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Democratizing Taste on Classical Music for All

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Abstract

The right of every citizen to access cultural heritage, such as classical music, has been widely pointed out by international organizations. However, there are certain barriers that impede members of vulnerable groups from enjoying the benefits of this type of music, namely cultural elitism. Some authors have stated that the taste for classical music depends on the social class. Nevertheless, our research has found evidence that demonstrates that it is not so in nine different contexts. We present here results of Dialogic Music Gatherings (DMG), that demonstrate that everyone can enjoy classical music. Thus, the purpose of this article is to analyze the impact the DMG have had on widening participants' access to classical music and increasing the taste towards this music from very diverse age and socioeconomic groups. To that end, a survey study was conducted among nine education centers from elementary to adult education. Data has been analyzed through the Communicative Methodology by defining the transformative and exclusionary elements in relation to the access and taste towards the classical music. Results suggest these participants have accessed classical music and increased the taste towards this music after participating in the DMGs, regardless of their social and cultural background.

Keywords

Dialogic music gatherings, music masterpieces, dialogic learning, Successful Educational Actions

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Democratizando el Gusto por la Música Clásica para Todas las Personas

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Resumen

El derecho de toda persona a acceder al patrimonio cultural, como las mejores obras musicales, ha sido ampliamente señalado por las organizaciones internacionales. Sin embargo, existen ciertas barreras que impiden a miembros de grupos vulnerables disfrutar de los beneficios de este tipo de música, como es el elitismo cultural. Hay autores que afirman que el gusto por la música clásica depende de la clase social. Sin embargo, nuestra investigación ha encontrado evidencias que demuestran que no es así en nueve contextos diferentes. Presentamos aquí los resultados de las Tertulias Diálogicas Musicales (TDM), que demuestran que todas las personas pueden disfrutar de las mejores obras musicales. Así, el propósito de este artículo es analizar el impacto que la TDM ha tenido en la ampliación del acceso de sus participantes a las más grandes composiciones musicales y en el aumento del gusto hacia esta música por parte de grupos de edad y socioeconómicos muy diversos. Para ello, se ha llevado a cabo un estudio mediante encuesta entre nueve centros educativos, desde educación primaria hasta educación de personas adultas. Los datos han sido analizados a través de la Metodología Comunicativa definiendo los elementos transformadores y excluyentes en relación al acceso y gusto hacia las grandes obras musicales. Los resultados sugieren que los participantes pueden acceder a las mejores composiciones musicales y aumentar el gusto hacia esta música tras participar en los TDM, independientemente de su origen social y cultural.

Palabras clave

Tertulias dialógicas musicales, obras maestras de la música, aprendizaje dialógico, actuaciones educativas de éxito

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The need of preserving, valuing and transmitting through generations the patrimony (in all its forms) is specified in the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (Unesco, 2001) in order to establish a dialogue between different cultures and nurture creativity. This is consistent with the Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society, which points out that “every person has a right to engage with the cultural heritage of their choice, while respecting the rights and freedoms of others” (Council of Europe, 2005) (p.1).

However, unfortunately, not everybody has access to all the cultural patrimony’s goods, as it happens in the case of classical music. Although the objective of public policies should be to offer universal access to what are considered culturally unique practices (Wang, 2017), these continue being inaccessible for some citizens. This is related to the social and cognitive barriers that tend to be associated with classical music and that prevent potentially interested public from going to these concerts (Sarasúa et al., 2016).

The present study focuses, on the one hand, on understanding the barriers many individuals from vulnerable groups face regarding the access to classical music; and, on the other hand, on analyzing how Dialogic Music Gatherings foster both access and taste towards this music.

Barriers to Access Classical Music

One of the obstacles that prevent some individuals from vulnerable groups from enjoying classical music is related to the cultural elitism some authors have defended. More concretely, sociologists such as Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1986) stated that cultural capital is distributed according to the social classes, that is to say, a kind of art and taste is inextricably associated with each social class. According to the main concept of Bourdieu, the habitus (Bourdieu, 1987), which organizes both the activities and their perception as a consequence of the division of society in social classes, each condition has its intrinsic characteristics. These kinds of theories even assumed that only some erudite people were able to understand and interpret certain cultural works (Bourdieu, 1988).

Whereas these theories have widely influenced many researchers, many others have questioned and challenged them. On the one hand, it is known that in Mozart’s time the audience of his concerts was very diverse, and that a high percentage of that audience was formed by the people of the village, people from a humble origin (de Rus, 2008). Moreover, during the 19th century, opera mobilized European citizens to fight for their rights (Sánchez Sanz, 2016), which implied that classical music reached and had an impact on a very diverse audience. As an example, Verdi’s operas had a crucial role in the unification of Italy (Martin, 2005), and, in his death in 1901, 300,000 people gathered in Milan to farewell him by singing one of his most popular compositions: *Va, pensiero* (in addition, Verdi himself came from a humble origin).

As a response to that elitism, the Dialogic Gatherings have been widely researched and defined as a Successful Educational Action (SEA) for achieving optimal results internationally to democratize, among others, the best literature works (Flecha, 2000). Dialogic gatherings are one of the SEAs identified in the INCLUD-ED project (Flecha, 2015)

that foster academic success among very diverse students, are based on scientific evidence and respond to current society's needs. Since the Dialogic Literary Gatherings (DLGs) were born, the action was transferred to diverse areas such as art, music, mathematics or science. In this line, Dialogic Music Gatherings (DMGs) are one of the SEAs that help overcome the barriers that keep many people from vulnerable groups away from classical music.

Dialogic Gatherings (DG)

The first dialogic gatherings were created by reading the best literary works and started in La Verneda-Sant Martí Adult School from Barcelona, a working-class neighborhood where adult education could reverse the lack of academic education of their inhabitants (Aubert et al., 2016). In the DLGs, new readers who were receiving literacy classes shared works by Lorca, Machado, Joyce, Kafka and others (Flecha, 2000). This way, it was demonstrated that people with no academic studies could enjoy, learn and understand the universally valued works. Since then, this action has spread to different countries (Brazil, Chile or Australia), different institutions (schools, libraries) and with participants from all social classes, cultural groups and ages. In the DLGs, participants comment on the text through the paragraphs they have chosen. This way, each person chooses at least a paragraph and comments during the DLG why they have chosen it, to which the rest can respond, respecting the speaking time the facilitator gives (Lleras & Soler, 2003).

In the gatherings, all contributions are respected equally (not taking into account the academic studies or the origin of who makes it), as long as others' rights are not violated (Pulido-Rodríguez & Zepa, 2010). In addition, there is no one who has "the true interpretation" in the dialogic gatherings, nor a better opinion than another one (Flecha, 2000). DLGs have demonstrated to be very beneficial for participants from a low socioeconomic context, minority groups (Lopez de Aguilera, 2021) or students with special educational needs and difficulties to read (García-Carrión et al., 2020; Molina Roldán, 2015). Moreover, their transformative effects have been studied in diverse contexts, such as out-of-home care units (García Yeste et al., 2018).

The rapid success of the DLGs led to the creation of other dialogic gatherings in La Verneda-Sant Martí: art, literature, Catalan literature, literature written by women, mathematics and others. The first Dialogic Music Gathering (DMG) was created in 1983 by Ramon Flecha (CONFAPEA, 2006; Flecha, 1983), where together with the participants, they chose classical works (Giner i Gota, 2018) (p.105): "In these activities, works by Mozart, Chopin, Beethoven, Schubert, Schumann, Bach, Verdi, Tchaikovsky, Bizet, Ravel, Falla, Albéniz, Rodrigo, Vivaldi and Albinoni have already been heard". Since then, DMGs have been done in diverse places throughout the world and some important works have been carried out (Ibáñez Luque, 2016; Vivancos, 2003). However, this is the first scientific article resulting from an investigation about the DMGs.

One of the main aspects of the DLGs is that they are carried out with what universally are considered the best literature works: Sapho's poems, Shakespeare's plays and other great works. That way, instrumental learning, a principle of dialogic learning, is ensured (Mercer et al., 2016). Transferring this educational action to the music area, DMGs are done with those

music works universally most valued. On the one hand, many are the benefits these works have proven to foster (Burrai et al., 2020; Kanduri et al., 2015; Mammarella et al., 2007; Praise & Meenakshi, 2015; Trappe, 2010, 2020), as well as feelings of ease and pleasure (Liu et al., 2021; Parada-Cabaleiro et al., 2021). On the other hand, it is a way of ensuring participants are acquiring instrumental learning. For the functioning of DMGs, two key criteria are established: egalitarian dialogue and the election for humankind's most valued music works.

There is a wide array of research on the DLGs and their benefits (Aubert, 2015; López de Aguilera et al., 2020; Ruiz-Eugenio et al., 2020; Santiago-Garabieta et al., 2021). Nonetheless, less is known about their transference to the music field through the DMGs. Therefore, this study will provide an understanding of how DMGs can foster both access and development of the taste for classical music.

Methodology

A survey study has been carried out to understand the impact the DMGs have had on participants, regarding the access and taste for classical music, through the experience of 9 teachers and school principals. The objective of the study was to explore whether the DMGs increased the possibility to access classical music among very diverse participants, as well as to understand the changes that DMGs have fostered in the taste towards that music. Therefore, the functioning, the music works used for the DMGs, the dialogues created in the DMGs and other cultural and personal transformations were examined.

A questionnaire was sent to 9 educational centers from different education stages (from elementary to adult schools) and different socioeconomic areas. The questionnaire consisted of open questions that allowed us to gather experiences, perceptions and memories of respondents. The questionnaire was built using the Google forms tool and was divided into two sections. The first one was related to the sociodemographic characteristics of the educational center, with questions about the education level (kindergarten, elementary education, secondary education or adult education), the socioeconomic situation of the school, the type of area (rural or urban) and the province in which it was located. The second section was linked to the DMGs in the specific centers, and the questions made were about the musical compositions used, the functioning of the DMGs, the dialogues that were created in them, the increase in the taste for this kind of music among participants from low socioeconomic status and with no university degrees, and cultural, social and personal transformations created through the DMGs.

Participants

Participants of this study are music teachers and/or principals from 9 different educational centers who implement DMGs. Seven of them are from elementary education, whereas two are from adult education. Related to the socioeconomic status, five schools are in a low socioeconomic context, two in a medium-low context, one in a medium context and one in a medium-high context. In addition, one of the schools is a special needs school. All participant

schools were located in urban contexts in Spain (concretely, in Basque Country, Valencian Community and Catalonia). The participants were recruited by snowball sampling, being the inclusion criteria to have implemented DMGs periodically at least for one school year.

In relation to the characteristics of the participants of the DMGs, the answers of the respondents showed there was a great diversity: from 3-year-olds to adults, people with university degrees, people with no university degrees, students with cognitive disabilities, students with immigrant background and students from the Roma community. Table 1 describes the characteristics of participants.

Table 1

Participants' main characteristics

School	Province	Educational level	Socioeconomic level	Characteristics of participants
School 1	Catalonia	Elementary education	Low	Students, volunteers and family members.
School 2	Basque Country	Elementary Education	Low	Students aged between 8 and 13, great diversity regarding nationality and ethnicity.
School 3	Catalonia	Elementary education	Low	Students from 5th and 6th grade, most of them from an immigrant background.
School 4	Basque Country	Elementary education	Low	Students aged between 3 and 12 with a low academic level.
School 5	Valencia	Adult education	Medium-high	Adults who like music and have university degrees.
School 6	Valencia	Elementary education	Medium-low	Participants who have a moderate or light cognitive disability, aged between 15 to 21 years old. Different nationalities and cultures.
School 7	Valencia	Elementary education	Medium	Participants from kindergarten and elementary, family members and elderly people from day care units. Diverse socioeconomic and academic levels.
School 8	Valencia	Elementary education	Medium-low	Participants from families with a medium-low cultural level. Diversity regarding ethnicity and nationalities.
School 9	Catalonia	Adult education	Low	Participants from a working-class neighborhood with no tertiary studies. Diversity regarding ages and cultures. A mean age of 60 years.

Data analysis

The data analysis has been done following the principles of the Communicative Methodology, which aims to analyze both the elements that reproduce inequalities and the ones that overcome them (Gómez et al., 2011). Thus, the analysis is focused on studying the exclusionary elements and transformative elements. The first ones are those barriers certain individuals and groups face that prevent them from participating in certain practices, being in this case enjoying classical music. The second elements are the aspects that help overcome those barriers. This data analysis approach has been widely used in very diverse disciplines of social sciences, such as social work (García Yeste et al., 2018), gender studies (Puigvert et al., 2019) and economy (Redondo et al., 2011). Thus, in this particular case, the exclusionary elements are those that prevent people from accessing classical music and keep them away from developing a taste towards this music; whereas the transformative elements are the ones that overcome the barriers that some individuals face regarding the access and taste towards the music masterpieces of humankind.

Ethics Statement

The study was conducted according to the guidelines of the Declaration of Helsinki, and approved by the Ethics Committee of the Community of Research on Excellence for All (CREA) (protocol code 20210101 approved on 02/01/2021).

Informed consent was obtained from all subjects involved in the study. Participants were explained through the informed consent about the goal of the study, the amount of time it would take, the kind of questions that would be asked, the possibility to withdraw from the investigation whenever desired and the protection of their privacy.

Results

Our results indicated that, according to the respondents, these participants from the DMGs have listened to and discussed classical music, with a great variety of genres, countries and historical periods. In addition, the data analyzed had pointed that these participants from a low-socioeconomic status and those with no university degrees have had more access to the classical music and that the taste for these works has increased due to the DMGs. Moreover, DMGs had enhanced learning of musical concepts according to respondents. Finally, results point out that through the DMGs, these participants from vulnerable groups had overcome the barriers that kept them away from classical music according to respondents. Table 2 summarizes the main results.

Table 2

Summary of the results divided into the main categories.

	Exclusionary dimension	Transformative dimension
Access to classical music	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perception of lack of knowledge. • Perception of lack of socialization with classical music. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Universal Successful Educational Action • Instrumental learning • Inclusion • Social and emotional dimension, sentiments, values... • Transference beyond the educational center
Taste for classical music	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prejudices, cultural elitism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase of taste for classical music

Access to Classical Music

Regarding exclusionary elements in the access to classical music, the main element found is the perception of some participants of lack of musical understanding. This perception of lack of knowledge and level kept them away from listening to this music and accessing it, according to the facilitator of the DMGs in an adult school.

They would avoid listening to classical music because they thought they did not understand it, that it wasn't for them, that they were destined to listen to other types of music, more suited with their academic and social level. (...) I remember a man who had always been a doorman of a block of flats, he had no studies, he came to the DMG (...) He thought that he didn't understand classical music. He came to the first DMG and said: "I have come to give it a go, I don't know what this is about, I understand nothing of classical music. (P10)

However, a common element in the questionnaires is related to the learning of very diverse knowledge through the dialogues in the DMG. In fact, 6 out of the 9 teachers stated that participants had learned new musical concepts or elements related to music history. As an example, a teacher from a low socioeconomic context school explained how some students learn new musical concepts she had never taught in class before:

With pupils from 1st and 2nd grade, a student compared the pulse and the accent of the piece with the heartbeats. Listening to the composition, he explained in which moments he felt the heartbeat. The incredible thing is I had never talked about those concepts (pulse, accent) in music lessons, I hadn't even explained it with different words... He simply felt it, and without being conscient about it, he had learnt a very important part of the rhythm of an oeuvre. (P5)

This has also been seen in another excerpt analyzed as transformative, where children from a school located in a low socioeconomic context discussed about concepts related to music history and the biographies of the composers:

Once with a group from 5th and 6th grade about The Magic Flute, the session started with a discussion between two students about whether it was Mozart or Beethoven younger when they started giving concerts throughout Europe. (P2)

After participating in the DMGs, a music teacher answered that their students from an elementary school were able to compare the different music styles and composers.

First of all, their musical and cultural knowledge improves notably. (...) In addition, the way in which they connect knowledge, linking composers they have seen in previous DMGs, even reaching to compare different styles. (P9)

The DMGs allowed to share their thoughts about the classical music they listened to, as participants of the study reported. According to them, this context offered students the possibility to express their own opinions in a respectful environment and help them to overcome some of the barriers that used to impede them from enjoying this kind of music. As an elementary teacher reported:

A music piece can be felt in many different ways and all are correct, there is no correct answer. (...) If I can talk and share my opinion about a “great oeuvre” I make it mine, it is at my level or I am at its level, barriers and stereotypes are broken (P4)

Although most respondents explained how DMGs fostered learning related to music theory, it was explained that it was not a requirement to participate in the DMGs, that is, participants were encouraged to participate no matter what their music knowledge was.

We wanted to break the barrier that if you don't have music studies or knowledge you can't talk about classical music, that is what we did in the DMGs. It is about making an egalitarian dialogue, because the other way only the ones who know about music or interpretation can participate. (P10)

Students with special educational needs have also benefited from the DMGs according to respondents. One of the participants explained the transformation he had seen as a music teacher with his students with disabilities thanks to the dialogues created in the DMGs:

One of the most shocking transformations for me as a music teacher, is that a climate and a dialogue is created around a classical music piece, where everyone can talk in an orderly manner about that kind of music and what generates in them. (P7)

Through the participation in DMGs, participants who had never listened to classical music felt that the gap that separated them from this kind of music was smaller in the analyzed settings. In 4 of the centers, the respondents stated that participants felt after capable of listening to this kind of music and enjoy it more; moreover, they had transferred this to other contexts that were not the DMG. Some participants had also included this kind of music as one of the main activities of their spare-time. In humble contexts, as in the DMG group of an adult school, participants shared discounts, free tickets or whatever means they found in order to access the concerts they liked.

The same participants from the DMG activated themselves to get to know the cultural offer of the city. It is them who look for these options, they are looking for classical music for their leisure, in an autonomous way. They share the information, when they find free tickets for a show, and they would bring tickets for all participants from the DMG. (P10)

In addition, an empowerment in this sense has been seen in one of the respondents, who explained that elementary students from his school had an experience where they were able to comment critically the adaptation of an opera. These students, all of them from a low socioeconomic status and 92% of immigrant students, were able to tell the differences between the original *Rigoletto* and the adaptation they saw, and even liked the original one better than the adaptation that was supposed to be more suitable for children:

Another fact to highlight was the visit to the [name of the main opera house in a city]. Students from 6th grade went to see “*Rigoletto*” and came back very disgusted with the adaptation they had seen. They highlighted that it was a work for “children much smaller than us” and that they had changed details from the oeuvre. They had enjoyed the original work in class, they had even cried, and the adaptation they saw was very poor. (P4)

In fact, an episode explained by a music teacher in the questionnaires explains it can happen quite the opposite to what is usually thought, that is, that people with university degrees (or studying to obtain them) can be the ones who do not know about this music. In this case, students from the university came to her school as volunteers, and something that happened surprised her. An elementary student with special needs felt capable of pointing out when someone with a higher academic and socioeconomic status had made a wrong statement about classical music:

In the workshops, after some music pieces, Beethoven’s 5th Symphony appeared. One of the volunteers said: ‘this is Mozart, right?’ And a boy with special educational needs answered her: ‘Not at all! It’s Beethoven’s 5th Symphony.’ The volunteer was taken aback, and I couldn’t feel prouder. (P5)

Taste for Classical Music

Prejudices were found related to the perception that people from vulnerable groups should like other kinds of music rather than classical music because of their socioeconomic or cultural background. The cultural elitism usually spread had penetrated in some participants and that prevented them from enjoying and listening to classical music, as respondents stated. The facilitator of the DMG in an adult school explained it:

They can like it, I can’t say if they like it or not. They can like it as everyone else, not because of having a low socioeconomic and academic level they like it less. But it is true, as it is considered that it is a genre only for certain people, they had auto-generated this image, that they couldn’t like it and that it wasn’t for them. They would say: “It wasn’t for me this music, I had to like other things.” It isn’t that they couldn’t like it, but that they hadn’t had the chance and the image these people had auto-generated towards classical music had too much weight. (...) They had this barrier, they were always told that this kind of music wasn’t for them. (P10)

Regarding the taste towards classical music, all teachers answered that, according to their perception, participants’ taste towards classical music increased after being involved in the DMGs. According to one participant,

It is not that the taste for this music increases. It changes radically. That is to say, it is something they didn't have. They would avoid listening to classical music because they considered they couldn't understand it, that they didn't like it, and that it wasn't something made for them. That they were destined to listen to other kinds of music, more suited to their academic and social level. (...) It is incredible how that changes so radically through the DMGs. (P10)

As an indicator of this change of taste, another teacher explained how the kind of music her pupils usually asked to listen to changed after the first DMG in her low socioeconomic status elementary school:

After the first gathering, in the workshops, students started asking me to put classical music on Youtube (before, they would only ask for "reggaeton" music) (P5)

Other examples show this phenomenon did not stay in school, but it went beyond. In this case, the case of a student who used to switch the channel whenever classical music was on TV is explained.

A thing that surprised us was the intervention of a student that said that, since we do DMGs, there is much more classical music on television. That is her perception, as now she doesn't switch the channel when she sees classical music. (P4)

Discussion

Despite the right to access and enjoy cultural heritage in all its forms has been stressed by many international organizations (Council of Europe, 2005; Unesco, 2001), not everyone has the same access to classical music, and efforts have been made to bring closer this kind of music to all citizens and overcome cultural elitism. However, less is known about which are the actions that make classical music accessible for a very diverse audience, and particularly for the most vulnerable populations. Thus, this article aimed to assess the impact the Dialogic Music Gatherings have in order to democratize classical music, the same way Dialogic Gatherings, such as Literary, have done with the best literary works (Flecha, 2000; Llopis et al., 2016; Soler, 2015).

Overall, the findings of this study show, in these 9 contexts, that there are some exclusionary elements that had previously prevented participants from vulnerable groups from accessing and developing a taste towards classical music. Namely, the perception by some of the participants that they did not have enough knowledge to understand these oeuvres was seen as an impediment to access this music. This is consistent with previous research that evidenced that classical music tends to be linked with certain cognitive and social barriers that prevent some individuals from enjoying it (Sarasúa et al., 2016)

However, among transformative elements, according to respondents, participants of these 9 contexts had learnt musical concepts, while important topics related to participants' lives and experience had aroused through the debate about the music. Previous literature has already pointed out the benefits of dialogic learning in both instrumental knowledge (Flecha

& Soler, 2013) and values, feelings and relationships (León-Jiménez et al., 2020). Moreover, in the case of the adult school, it must be added that dialogical spaces such as the gatherings promote wellbeing and friendship among older people (León-Jiménez, 2020).

Another transformative element is that, through egalitarian dialogue, participants of this study, no matter what their musical knowledge or socioeconomic level were, could comment on classical music as respondents stated. Following the principles of dialogic learning (Flecha, 2000), as the teachers explained, helped participants from the DMG feel they were at the same level of these great compositions and foster the access to them. Not only had they enjoyed music masterpieces, but they had also dared to interpret and comment on classical music, showing that not only the erudite people (Bourdieu, 1988) are capable of doing so.

Many participants, before the DMGs, held stereotypes about which music taste belonged to each social class, as some studies have shown that many people associate (Cian et al., 2021). After participating in the DMGs, the barriers and stereotypes that had kept some participants from vulnerable groups away from classical music were overcome and now this music was part of their leisure time, as explained by respondents. Also, a change of the attitude towards classical music was seen, especially in those cases where initially a bad disposition had been shown. This is consistent with previous research, where evidence has shown a change in attitudes through the use of successful educational actions (Díez-Palomar et al., 2020).

Thus, the results of this study have shown that in the studied nine contexts participants from low socioeconomic contexts had increased the taste towards classical music after participating in the DMGs according to respondents. Therefore, these findings challenge the assumptions that have usually been made such as the concept of habitus (Bourdieu, 1987). In fact, participants from vulnerable groups had shown to like something that, according to those theories, is not linked to their social status. Indeed, participants in the analyzed DMGs were children and adults mainly from low SES, people with disabilities, with an immigrant background or belonging to an ethnic minority and very diverse religious beliefs who have listened to classical music.

Limitations of the study must be noted. First, the results have shown that the DMGs have increased the taste for classical music in these 9 contexts, but the sustainability of those effects remains unknown. Secondly, all the participants of this study are from educational centers in Spain, although there was a big diversity regarding the origin of the participants of the DMGs.

Conclusion

In the case of classical music, scientific literature has already shown that many people are prevented from listening and enjoying classical music due to the extended cultural elitism. Some sociological theories have spread the idea of an inextricable link between taste for music and social class. The present research, through the Dialogic Music Gatherings, challenge this idea through showing the changes towards classical music in 9 contexts. Most of the participants of the analyzed DMGs belonged to low socioeconomic status.

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