

# A Musical-Psychosocial Model for attending to Victims of the Armed Conflict in Colombia: contributions and challenges

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## ABSTRACT

This article is a product of systematic academic research and explores the contributions and challenges of a musical-psychosocial model developed through the Music for Reconciliation programme run by the Batuta National Foundation in Colombia. The aim of this programme is to attend to the needs of young victims of the armed conflict in Colombia through group music making. Although this dual proposal is extremely valuable for the communities suffering the consequences of the war, challenges have also arisen in its implementation. The study reviews the contributions of the project's psychosocial component, and explores the possible tensions for social and music professionals seeking to meet the aims established in their respective areas of responsibility. The study raises questions about how musical and psychosocial dimensions can develop a complementary relationship, rather than competing with each other.

## KEYWORDS

Music programme; psychosocial attention; peacebuilding; armed conflict; Colombia

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## INTRODUCTION

Peacebuilding today must go beyond the political and economic dimension to fathom social and individual levels (Urbain, 2016), seeking to rebuild individuals' lives and their social fabric (Rodríguez-Sánchez, 2013). Peacebuilding is therefore expressed in the gestures of coexistence and reconciliation through which communal life can be rebuilt (Kos, 2018; Lederach, 1998).

In conflict situations, examining Psychosocial impact leads to a more sophisticated understanding of the consequences violent acts of war have for individuals and communities (Arévalo, 2010; Ibañez & Moya, 2000; Pérez-Sales, 2016; Summerfield, 1999). The term psychosocial was analysed in depth by the Spanish social psychologist and priest Ignacio Martín-Baró. While living in El Salvador, Martín-Baró observed that neither the medical model (Cooper, 1972; Szasz, 1961) nor the main psychiatric schools of the time were able to explain the mental health situations of the victims of socio-political violence in that country. Martín-Baró concluded that in contrast to the model affirming mental health as an exclusively individual responsibility, mental health could be understood as a dimension of the relationships among people and groups rather than an individual state (Martín-Baró, 1984).

Ibañez-Rojo (2000) describes how Martín-Baró's proposal generated a current of thought and accompaniment in which trauma was understood to be a dialectic that must be explained in terms of the individual's relationship with society and its history. In this context, understanding and resolving emotional damage entails exploring the social conditions that cause that damage as well as the individual's condition.

Colombia, a country that has suffered more than six decades of armed conflict in which 81% of victims have been civilians, has seen many peacebuilding initiatives established to address the impacts of violence (Ramírez, 2011). Among these are to be found collective musical programmes for victims of the armed conflict. Such programmes are based on evidence of the contributions of music as spaces of both individual and collective recovery (Rodríguez-Sánchez & Cadedo-Mas, 2017).

The study described in this article was carried out in four centres of the Music for Reconciliation programme (MpR)<sup>1</sup> run by the Batuta National Foundation (FNB)<sup>2</sup> in Colombia. The FNB emerged in 1991 in the midst of a complex situation of armed violence in Colombia that had by then lasted for forty years, and that still continues today.<sup>3</sup> In 2011 the MpR programme was created specifically to support the rehabilitation of victims of the armed conflict. Unlike the FNB's previous music training projects with victims of violence, the MpR programme also includes a psychosocial component.

This article seeks to explore in greater depth the complexities involved in offering and implementing a psychosocial element in a musical programme. Hence, rather than simply evaluating this component itself, the document seeks to present how this new area is fitting into a well-established musical programme, the challenges that doing so raises, and the reflections arising in terms of the objectives of musical education in a context of armed conflict.

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<sup>1</sup> MpR by its Spanish initials: "Música para la Reconciliación".

<sup>2</sup> FNB by its Spanish initials: "Fundación Nacional Batuta".

<sup>3</sup> Despite Colombia's peace agreement with the FARC guerrilla group in 2016, a significant reduction in violence has not been sustained.

Using interviews with professionals in the four music centres running the FNB's MpR programme, the authors analysed the effectiveness of adding psychosocial attention to a music programme for victims of armed violence. The analysis also aimed to uncover the challenges of implementing this psychosocial component. These questions are particularly pertinent given the low numbers of music programmes designed for victims that have implemented this dual proposal; it is therefore essential to cultivate an effective symbiosis between the two dimensions. In this way, the documents focus on the institutional and organisational schemes, which also reflects the rolling out of music's social commitment.

## **PSYCHOSOCIAL FOCUS AND ACCOMPANIMENT IN THE LITERATURE**

According to Pérez-Sales (2010), the psychological consequences of war for those involved, in whatever way, were ignored for many years. Although evidence began to accumulate after the First and Second World Wars (Lewis & Engle, 1954), it was not until after the Vietnam War that the concept of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) marked a turning point (Pérez-Sales, 2010), after which the number of research centres and publications exploring the mental trauma caused by war increased notably.

At that time, mental health was regarded as an individual trait related to the absence of significant disturbances in the way a person thinks, feels or acts in daily life and in their adaptation processes (Braunstein, 1979). However, this understanding of mental health is centred on an individual trauma and its pathologisation (Papadopoulos, 1998; Pérez-Sales, 2016; Rebolledo & Rondón, 2010; Summerfield, 2008, 1999). Martín-Baró (1984) held that this position is based on an ill-conceived notion of the human being, reduced to an individual organism with no reference to his or her condition as a historical being. The implication of his argument is that a person's lived existence is grounded in their social fabric and network of relationships. Similarly, Pérez-Sales (2007) claims that a psychosocial approach views individuals from a holistic, systemic perspective, namely, immersed in a family, community, social, cultural and political environment from which they cannot be separated.

In this vein, psychosocial accompaniment in Latin America is founded on a systemic, social constructionist approach that understands the world as comprising interlinked elements that acquire meaning according to collective definitions (Arévalo, 2010; Becker & Liria, 1989; Borja, 2016; Chaparro, 2009; Pérez-Sales, 2000, 2010; Pérez-Sales & Liria, 2015).

Thus, by recognising that psychological damage derives from contextual circumstances, psychosocial attention can be developed collectively (Pérez-Sales et al, 2000). Beristain (2011) proposes a community attention approach, a type of psychosocial support grounded in the community, based on a process that identifies the community's problems and strengths, and that uncovers its resiliencies and, therefore, its capacity to recover (ACT Alliance, 2011; Beristain, 2011; Pérez-Sales, 2002, 2007, 2016; Pérez-Sales et al., 2000; UNICEF, 2014). In this way, the community can use its own cultural and family resources to overcome the negative consequences of its experiences (Moreno & Mojica, 2010).

Finally, psychosocial accompaniment in Latin America prioritises local knowledge over the pursuit of universal truths. It applies familiar, comprehensive categories such as context, identity, relationships and narratives to understand the harm caused

by violence (Arévalo, 2010). Similarly, it uses dialogue to reach agreement and design solutions with which people feel they can engage and include others as part of the process.

In conclusion, Arévalo (2010) explains that the aim of psychosocial accompaniment is to construct a reflective process among survivors, its social network and its accompaniers that helps to overcome the social and emotional effects of violence by according new meaning to the identity and recognition of personal and social resources within the framework of subjects of rights. The psychosocial thus takes on a fundamental value in recognising the harm victims have suffered, promoting actions that acknowledge their dignity, and generating opportunities for them to resume their life projects and rebuild their social bonds (Rebolledo & Rondón, 2010).

## **THE MUSIC FOR RECONCILIATION PROGRAMME'S MUSICAL-PSYCHOSOCIAL PROJECT: A CONTEXTUAL ADAPTATION FROM *EL SISTEMA***

The Batuta National Foundation (FNB) was created in 1991 as a replica of *El Sistema Nacional de Orquestas y Coros Juveniles e Infantiles de Venezuela* (*El Sistema*; The National System of Young People and Children's Orchestras and Choirs-'The System'). In Colombia, the FNB operates as a private organisation that delivers a variety of programmes with both public and private resources. The budgetary conditions and the socio-political context have obliged the FNB to adapt *El Sistema's* original proposal so that, although it retains some of its characteristics, it has also distanced itself from it.

*El Sistema* has been the object of numerous academic studies that evaluate its proposal positively as well as critically (Crech, Gonzalez-Moreno, Lorenzino, & Waitman, 2014; Uy, 2012; Booth, 2009; Baker, 2014). Regarding the critical debates, the study that most stands out was undertaken by Baker (2014), who pointed out a series of structural elements of the Venezuelan programme that went in the opposite direction of the model of society with which it was frequently compared. Important denunciations about abusive power relationships and critiques of the impacts of the rather non-democratic pedagogical model of forming citizens, created doubts as to whether the programme could continue to be supported and taken forward.

Baker's contribution is interesting because it casts a light, among other things, on the deeper part of musical education. In a way, analyses such as Baker's, are not focused on music, but on the ethics of the pedagogical proposal and the longer-lasting impacts of these musical practices. For Baker (2016), it is important that the musical aspect of the programme should coincide with values proper to more plural societies, such as empathy, creativity or autonomy. The same is true of the questions that research is asking about the relationship between musical education and social transformation.

Cabedo-Mas (2014) argues that art has been understood anew, so that what counts is creating shared experiences in which access is guaranteed to everyone who wishes to enjoy it. Hence, the exclusive idea that art can only be realised by experts, has fallen away. Similarly, Higgins (2012) points out that everyone has right to be able to make, create and enjoy one's own music, enabling full participation in the musical and creative life of local communities. However, Cabedo-Mas and Díaz-Gómez (2015) go further still, explaining that musical education systems have

theoretical principals that help to develop interpersonal abilities, which for the authors means that music serves as a tool to improve coexistence between individuals and societies.

In the case of Colombia, musical education is also an opportunity to enable participants in programmes such as MpR to develop the values that allow bonds broken by the armed conflict to be repaired, and for the emotional harm done to these individuals to be addressed (Rodríguez-Sánchez, 2019). Here, the debate initiated by Baker is valid as regards the importance of pedagogical definitions and the social abilities that are developed through the musical space.

In this sense, for Colombia, it is noteworthy that psychosocial attention is offered as part of a musical programme; in other words, that the need to respond to the negative impacts of the armed conflict be appreciated, and that a joint proposal be drawn up between a specialist area, such as the psychosocial field, and a space for expression, such as communal music.

The Batuta National Foundation's Music for Reconciliation programme in Colombia takes a dual musical and psychosocial approach to attend to child victims of armed conflict. Music training occurs through a 'pre-orchestra', with Orff instruments, and a choir. The psychosocial dimension is developed through workshops, reading groups or film clubs where professionals (psychologists or social workers) invite children and young people and their families to explore questions related to the armed conflict or the difficulties they face living in their family or neighbourhood. The psychosocial and musical components take place in separate spaces.

The psychosocial dimension was added to the existing programme in 2011 in response to a call from the programme's public funder (Department of Social Prosperity) to implement the measures set out in Law 1448 of 2011, known as the Victims' Law, for the rehabilitation of victim. This law requires the establishment of social pedagogy processes for reconciliation, meeting centres, and reconstruction of the social fabric (Article 210); promotion of spaces for reconciliation and peaceful coexistence designed to restore trust among people and between people and the State (Article 225); and strengthening of communities through psychosocial attention, aimed at rebuilding the social fabric and preserving culture (Article 226).

In the spirit of the law, the MpR programme established spaces where the children and young people enrolled in the programme, together with their families, could receive psychosocial attention in parallel spaces, different to those of musical formation. According to the FNB's (2016) guidelines, psychosocial accompaniment aims to restore human dignity and enrich the life of children through group music making. The FNB (2016) believes that victims of conflict and those living in poverty have the right to peace and the opportunities that will allow them to develop their chosen life projects. The guidelines explain that this objective is pursued, through music, by strengthening the participants' emotional dimension and their capacity to build relationships based on treating people well. The FNB (2016) regards music as a channel for expressing feelings and emotion, training people to listen to what others say, and learning music as a way to raise participants' self-esteem.

The idea underlying the MpR programme is to encourage processes of interaction between people to foster new relationships of exchange that are not based on violence. It considers that teachers play a crucial role in generating stable, secure, and emotional everyday connections that enable participants to re-establish trust in

others (FNB, 2016). The FNB understands that these relationships of emotional well-being allow the resources that individuals, families and communities possess to emerge and be used to the full. The Foundation upholds and promotes the values of respect, equity, tolerance, solidarity and honesty. FNB's proposal is that the teachers, therefore, encourage the development of both social and music skills simultaneously.

## METHOD

This study is based on fieldwork in four Colombian cities (Bogotá, Cali, Florencia and Tierralta) where the FNB's MpR programme is established. The present article focuses on interviews with the professional teams at the music centres, specifically a representative of the centre's administrative staff, a social worker or psychologist, and a music professional.

Through semi-structured interviews (Whiting, 2008) and focus groups (Emerson *et al.*, 2011; Greig *et al.*, 2007) the professionals were asked about their impressions of the MpR programme with particular attention to the following subjects:

- Evolution of the psychosocial component in their centre
- Contributions from the psychosocial dimension to the programme's implementation
- Challenges and tensions arising from the introduction of the dual music-psychosocial component
- The ways these challenges and difficulties are dealt with

Eleven professionals belonging to the FNB were interviewed, eight through individual interviews and three in a focus group; five of the interviewees were administrative staff, three were music teachers and three worked in the psychosocial field. All the interviews were analysed using the interpretative paradigm (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Those teachers who wished to be involved in the research, participated voluntarily.

The study was approved by the ethical commission of Jaume I University, where the doctoral project "They Have Taught Us to be in Company: A Study of Collective Musical Programmes as Spaces for Victims of the Armed Conflict in Colombia to Rebuild the Social Fabric" was being undertaken. Approval was granted because the study ensured measures to protect the identity of those who participated.

Therefore, the names in this paper have been changed, in accordance with confidentiality and anonymity guidelines. Nevertheless, the informed consent of all participants in the research was gained. However, for reasons mentioned in the introduction, this article does not contain testimonies of victims of violence.

## IMPLEMENTATION OF THE MUSICAL-PSYCHOSOCIAL MODEL

In the interviews, the music centre professionals welcomed the introduction of the psychosocial area, which they considered had been missing from the music programme, since both the family background and the present complex context affect the emotional state and behaviour of the children in the programme.

[...] as Batuta gradually gained understanding that we are dealing with a displaced population, that if a child had not had a good day at home or is subject to violence, then he or she will not be able to come to the class in the right frame of mind. So I think that as Batuta began to look at all of this, it started to understand what the child's life is like. That is when the psychosocial element was introduced (Carolina, professional at the Florencia music centre, personal interview, 9 October, 2016).

The professionals identified the psychosocial area as a form of personalised accompaniment in which, through the workshops with the children and/or their families, home visits and spaces for dialogue and listening, the participants had someone they could depend on. In this way they were able to approach the feelings caused by the violent experiences of the armed conflict that affect their daily lives.

In most meetings we've had with the families, they talk a lot about this [the armed conflict]. There are families that received no initial help, not even from the institutions, in the form of accompaniment. They were transferred from other areas without even minimal accompaniment; they left an area of conflict in search of better quality of life, but when they arrive they also find the conflict of access, of communication, of people who really provided them the service as such. So we might say that all these limitations mean that a family, in their desperation to readapt and continue with their lives, suffer in all these processes. (Focus group with professionals at the Florencia music centre, personal interview, 9 October, 2016).

Another interviewee stated that the psychosocial area offers a potential space for permanent accompaniment that the children and their families can rely on. In fact, the majority of the music centres are open for most the day, and even if they do not have class the children can go there to read a book, practice for their music lessons or speak to the other people there, especially the professional staff.

We offer a space and accompaniment that they can depend on. A place they can go to in their free time. Or we can talk to their school, give more personalised accompaniment, where the children can come and read and practice an instrument and they are not affected by their environment, what they find in the street (Paola, professional at the Tierralta music centre, personal interview, 7 September, 2016).

Some professionals note that the dynamic generated by the MpR programme constitutes an alternative to what is on offer in the hostile context where the children's lives play out. Their neighbourhoods are often dominated by a culture which exalts values associated with illegality. Therefore, the law of the jungle, violence and easy money come together in a way of life promoted by the surroundings. In this context, the fact that children and young people have a space which goes against this logic, is a gain for society, even opening up the possibility of other life projects for them which are opposed to what the armed conflict offers.

This is where Batuta comes in with a strong proposal to rebuild the social fabric, because it gives them [the children] the possibility of having a different status, of talking about a different reality, which is music – perhaps different to their violent circumstances or emotional burden, their past or what they are going through. They are children who talk about different realities: 'I've now learned to play the flute' or 'This month we are learning such-and-such a song', 'soon we've got a concert', 'ah... right, and where are you taking them?', "We're going to the Chamber of Commerce or to Morelia". So of

course, the children are always enthusiastic, and I know that they're children who can't maintain a conversation – it's the same with their peer group, they've got other things to talk about. Maybe they lose sight of violence or micro-trafficking, because they've turned to music. In this sense, Batuta is making an enormous contribution to rebuilding the [social] fabric, because it's also inviting the children to have other points of reference, not just the one they've come from, but also, well, I want to be a musician and Batuta shows them that they can do that, that it is a life option (Esmeralda, professional at the Florencia music centre, personal interview, 1 August, 2016).

Finally, in several interviews the professionals reported that families asked for advice and accompaniment for a range of situations. Through their home visits, the Batuta professionals accompany their cases or act as bridges with institutions that can work with them in cases of violence in the family or in claiming their rights as victims.

We manage everything to do with violation of rights, we make referrals and we work internally. Through the workshops, film forums and reading activities, we speak with the children about subjects that have come up as necessary during the meetings. So we could say this is our role, and sometimes we go much further because, like the administrative staff we are very alert to each one of these processes. (Paola, professional at the Tierralta music centre, personal interview, 7 September 2016).

In sum, the psychosocial area has provided the opportunity to make contact with each child and their families beyond that which is strictly musical, by generating spaces for listening and dialogue where they are accompanied in managing their emotions and the effects on the relationships of the armed conflict or the complex immediate context.

## **CHALLENGES FOR THE MUSICAL-PSYCHOSOCIAL MODEL**

However, despite the apparent interest of this proposal, the research revealed certain challenges and tensions in its implementation. The first of these refers to the grey area in the FNB's position on the understanding of the socio-political violence in Colombia and, therefore, the attention to the harm this violence has done to the individuals.

Katherine Borja (2016), social worker and psychosocial accompanier at the MpR programme music centre in Cali, conducted a study on the development of the psychosocial area in the programme. She explains that the psychosocial spaces should help participants explore the meaning of socio-political violence and victim status, in the hope that this will give the families the tools to empower them to face their own stories and the impacts of the violence.

However, other professionals believe these socio-political aspects should not be alluded to nor should the damage be dealt with explicitly; rather they should be consigned to the past, forgotten, and sights should be set on the future. The way to deal with the psychosocial impacts is to put the damage to one side and think no more about it: rebuild one's life and go forward.

[...] In the workshops, a lot is said about this family union, the family, values; we try to put a strong emphasis on this, that they should forget the conflict, that it happened years back, and there it should stay, without resentment,



without taking reprisals into their own hands, talking to them (Sandra, professional Florencia music centre, personal interview, 25 September, 2016).

Although both these options may be valid ways of dealing with traumatic situations generated by armed violence, it is important to clarify the schools of knowledge on which the work with the participants is based.

Becker & Liria (1989) and Liria (2010), referring to the *committed bond* of the professionals accompanying victims of armed violence, explains that the relationship implies an ethical attitude that is not neutral. This includes understanding that the other's suffering is the result of a traumatic experience deliberately inflicted by others to cause harm. Thus, psychosocial attention with victims of the violence in Colombia implies accompanying the participants in nurturing conversations and processes for them to understand the factors of the violence they experienced and support for them in the emotional impact these experiences have.

The FBN's position of focusing on the subject and not on the context can also be understood in light of the current situation, which cannot yet be defined as post-conflict. Criminal gangs and both guerrilla and paramilitary dissidents control the regions in which the programme is run. This may be the reason why the programme's professionals are more reluctant to adopt an approach to accompaniment with a greater focus on the conflict. In some cases, this distancing from the conflict may actually protect the children and their families. It appears that the FNB decided to work on the values that could help them to rebuild as people, families and communities, and to leave the changes in the violent context to one side.

It is important to be clear about the reasons underlying the FNB's current position, which may be justified when used as a system of protection. This stance would not be desirable, however, if it involved a denial of the conflict, as it would not be attending to the victims' situation appropriately.

On this point, identifying a correct path for a psychosocial approach is complex. All the same, it is appropriate to define an approach and justify how it was chosen. Those such as 'Do no harm' (Anderson, 2009) and the conflict sensitive approach (Demola-Akinyoade, 2010) can help programmes with the responsibility to create proposals that transform the community at the same time as protecting it, in taking these kinds of decision.

The second challenge identified in the study concerns the way a balance is struck over the time the two areas, music and psychosocial, need to achieve their aims.

One of the factors that may have led to this tension is the source of funding. Since 2011 the programme has been financed by the State. In its first stage (2011–2013) these funds came from the Department of Social Prosperity, the government body responsible for policies of social inclusion and reconciliation. For this reason, the FNB programme prioritised attention to victims of violence. Since 2014 funding has come from the Ministry of Culture, which has entailed a shift in priorities from attention to guaranteeing the cultural rights of the population in the programme.

Although on the surface this may appear to be a simple change of name, it is related to the first point described above: What is understood by psychosocial attention, and what approaches are taken to deliver it? Is it possible to attend to victims of

armed conflict within the same parameters as a population that has not lived through the same experiences?

Likewise, these interpretations affect the way the time is divided between musical and psychosocial activities, the targets set by the institutions and the way one area may be supported over or subordinated to the other.

The interviews with the teaching staff revealed several strategies to resolve these dilemmas: a) analysing from the psychosocial perspective what happens in the music class to identify which children may have difficulties in coexisting with others and working with them; b) setting up separate spaces for each activity; and c) prioritising the music area over the psychosocial area in order to ensure the music area achieves the results it needs.

This point gives rise to new dilemmas. When the psychosocial area is not accepted as an area in its own right, that is, an area to support participants in their understanding of the psychosocial impacts, it may lose its identity. If this happens, it may appear to be *taking time away* from achieving the musical and professional objectives of cultivating the children's good behaviour in order to meet the musical goals set in class.

Having the two components together in the same class has been difficult, yes, difficult. And even more so as on one hand when we have meetings, the teachers are told: "well, you come and make a brief reflection. This month we are going to talk about such and such a subject in the workshops and in all the activities. So you can help us with the songs and with some reflections". So from this side it is good, but the way Bogotá requires it, that is difficult... They will not let them interrupt the music class; it has come more from the teacher's side [...] (Sandra, professional Florencia music centre, personal interview, 25 September, 2016).

We start from a process. From the start we find music at one extreme and the psychosocial work at the other, since as they say it is a language, the musicians [teachers] are very sensitive and very inflexible, they already have everything set out... Or in other words, from the beginning I felt that they did not want anybody intruding in their area and that they were the masters of their own knowledge, and the feeling that there is another person who's from the outside, it seems to have led to some bad feeling or friction (Focus group with professionals, Florencia music centre, personal interview, 9 October 2016).

Although this is a music programme designed to attend to victims, the tension between the music and psychosocial areas is heightened by demands on the music teachers to produce high quality musical results. Such strict requirements might conflict with the project's mission because the music teachers need time to achieve these musical goals.

Sometimes it seems like there's a thirst for results. The teachers even said, "We're told that the children must get these results ... So that's the origin of the stress and the striving for results, and so that's when we too must say no, we'll wait, we'll see... What's more, you can see the teacher's anxiety and that makes it even worse" (Carolina, professional Florencia music centre, personal interview, 9 October 2016).

On occasion, this has created tensions between the professional teaching staff, as it appears their objectives may be in competition. This may lead to a weakening of team work and create difficulties for collaborative relationships amongst teachers.

Initially I would say, it was difficult with some of the teachers – some more than others – to interact with them in class. Some of the music teachers, I'm not sure if it was because of how they were, you grew close to them, but there are others who are different, a bit harder to pin down in how they went about things. So it becomes harder for you to go into their class, remain with the children, because in some way you feel intimidated. It also depends on the teachers letting you in, to be in class and to make mistakes, because you're not a musician (Esmeralda, Esmeralda, professional at the Florencia music centre, personal interview, 1 August 2016).

Nonetheless, other professionals consider they achieve a better coordination between the two components and have successfully generated synergies with contributions from each area to the process of the child and his or her family.

I think we do coordinate well, the music and the psychosocial areas, because we are both committed to letting the child be him or herself. [We want] the child to express or experience the music and the psychosocial processes from his or her own being... By working together, the psychosocial processes come out of the experience in the music class (Paola, professional, Tierralta music centre, personal interview, 7 September 2016).

## FINAL THOUGHTS AND CONCLUSIONS

Reprising Baker (2014), in programmes whose objectives go beyond the purely musical, it is necessary to identify how pedagogies and relationships act in the interests of that goal. In this sense, it is insufficient to justify musical activity alone as a contribution to society; it is necessary to review the values and the kinds of individuals shaped throughout the programme.

In the present case, it is interesting to note how the proposal of adding a psychosocial element arises out of the needs of the context. However, the study makes clear the complexities involved in implementing this. Amid a context in which the armed conflict persists, it is not easy for the FNB to adhere fully to the psychosocial approach as proposed in the literature, related to working through painful acts and a process of empowering victims. This is because organisations such as the FNB are confronted with the problem of how to respond to the consequences of the war even while it continues.

Such circumstances mean support strategies must be created that endanger neither participants nor the programme staff, while enabling the institution to continue to operate in its midst. Thus, it has been difficult to define what is understood by psychosocial attention and what approaches are best adopted to deliver it, while remaining in conflict-affected areas and, hence, in threatening contexts.

By the same token, this rather forcefully puts Baker's questions back on the table insofar as they concern the need to review how each part of the proposal for the musical space nourishes the human qualities necessary for each context. Hence, the MpR programme of the FNB faces important challenges related to how to understand the role of the psychosocial component it offers.

It is possible that part of the difficulty in adequately anchoring this new area is connected to the aforementioned dilemma of the interests of funders. It appears that

it was simpler to justify having such a social emphasis in the programme when funding came from that part of the State responsible for social policy. However, when the Ministry of Culture became the principal State funder, the programme's attention turned to deepening the emphasis on musical activity.

This is not so simple a quandary since, although it may superficially appear to be a change of emphasis, it goes back to the first point described above: is it possible to attend to victims of armed conflict within the same parameters as one would with those who have not been through such experiences? How can this support be delivered in contexts of latent conflict? In what way would a musical-psychosocial symbiosis be more appropriate for such purposes?

In this connection, in order for the musical-psychosocial symbiosis to respond adequately to Colombian society's needs at this time, it will be necessary for each area to review its identity, or even may require an altogether different approach to the musical component itself. Thus, perhaps changes can be explored in the kind of repertoire most frequently played, on the basis of creating abilities in each group where elements of community music and music therapy may be useful. This could reveal a path towards a better fit between the musical and social areas, not as spaces entirely differentiated, but with shared zones of action.

This would possibly involve modifying institutional demands, seeking a balance between Batuta's classical repertoires and children's material that could form part of the musical-psychosocial work, guided by creativity and the emotional and social needs at play.

It is true that re-thinking the meaning of the programme, orienting it towards a vision that is closer to community music, may instill fears about financing and how to present results that have less to do with concerts or shows, as Baker suggests (2016). Doubtless it is necessary to continue to move forward with studies focusing on the importance of artistic spaces that are more adaptable to the needs of the groups with which the FNB works, without eliminating the learning and traditional musical performances.

Additionally, this would suggest a new way of continually monitoring and evaluating the results of such a musical-psychosocial model, by attending to students and their relatives' emotional recovery. This would mean creating a new system of indicators, more closely related to the social skills and emotional recovery at the root of rebuilding social fabric impacted by the armed conflict.

Finally, there lies an interesting way ahead for programmes such as this, that take on the challenge of identifying, amidst their very implementation, what the most powerful fusion might be between music and the striking panorama that the presence of professionals from the psychosocial field in socially-oriented, collective musical spaces, has opened up.

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