic aboriginal representations are intertwined with contemporary heritage and the world (Moore 2016). Therefore, the cross-hybridization process is understood as culture mixing because there is a reciprocal interchange of elements between colonized and colonizer communities (i.e., Waterman 1993). It implies establishing epistemological differences between transculturation and fusion (cf. Steingress 2004b).

In light of the above, sociomusical identity can be reinforced in any social group because all communities have a historical background, traditions, upbringing styles, and social positions (cf. Casas-Mas, Pozo, and Montero 2014; Casas-Mas, Pozo, and Scheuer 2015). However, neoliberal culture provokes sociomusical gaps among social groups because, in addition to distinctions by social classes, local music tends to be

hidden by the global capital (Rosabal-Coto 2019). In this way, stereotypes linked to social segregation and exclusion are incited because, on the one hand, socioeconomically disadvantaged groups have limited chances for buying musical instruments and enrolling in music conservatoires (Burland 2020) and, on the other hand, indigenous music is overlooked by urban citizens, mass media, and even national curriculum (Holguín and Shifres 2015).

Given that those stereotypes refer to social restrictions for developing participative musical behaviors, the current study establishes the following research hypothesis: If some social groups encourage active musical participation either in social meetings or public events and others do not, then the ones where active musical participation is encouraged will strengthen sociomusical identity because their members live the music thoroughly.

Chilean educational system as a reflection of the role of music in the population

Musical diversity in Chile can be understood from the cross-hybridization process because inhabitants have permanently dealt with colonizer cultures. Concretely, native ancestors placed in Chile's current territory used to interact with the Inca culture before Spanish conquers arrival (v. Mendívil 2012), which served first to internalize Andean music deeply by the Native American influence and, subsequently, the *Decima Espinela* by the Spanish heritage (Astorga 2000). We emphasize that Andean music is a broad category, as it encompasses different Native American rhythms (cf. González 2012). The same occurs with the *Decima Espinela*, as it was the seed of many musical forms of oral tradition (i.e., Casals 2019). Over time, *Decima Espinela* has kept its traditional structure in lyrics and sound aspects, even when Violeta Parra and Victor Jara mixed some elements with other music genres (Vilches 2004). However, Andean music has

evolved beyond the mixture or fusion with other rhythms because new musical styles have arisen, which have their own sociomusical capital (Steingress 2004b). For instance, Andean music was mixed with a Latin rhythm called cumbia in the '90s, emerging the *Sound* music (Guerrero 2007). There are other examples between the '60s and '80s, highlighting famous Chilean bands, such as *Los Jaivas*, *Inti Illimani*, *Quilapayún*, *Congreso*, and *Illapu* (i.e., González 2012). Lately, Andean music is also blended with pop music and electronic music.

The evolution of those musical forms has provoked a social dispersion regarding musical preferences of the national population because, according to the Second Chilean Survey on Cultural Participation and Consumption (National Council of Culture and Arts 2011): 1) individuals with lower levels of education and income enjoy Latin rhythms, such as the cumbia and Mexican music; 2) the middle-income group displays preferences towards love songs in Spanish language, *Decima Espinela*, and Latin rhythms; and 3) socioeconomically privileged population prefers classical music and English-speaking songs. Therefore, musical preferences in Chilean society are linked to social stereotypes, as sheet music and foreign music depicts the repertoire listened to by elite's families. In contrast, the other social classes enjoy listening to Latin rhythms and cross-hybrid music at home.

Social stereotypes are replicated in the Chilean education system, as public schools enroll mainly learners who come from socioeconomically disadvantaged families (i.e., Durán and Kremerman 2015). Regarding music as a subject in public schools, many primary and secondary schools have no music room, which evokes negative feelings in learners (Angel-Alvarado and Lira-Cerda 2017) due to the fact that music lessons are imparted in other facilities, including playgrounds (Angel-Alvarado, Quiroga-Fuentes, and Gárate-Gónzalez 2022). From the national curriculum, Music is a

compulsory subject in primary education and an elective subject in secondary education. In both cases, 90 minutes per week are allocated to the subject, imparted in one session or divided into two lessons of 45 minutes each. The curricular focus is centered on musical creativity (Ministry of Education 2016). However, such a governmental objective is not met because activities linked to improvisation or composition are scarcely implemented in classroom settings (Angel-Alvarado 2018), thus limiting creative processes.

Method

This study is understood as a cross-sectional and descriptive nonexperimental quantitative design because it does not entail the intervention of the observed context. The chosen quantitative method is survey research (Johnson 2001), where ordinal data are collected in order to describe sociomusical differences through percentages. The survey research method is appropriate for collecting data from a predeterminant group of respondents, comprising in the current study school-goers who attend public schools classified governmentally in a condition of social vulnerability. Due to the high likelihood of participant marginalization, investigation of the participant stories might not conform to the analysis of statistical differences within the homogenized group.

Our research purpose is to identify patterns of variation in sociomusical identity from the viewpoint of school-goers who attend public schools classified in a condition of social vulnerability, with all those learners living in a *milieu* of extreme poverty. Marginalization is an intrinsic part of the study because the "context is not a mere data container" (Angel-Alvarado, Wilhelmi, and Belletich 2019, 344), but it is a "key component of the theory validation process" (Barab 2014, 153). However, it does not mean that economic variables will be included in the model, as the sampling unit is

homogeneous in socioeconomic terms. It would be inappropriate to try to find statistical differences from an economic standpoint. In other words, matters referred to as social classes or privileges are excluded from this particular research. Nevertheless, those topics will be analyzed soon because this article is part of a larger research plan.

Participants

The simple random sample was comprised of 417 students who attended music lessons weekly at public schools situated in the Colchagua province, a renowned Chilean area in agriculture and viniculture matters. The sample size was calculated using the official number of school-goers indicated by the Municipal Corporation of the Colchagua's capital (2018). Such a sampling unit has statistical representativeness because the sample size was calculated based on four technical conditions (Hair, Celsi, Money, Samouel, and Page 2011): 95% confidence level (α-1), 5% margin of error, 50% sample proportion, and 10% expected loss ratio. 248 participants studied the latter primary education levels (nine to twelve years old). The other 169 learners attended lower secondary education (thirteen to sixteen years old). The difference in sample size between both student clusters is caused by environmental factors, as music education is a compulsory subject only in primary education (Ministry of Education 2016). In addition, all participants had the ability to read and could follow instructions for filling out a form. They also had academic experience in the application of standardized tests, which was convenient because two scales were applied in data collection. Thus, the sampling unit is sufficient and appropriate for carrying out this study.

Enrolled participants come from nine different public schools, for a total population of 2,252 students. According to the National System for Allocation with Equality (SINAE, by its acronym in Spanish), those institutions are classified in a

condition of social vulnerability because the School Vulnerability Index categorizes them in the first of three levels of priority. That is, the SINAE and the Ministry of Education officially recognise that these schools support many learners who undergo situations of extreme poverty and high risks of school failure. In infrastructural terms, no participant school has a music room, while extracurricular activities linked to music are offered in only two of the nine schools.

Measures

Sociomusical activities in music lessons. The Scale for Musical Activity at School (EAME by its acronym in Spanish; Angel-Alvarado 2018) was applied to collect descriptive data from students, with a focus on social situations encouraged by teachers in music lessons. That is, EAME considers interactions within classroom settings, as students interact with the music teacher and classmates. Specifically, those social situations are distributed in nine items through three dimensions. First, learner autonomy (3 items, e.g., In music lesson, my teacher respects my musical tastes). Secondly, musical competencies (3 items, e.g., In music lesson, my teacher support me to improve my musical skills). Lastly, interaction among peers (3 items, e.g., In music lesson, my teacher invites me to participate as a musician in school ceremonies and celebrations). All items are rated on a five-point Likert-type scale, establishing a range from 1 (never) to 5 (always). The application of the EAME has revealed an internal consistency because the Cronbach alpha indicated a coefficient of .86 (Clayson 2018). In addition, the goodness-of-fit indices were acceptable (χ^2 = 72.58; df = 24; IFI $\geq$ .90; TLI $\geq$ .90; CFI $\geq$ .90; RMSEA $\leq$ .08).

Musical preferences at home. Two questions were posed to participants in order to delve into the musical tastes of heads of household (first question: Which kind of music

does the head of your family listen to?) and their own (second question: Which kind of music do you like?). Thus, students could indicate as many musical styles as they wished. However, collected data were inductively organized in three categories, taking the Second Chilean Survey on Cultural Participation and Consumption (National Council of Culture and Arts 2011) as a reference. These categories are 1) cross-hybrid music, such as cumbia or Latin music; 2) love songs in the Spanish language; and 3) sheet music and foreign music, applicable to classical and popular music in a foreign tongue.

Sociomusical activities outside of school. The Sociomusical Activities' Survey for Students (EASS by its acronym in Spanish; Angel-Alvarado 2012), which was validated by an expert panel, was applied to gather descriptive data about musical customs in external environments of the school, considering interactions with parents, relatives, friends, and mass media. Concretely, 15 items are distributed in three dimensions. First, music in family relationships (5 items, e.g., My parents sing or play an instrument in social meetings). Secondly, social habits linked to musical consumption (4 items, e.g., I go to music events). Lastly, social matters concerning musical performance (6 items, e.g., I like to perform in music events). Items are rated on a five-point Likert-type scale, establishing a range from 1 (never) to 5 (always). The EASS application has displayed an internal consistency with the Cronbach alpha, indicating a coefficient of .87 (Clayson 2018). In addition, the goodness-of-fit indices were acceptable ($\chi^2 = 266.24$; df = 87; IFI ≥ .90; TLI ≥ .90; CFI ≥ .90; RMSEA ≤ .08).

Data collection procedures

In 2017, public schools from Colchagua province received a Google Form that included EAME, EASS, and the two questions to carry out data collection at the computer

laboratory, under teacher supervision. Before data collection, school communities received information about the study's purpose and the protocol for protecting ethical research codes in conformity with Chilean Law 20.120, which considers parent consents, children's assents, and written authorization provided by principals. Each document stated that no personal information was required. Besides, learners had the chance to leave the procedure at any moment. After two weeks of data collection, the research team blocked access to the Google Form in a coordinated way with schools. Regarding operational data, 80% of students expressed that the Google Form was easy to reply to, and 85% of the sample indicated that participation in this data collection was important for them.

Data analysis procedures

In addition to descriptive statistics linked to percentages, a bivariate correlation is calculated through the r of Pearson for specifically establishing the direction and magnitude of the association between musical preferences of students and heads of household (Stangor 2015), considering both the total sample and student clusters, as differences may emerge between children and adolescents. Subsequently, patterns of variation in sociomusical identity are analyzed through a multiple regression procedure, obtaining the variable of sociomusical identity from the ranking generated by SPSS through the summation of EAME and EASS (Hinton and McMurray 2017).

Concretely, multiple regression puts the focus on the R-square change (R^2 Change), given that it indicates the contribution of each variable in R-square (Bryman and Cramer 2005), also informing values of the change through the *F* test and the significance of F-Change that is linked to the reliability of predictions (Minkov 2013). Therefore, the R-square change is "more important than a R-square value itself. A significant R-square change…, means that an additional predictor can explain a

significant amount of the variance in the dependent variable and hence add additional explanation power to the model" (Mahmood 2007, 67). In the analysis of sociomusical identity patterns, the eta squared (η^2) is also used as the effect size because it "measures the proportion of the variation in Y that is associated with membership of the different groups defined by X" (Richardson 2011, 136). That is, it may be understood as R-square in the ANOVA (Fritz, Morris, and Richler 2012), highlighting that η^2 "can take on values between 0 and 1 and is interpreted as the percentage of the total variance explained by a given effect" (Meyers, Gamst, and Guarino 2006, 297).

Results

Influence inside school: Teachers

Music teachers promote learner autonomy during classroom settings because three-quarters of students conveyed that their musical skills are considered acceptable by educators. Likewise, 70% of participants pointed out that educators respect their musical preferences, although only two in five students stated that music teachers show interest in their musical tastes. Also, two-thirds of students expressed that music teachers authorize the use of a favorite musical instrument during lessons. Regarding musical competencies, musical competencies are scarcely promoted during music lessons, to the point that one in four learners is unsatisfied with teacher performance in tasks' distribution, presentation of instructions, and improvement of musical skills. Lastly, social interaction among classmates is promoted during music lessons, as two-thirds of participants expressed that music teachers encourage teamwork. We also report that only one in three students received an invitation from a music teacher to participate in school ceremonies and celebrations as a musician or singer.

Influence outside school: Family members

Table 1 displays differences between student clusters and musical tastes. Firstly, cross-hybrid music is predilected by primary students, while the secondary learners' musical preferences are distributed in a more balanced way through the three categories. Nonetheless, sheet music and foreign music is the least favorite of both student clusters. Regarding heads of the family (Table 2), mothers are recognized as breadwinners generally by learners, which is consistent with the national trend reported by the National Institute for Statistics (2018). According to secondary students, breadwinners' musical preferences are oriented towards love songs in the Spanish language. In contrast, primary learners expressed that their heads of the family prefer cross-hybrid music, identifying grandparents in addition to mothers as the maximum family authority at home. In general, those breadwinners enjoy cumbia and Latin music, respectively. Again, sheet music and foreign music is seen as the least preferred according to school-goers' answers. Therefore, musical preferences reported by the Second Chilean Survey on Cultural Participation and Consumption are replicated.

Table 1. Percentage distribution of sampling unit according to musical preferences.

	Primary Education		Secondary Education	
	Head of the family	Students	Head of the family	Students
Sheet music and foreign music	10%	12%	14%	19%
Love songs in Spanish	24%	16%	53%	36%
Cross-hybrid music	66%	72%	33%	45%

Table 2. Percentage distribution of heads of the households in each student group.

	Head of the family in primary education	Head of the family in secondary education
Mother	47%	54%
Father	31%	37%
Other	22%	9%

Bivariate correlations (Table 3) indicated that the musical tastes of students are positively, weakly, and significantly correlated with data obtained from heads of the

household ($\rho \le .05$) in both student clusters. Those correlations can be explained because both student clusters recognized a mutual interest with parents regarding musical preferences. Concretely, between 50% and 60% of learners expressed an interest in parents' musical tastes and, conversely, they perceive that their parents wish to know about their favorite music. Lastly, more than 65% of the school-goers admitted that family meetings do not include musical activities linked to singing or playing instruments. Likewise, half of the total sample reported that relatives do not recognize them as good musicians or singers.

Table 3. Bivariate correlation between musical preferences of students and heads of the household.

| | Musical preferences of heads of the household | | |
	Primary Education	Secondary Education	Full sample
Musical preference of students			
a. Pearson correlation	.315**	.272**	.340**
b. Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000
c. N	248	169	417

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

Influence outside school and home: Society

Sociomusical relationships with friends and mass media are mainly based on music consumption because half of the participants enjoy sharing music with friends and watching or listening to music programs. However, two-thirds of participant students admitted that they do not go to live music events. Regarding performative musical interactions, more than half of the total sample does not participate actively in social events as a performer, does not feel appreciated as a musician or singer by friends, nor is interested in working during adulthood in something related to music. In addition to this, 55% of participant students have reported that close friends do not participate actively in musical activities as performers.

Patterns of variation in sociomusical identity

In Table 4, the R-square change column demonstrates that musical performance is the explanatory variable of the variation in sociomusical identity. Such a finding is ratified by η^2 because the musical performance variable explains between 59% and 75% of the variation in sociomusical identity. Other response variables, despite the existence of statistical differences between student clusters, also served for improving predictions referred to the variation in sociomusical identity because significant F-Change values give an account of the reliability of forecasts ($\rho \leq .05$). However, those response variables provide a little contribution, as R-square change's highest coefficient indicates only 19%.

Table 4. Determination coefficients and effect sizes of variables, according to sociomusical identity.

	R^2	R^2-Change	F-Change	Sig. F-Change	η^2
Full Sample					
a. Musical performance	.620	.620	676.21	.000	.61
b. Musical competencies	.776	.157	289.84	.000	.36
c. Interaction among peers	.832	.055	135.35	.000	.39
d. Musical consumption	.873	.042	134.78	.000	.49
e. Family	.896	.023	90.025	.000	.40
f. Learner autonomy	.911	.016	72.463	.000	.38
Primary education students					
a. Musical performance	.571	.571	327.04	.000	.59
b. Musical competencies	.760	.189	192.66	.000	.40
c. Interaction among peers	.819	.059	79.16	.000	.41
d. Musical consumption	.859	.040	69.16	.000	.54
e. Family	.886	.027	57.42	.000	.46
f. Learner autonomy	.902	.016	39.55	.000	.48
Secondary education students					
a. Musical performance	.687	.687	366.49	.000	.75
b. Interaction among peers	.832	.145	142.65	.000	.61
c. Musical consumption	.875	.044	57.878	.000	.73
d. Learner autonomy	.899	.024	39.197	.000	.52
e. Family	.916	.016	31.821	.000	.62
f. Musical competencies	.926	.010	22.166	.000	.57

Therefore, the musical performance variable explains and predicts social differences in the distribution of sociomusical capital. It reveals that, just as Western culture fosters the musician-listener dualism, it also causes gaps in sociomusical identity

because some social groups pose limitations for living the music thoroughly. Consequently, the research hypothesis is accepted, which implies that sociomusical identity is strengthened only in social groups where active musical participation is encouraged, as those communities ease the internalization of several musical identities. Social groups that promote a sole musical identity based on musical consumption do not encourage sociomusical identity strengthening, as the Western culture's reductionism biases individuals' visions.

Discussion and Conclusions

In this research, we have been identified at least five differentiation points in the students' sociomusical identity (Figure 1). Firstly, the lack of musical provisions at school debilitates sociomusical identity construction because some students have no chance of learning to play a favorite musical instrument (in line with Burland 2020). Secondly, some learners are unsatisfied with teacher performance in matters linked to the improvement of musical skills, which suggests a sense of disconformity regarding the role of music teaching in their lives found in earlier studies (i.e., Angel-Alvarado 2020). Thirdly, most students have never received an invitation from music teachers to participate actively in school music ceremonies and celebrations, preventing them from living experiences as performers, but forcing them to behave as listeners within an audience. That being said, the students' sociomusical identity is weakened usually in public schools because teaching strategies promote the musician-listener dualism introduced earlier (Heimonen and Hebert, 2010; McPherson, Davidson, and Faulkner 2012), causing few learners to have chances to participate actively and autonomously in musical activities, both in processes of personal learning, classroom settings, and public events (Green 2011).
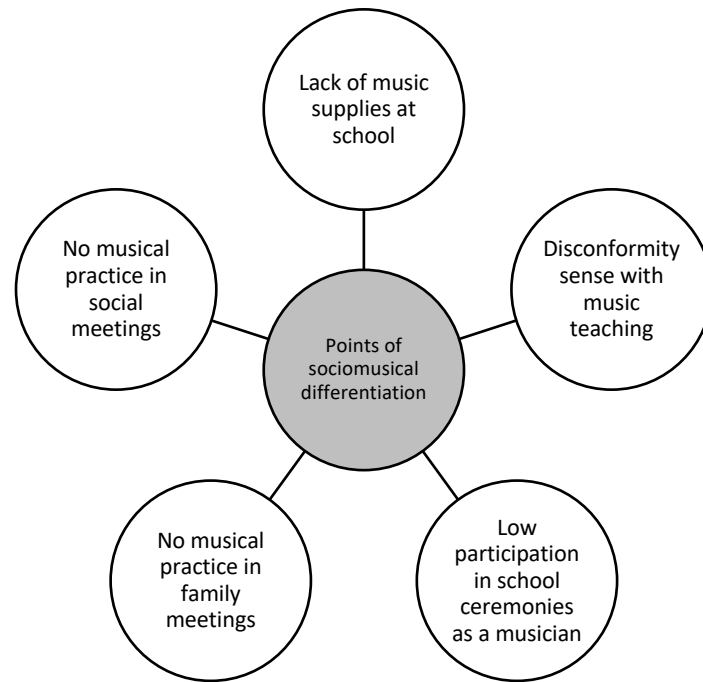
Figure 1. Five points of sociomusical differentiation.

Fourth, most participants state no performative participation in social meetings or public events outside of schools, and their close friends do not participate actively in social gatherings as performers either. Therefore, sociomusical identity tends to be debilitated by society because few individuals display performative behaviors as musicians, singers, dancers, and/or any other sociomusical role required by the community. That is, musical identities are mainly restricted to musical consumption (Tucker 2010), either sharing music with friends or consuming music programs through global media. Lastly, sociomusical identity is also debilitated by the family. Concretely, in environments where relatives do not tend to behave as performers, few children and adolescents experience collective activities linked to singing or instrumental playing in family meetings. Hence, they have limited chances to be recognized as good singers or instrumental players by relatives. Consequently, new generations are internalizing a weak sociomusical identity because ancestors, rather than transferring participative musical behaviors for living the music thoroughly, promote the assimilation of the

Western culture's reductionism from a perspective based on musical consumption (Heimonen and Herbert 2010). In other words, individuals accept the social position of contemplative listener intergenerationally (Kippen 2002), which makes it plausible that representative sociomusical genealogies may be constructed to differentiate between emerging sociomusical gaps and others that are transferred from generation to generation.

These five differentiation points are centered on social matters concerning musical performance, which should not be reduced to mere technical actions, as it entails an active and convergent mobilization of many individuals (Hennion 2016). In other words, many 'historical-cultural, socio-institutional, artefactual, affective and motivational aspects converge and mediate in this contextual, multi-modal and hybridized musical experience, vesting it with much broader sense and meaning' (Bernal, Castro-Tejerina, and Blanco 2017, 82). That being said, it is evident that each social group possesses a sociomusical capital, such that every individual inherently develops a sociomusical identity (Angel-Alvarado 2020; Weidman 2012). However, it can be strengthened or debilitated throughout life by personal interests or ecological reasons because the sociomusical identity is permanently constructed in a never-ending cycle (Van Klyton 2014), either explicitly or not; but also in connection to family members, peers, and music professionals who, as a social group within a specific culture, have a strong influence on students' identity building and choices regarding their education across life (López-Íñiguez and Burnard, 2022).

Last but not least, we conclude that this research has policy implications for education, as Chilean schools should implement projects, both for acquiring equipment for music education and encouraging teacher professional development in matters centered on participative musical activities, classroom management techniques, and

sociomusical approach. In the same line, the results derived from this research might inform practices in other contexts across the globe where similar unsupportive environments are found, which would serve to put under scrutiny the compliance of the goals established by UNESCO through the Seoul Agenda and the Five Music Rights proposed by the International Music Council. In this regard, Duarte, Juareguiberry, and Racimo (2017) highlight that the Chilean school system has the best condition for imparting music education in Latin America, but, even so, patterns of sociomusical differentiation are seen in this study between students who attend schools managed by the same administration. Supranational conventions should be questioned in Latin America, as access to proper music education may be understood more as a privilege than as a human right.

In light of these findings, we propose some international relevance implications regarding sociomusical identity. First, this study should be replicated in other environments to understand the sociomusical identity in-depth, establishing analytical differences between two or more societies. At this point, we emphasize that any replication should be focused only on the analytical construction of criteria, degrees, and levels of sociomusical differentiation under purposes linked to social analysis, avoiding any value judgment that implies the promotion of social stereotypes and stigmatizations. Secondly, we propose delving into sociomusical genealogies to understand society's intergenerational evolution from a perspective based on identity, social gaps, interculturality, and the community's worldview (Aróstegui and Ibarretxe 2016; Fuhrmann 2011). Particularly, the decolonial approach should be used in the historical analysis of the Americas, as music teaching was colonized through the Concilium of Trent and the replication of the educational model from the Paris Conservatoire (Angel-Alvarado 2021). Finally, we encourage critical conversations in

the public eye to take the first strategic steps towards overcoming intergenerational inequities in the distribution of sociomusical capital, thus orienting music teaching and learning toward equal opportunities and human rights education (Angel-Alvarado and Trejo, 2022).

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