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FARC Musicians' Musical Identities and Political Identities through their Music.
Analysis of their Narratives, Musical Practices and Songs in the Colombian Peace Post-Agreement.

Santiago Niño Morales

Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in Music
The University of Edinburgh
2023
Declaration

I declare that this thesis has been composed solely by myself and has not been submitted in any previous application for a degree in whole or in part, except where the thesis states otherwise by reference or acknowledgement; the work presented is entirely my own.

Routledge published preliminary processes and results of the methodology:

Signed

Santiago Niño Morales
2023
Abstract
The Colombia Revolutionary Army Forces (FARC) was the largest and most important guerrilla movement in the long and persistent Colombian internal armed conflict. In November 2016, after overcoming significant difficulties, the Colombian government and FARC signed and ratified a Final Peace Agreement; nowadays, FARC has become a lawful political party: Los Comunes. For over fifty years, the movement stimulated cultural and musical activities; FARC's musicians created, composed, arranged, recorded, performed and distributed thousands of songs, initially as part of a guerrilla and now as political party members. This research studies the musical identities of FARC musicians and their political identities as constructed through their music, based on social and cultural perspectives from the field of musical identities, the music and social movements theoretical framework and the transformation of conflict approach. This study observes how musical identities are negotiated as a force for transformative political and cultural changes at the personal and collective levels. The FARC musicians' narratives are a primary source for analysing the sociocultural transformation of identities and how they negotiate their musical and political identities.

Based on a phenomenological perspective and qualitative methods, this research applied an ethnographic approach and narrative analysis based on the Listening Guide Method (LGM) to undertake a qualitative study of two narratives: life histories and songs-as-narratives. The life histories and the songs-as-narratives can be understood as sociocultural performances with multiple and continuous constructions of selfhood. The analysis of (5) FARC musicians' musical biographies (life histories), obtained through three in-depth semi-structured interviews each, and four (4) songs-as-narratives, based on music video material, allows us to observe the relationship between their music and the social movement and the role of their music in the conflict transformation process.
The analysis reveals how the negotiation of musical and political identities interacts mutually and intertwined during conflict transformation experiences involving personal and collective changes. The life histories and song-as-narratives analysis provide evidence about the relationship between Identities in Music (IIM) and their Music in Identities (MII). The IIM and MII are inseparable dimensions of the self. The former is narrated through ex-combatant musicians' experiences as songwriters, singers, instrumentalists, producers, and music teachers committed to their political ideas. The latter emerges in ideological terms, but mainly through personal and collective experiences, emotionally significant, expressing their belonging to the peasantry, indigenous and popular musical cultures. At individual and collective levels, their musical knowledge, interactions and experiences construct new social roles, particularly in transitioning from guerrilla combatants to political party members.

The results reveal that music is a sociocultural resource developed by musicians and the entire movement throughout the decades. The ex-combatant musicians' narratives reveal how they employ their musical experiences to explore the possibilities of the moral imagination, changing lyrics, musical production and distribution processes. Exploring new musical genres or affirming their belonging to some of them, they build different social (political) and cultural (musical) realities in their contexts. The transformation of the conflict is a profound identity negotiation process. During the transformation of the conflict, musical and political identities support each other based on ex-combatant musicians' emotional competence or emotional capital, their different uses of "I" and "we", their personal and collective relationships and connections with broader socioeconomic, political and cultural structures.
Lay abstract

After the peace agreement between the Colombia Revolutionary Army Forces (FARC) and the Colombian government in 2016, the whole of Colombian society was aware of the guerrillas’ rich artistic and cultural production. The diversity, quality and quantity of literature, drama, visual arts, film, and music evidenced the role of cultural activities in the movement during the years as a guerrilla and in the transitional period. FARC’s culture, artistic production, and songs were the focus of attention for some authors; however, I focused on the musicians: Who are they? Why is it vital for them to be musicians committed to guerrilla movements? Additionally, I wondered how they faced the challenges of reintegration as musicians on personal and collective levels. They were assuming a profound change in their political identities from combatants to ex-combatant members of a lawful political party; so, I wondered how their musical practices, knowledge and expectations shifted in the move from the structures provided by the political movement to the ordinary realities of working in the music industry.

In the thesis, FARC Musicians’ Musical Identities and Political Identities through their music. Analysis of their Narratives, Musical Practices and Songs in the Colombian Peace Post-Agreement, I emphasise the importance of listening very closely to the ex-combatant musicians’ narratives: their life histories and their music videos, which were analysed by thinking of songs as narratives. This was done to understand their negotiation of their musical and political identities during the transformation of the conflict process. I challenge more conventional methods of narrative analysis in two ways: firstly, applying the Listening Guide Method (LGM) (Gilligan & Eddy, 2017) in the musical identities field to develop a profound and systematic reading and re-reading of the narratives, in order to identify discursive and non-discursive elements that are relevant in their musical identities negotiation. Secondly, by applying the LGM to their songs-as-narratives, I analyse music videos to observe visual, emotional, symbolic,
metaphorical and performance elements that are impossible to identify only from the audio material.

The LGM analysis of five ex-combatant musicians’ life histories and four songs-as-narratives chosen by them as fundamental creations in their trajectories allowed me to draw some very pertinent conclusions. Studying ex-FARC combatants’ musical and political identities, as expressed through their music, permits an understanding of their individual and collective realities beyond their discourse, involving ways of identifying their emotional voices that express their hopes and concerns. The emotional dimension is central to their songs-as-narratives, in which they perform and embody their musical and political identities. Institutional actions to support sociocultural aspects of their reintegration should consider initiatives to produce and distribute their music, whether or not it contains political content. I found that the ex-combatant musicians use their musical identity negotiation as a resource. During the transformation of the conflict process, musical and political identities work together, supporting each other based on the emotional competencies they have built, their flexible uses of "I", "one", and "we", and the personal and collective relationships they can draw on.
To mom and dad

The arts exist to change the world, to change us

*Bajo sus alas.*
"My songs are my life history."

Clemente Blasco. Musician.
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My work has evolved thanks to discussions with some close people. For their contribution to my thinking and early development of the ideas in this thesis, I would like to thank my colleague, friend and wonderful wife Gloria Patricia Zapata, who has
supported me since the inception of this project and helped me to go far, and beyond my own beliefs and understandings of the field. Also, for their helpful advice and expertise, I would like to recognise the specific contributions to this project to my colleagues and good friends: Óscar Odena, Peter Cousins, Andrea Rodríguez, Eliécer Arenas, Édgar Puentes and Dora Carolina Rojas.

This special place is reserved for thanking my beloved family; to Gloria Patricia, my wife; her love makes everything possible; to Sara, my beautiful daughter, from whom I learned daily. In addition, I would like to thank my extraordinary sisters, Alejandra y Paula, my nephews Samuel and David, for their permanent care and love; my brother, Francisco "Chato", always present with his generous heart; and my brothers of life and music, Juan Mario and Felipe.

Thanks, my Lord, I knew you during this travel, you have changed my life forever.

I would like to dedicate this work to Miguel Guzmán "Wara", an extraordinary musician, accordion player and good friend who passed away due COVID complications making music until his last days.

I am indebted to all of you. Thank you so much.

Gracias, desde el fondo de mi corazón.
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Preface

I had the privilege to know Raymond MacDonald in Bogotá in 2013; we talked then about my interest in musical and political identities. He encouraged me to take a step forward in deep and begin a doctoral study about that in Edinburgh, supervised by him and Simon Frith. I had to wait too long to start my studies and it was convenient in some way; profound historical transformations began to have a place in Colombia.

On April 2016, my university in Bogotá, Universidad Distrital "Francisco José de Caldas", signed a compromise to support the recent peace agreement between the Colombian government and FARC. It was an extraordinarily emotional moment for the Arts Faculty. We felt part of a historic moment. We invited some ex-combatant artists to show us their works. The first contacts with ex-combatant artists and their work were astonishing; the vast quantity, the production quality, the serious attitude, and the professional criteria to make their art was surprising. I knew some music videos of FARC's musicians and ensembles available on the internet; however, after the accords, the access was easier daily, revealing an extraordinary richness and diversity.

My colleagues at my university in Bogotá and I started working on some initiatives. Mainly, I deepened the reflection on the role of music in the transformation of the conflict process with Gloria Patricia Zapata in our research group called CuestionArte. We started with two research perspectives:

Firstly, following the emphasis of Colombian universities at that moment contributing to the ex-combatants’ reintegration process through education offers and research, we suggested a long-term research effort. The initiative tried to identify the artistic and cultural teaching-learning experiences developed by ex-combatants of the FARC observing methods, artistic genres, interests and expectations.
Second and crucially important for this thesis, we wondered about the artistic identities of ex-combatants: their narratives, learning, creation-circulation-appropriation of their artistic practices, trying to establish how they change through the post-agreement. The initiative pretended to identify the artistic practices developed by ex-combatants of the FARC, analyse their identities negotiations and identify strategies useful to promote economic opportunities for ex-combatant artists in their reincorporation process.

Unfortunately, the resources for both research projects cannot be obtained. However, I kept an active interest in the topic; the increasing contact with ex-combatant musicians and hearing their anecdotes, ideas and expectations about their future impressed me profoundly. At that point, in 2017, I fulfilled the requirements to be admitted at the University of Edinburgh; Simon Frith was retired then, but I had the incredible fortune to meet Morag Josephine Grant's work, who accepted be my co-supervisor. That was this rocky but beautiful road started.

23th. April 2023
Chapter One. Introduction.

Elements of the Colombian Internal Armed Conflict: FARC’s Historical Background, Culture and Music.

This chapter provides contextual elements necessary for understanding the analysis of musical and political identities in this research. The chapter contains four parts: ‘FARC´s Origin: Colombian Internal Armed Conflict Brief Historical Background’; ‘FARC’s Culture (la cultura fariana)’; ‘The Cultural Hour (la hora cultural)’; and ‘FARC´s Music and Musicians: Elements and Approaches’. Historical information about Colombia’s internal armed conflict is indispensable to comprehend the beginning and development of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia-People´s Army (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia – Ejército del Pueblo, FARC-EP). From FARC’s origin as a guerrilla to ‘Los Comunes’, a lawful political party, the movement development impacts upon their musicians’ musical and political identities. Additionally, this chapter defines FARC’s culture, a social space and a cultural policy that framed the guerrilla’s cultural, artistic and musical activities for more than fifty years. A focus on the cultural hour (la hora cultural) allows us to observe FARC’s culture in everyday life, as a moment for the artistic and musical experience. Some general aspects about FARC’s music and musicians are necessary for introducing the musicians’ life history analysis developed later in this research.
1.1. FARC’s Origin: Brief Historical Background and the Colombian Internal Armed Conflict

After a long and devastating period of civil wars during the nineteenth century and the separation of Panamá in 1903, Colombia began the second decade of the twentieth century with relative political stability, promoting a modest but consistent economic growth (Kalmanovitz, 2010; Estrada, 2015; Fajardo, 2015; Meisel & Ramírez, 2010, 2016; Ríos Sierra, 2017). In the major cities, the first industries stimulated the development of transport, communications and other services. Thus began an uninterrupted formation of urban working classes and, alongside them, social and political organisations. Simultaneously, foreign fruit companies introduced enclaves for monoculture agricultural products for exportation, and small and medium land proprietors developed the Colombian coffee economy. However, those productive agricultural activities coexisted with inefficient landlords’ tenure, constantly expanded by violent means (Grupo de Memoria Histórica, 2010). Due to the hoarding of rich and fertile lands, vast sectors of the rural population were marginalised from socio-economic development (Estrada, 2015; Fajardo, 2015). Some of these rural sectors, led by radical liberals, initiated local and isolated armed resistant groups called liberal guerrillas (guerrillas liberales) to face the conservative governments, which were protecting landlords’ activities (Molano, 2015, 2016, 2017; Espinosa Menéndez, 2013).

In the forties, generalised governmental repression and the assassination of the liberal politician Jorge Eliécer Gaitán in 1948 radicalised the conflict between the conservative establishment and liberal guerrillas. Violence proliferated across the country in a spiral of atrocities for more than a decade (Molano, 2015, 2016, 2017). In 1953, the confrontation was responsible for thousands of murders, and a massive forcibly displacement population, threatening the State’s stability. The crises motivated a military coup d’état. The military government of Gustavo Rojas Pinilla offered an amnesty for the liberal guerrillas; however, in the Tolima and Cauca regions, some
groups that distrusted the offer did not accept it. At this point, some of FARC’s most influential leaders emerged as part of a liberal-communist faction of the liberal guerrilla movement, particularly its founder: Pedro Antonio Marín, alias ’Manuel Marulanda Vélez, Tirofijo’ (Molano, 2015, 2016, 2017; Olave Arias, 2013).

In 1957, a liberal and conservative alliance re-formed the government. The civilian president, Alberto Lleras, offered a second general amnesty. However, governmental non-compliance with the agreed terms and the murder of demobilised guerrilla members restarted the conflict. In 1961, the guerrillas began a close relationship with Hernando González and Luis Alberto Morantes, alias ‘Jacobo Arenas’, important ideologists of the Colombian Communist Party (PCC) (Fajardo, 2015). In 1964, the conservative president Guillermo León Valencia ordered a massive military operation against the guerrillas in the Marquetalia region, a mountainous area covered by dense jungle. The escape and survival of Marulanda Vélez and around fifty members radicalised their position; thereafter, FARC emerged as a Marxist-Leninist insurgent guerrilla inspired by the Cuban Revolution (Fajardo, 2015). During almost two decades, FARC organised local peasant self-defence and undertook guerrilla military actions (Villamizar, 2018).

However, in the eighties, the local guerrilla structure and operation changed, expanding to a national presence and implementing offensive strategies; FARC adopted the additional initials EP (Ejército del Pueblo) FARC-EP. In 1982, the Colombian president, Belisario Betancur, began a national peace process, dialoguing with such guerrillas as the M-19 (19th April Movement), the EPL (Popular Liberation Army), FARC-EP and other insurgent movements. Initially, the process brought relevant advances. The Colombian congress approved an amnesty law allowing the combatants’ participation in elections through a lawful political party called Unión Patriótica (UP; Patriotic Union). The UP brought together the Colombian Communist Party, other left-wing parties, and
diverse social and political sectors, frustrated by both conservative and liberal governments.

Nevertheless, extreme right sectors from traditional parties and some members of the Colombian armed forces blocked the process. Worse still, some landlords allied with the growing drug trafficking mafias formed paramilitary groups that began to systematically murder UP members throughout the country (Ronderos, 2014). The government failed to gather enough political support for the process, while its enemies undermined the initiative by both legal and illegal means. Due to the constant assassinations and the continuous breaking of the ceasefire by all forces involved, FARC-EP and the other guerrillas abandoned the process. However, the UP political leaders declared a radical separation from FARC-EP, following the party's political objectives through legal means. The UP decision was insufficient to stop the systematic crimes against its followers. From 1982 to 2002, more than 4,153 party members were killed, kidnapped, or disappeared; two UP presidential candidates, five congressmen, eleven deputies, eight mayors of municipalities, and 109 councillors were assassinated by paramilitaries, members of the Colombian armed forces and drug-traffickers (CNMH, 2018, UN/ONU, 2020). In 2002, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights and the Colombian Attorney General declared the UP cases as politicide and crimes against humanity (CNMH, 2018). While other guerrilla movements declined in Central America and other world regions due to the waning of the Cold War, FARC-EP began a consistent growth in political influence, military scale, and combatants. This expansion pursued control of the country's fundamental economic activities, including the production and trafficking of drugs; the strategy started a different scale of armed confrontations to gain territorial control (Aguilera, 2013; Santa Maria, et. al., 2013).
In the 1980s and ’90s, the internal armed conflict degraded due to a general inobservance of International Humanitarian Law by all involved, which had dramatic consequences among civilian and unarmed populations (Grupo de Memoria Histórica, 2013. The dirty war promoted by some landlords, drug traffickers, and some members of the Armed Forces who partnered with paramilitaries displaced peasant communities forcibly, guaranteeing illegal expropriations, committed selective assassinations of politicians and journalists, and forcibly disappeared social and community leaders (Wills, 2015; Ronderos, 2014). During that period, FARC-EP was responsible for a significant part of the violence, including the systematic use of kidnapping, extortion, attacks against civilians, destruction of civil infrastructure, anti-personal mines, terrorist attacks, and recruitment and retention of minors, among other criminal actions (Ugarriza & Pabón Ayala, 2017; Calvo Isaza et. al., 2018; Grupo de Memoria Histórica, 2016).

Different Colombian governments developed military and political strategies to deal with FARC actions; some designed peace processes with various insurgent organisations, with mixed results. However, during the second half of the nineties, successive governments consistently strengthened the Colombian armed forces, progressively re-balancing the correlation of forces (Aguilera, 2013). During the right-wing administration of Álvaro Uribe (2002-2010), a direct military approach against FARC-EP reduced the guerrilla capabilities but led to a sharp rise in human rights violations. Crucial strikes against prominent FARC commanders, the changing political environment in Colombia and Latin America, and the strengthening of civil-society organisations, human rights movements, and academia opened space for a process towards humanisation of the conflict.

The government of Juan Manuel Santos (2010-2018) began bilateral talks with FARC leaders to reach a complete and definitive peace agreement. On 23rd June, 2016, after
four years of negotiations in Havana, Cuba, both sides declared a temporary ceasefire, eventually agreeing on the laying down of FARC’s arms, the demobilisation of combatants, and a reintegration process (DDR); FARC disappeared as an armed insurgent organisation. On 24th August of the same year, the final Peace Agreements were signed, and both parties declared a permanent and definitive cease-fire. On 23rd September, the Tenth Guerrilla Conference, the maximum decision making body in FARC structure, announced its acceptance of the Peace Agreements and the laying down of arms to the United Nations. On 2nd October, the government called a referendum to establish a popular mandate for the Peace Agreements; unexpectedly, the negative option won by a very narrow margin. The government, FARC and political promoters of the “no” option negotiated some modifications.

On 24th November 2016, the new agreements, the Acuerdos del Teatro Colón, were signed at the Columbus Theatre, an historical building in Bogotá. The president formally sent the agreements to the Senate and the House of Representatives, which ratified them. On 14th August 2017, the demobilisation and decommissioning processes finished. Finally, on 31st August, former FARC members and ex-combatants founded the political party Alternative Common Revolutionary Force (Fuerza Alternativa Revolucionaria del Común), keeping the original initials. However, in 2021 the political party adopted The Commons (Los Comunes), a new name to avoid association with FARC-EP dissident guerrilla. As agreed, the troops (guerrillerada) initially gathered in the Local Transitional Normalisation Zones (Zonas Veredales Transitorias de Normalización; ZVTN), but were faced with delays in the schedule for assistance with infrastructure, job training, education, and productive projects. Therefore, both parties agreed to permanently establish the Territorial Spaces of Training and Reincorporation (Espacios Teritoriales de Capacitación y Reincorporación; ETCR) to settle ex-combatants, including housing solutions, infrastructure, education, communications and long-term productive projects.
In 2018, Iván Duque Márquez won the Colombian presidential election for the right-wing Centro Democrático (Democratic Centre) party, which opposes the peace agreement. Duque’s administration revealed ambiguous positions vis-à-vis the peace agreement, a tension between ignoring it, as some radical members of his party demanded, and developing it but only assuming the basic and unavoidable compromises acquired by the Colombian State. In short, the implementation of the peace agreements by Duque’s administration has been deficient (De la Calle, 2020).

Although, Duque’s administration claims advance on specific issues, such as the ex-combatant reincorporation projects and the Territorial Approach Development Plans, essential points of the Columbus Theatre Agreement, such as political reform and the rural reform laws, had no progress (De la Calle, 2021). The blocking of essential points of the peace agreement compromised the design and implementation of crucial policies for numerous territories, weakening the presence and action of the State and exposing the communities to illegal local factions of power, especially drug-traffickers (El Espectador, 2021a). Those local power factions fight over territorial control, restarting dramatic episodes of violence against local communities. During Duque’s administration, at least 134 massacres occurred (El Espectador, 2021b; Indepaz, 2021, 2023), as well as the assassination of 676 local community leaders (Indepaz, 2020, 2021, 2023; El Tiempo, 2020) and 177 FARC ex-combatants (Indepaz, 2020, 2021, 2023; UN, 2020).

In 2019, some relevant FARC-EP leaders renounced the terms of the peace agreement, organising dissident groups. The dissidents act against previous non-signatory groups from FARC-EP, other guerrillas, and other organised armed criminal groups to control drug trafficking, illegal mining, and extortion activities. The dissidents have neither political recognition from the Colombian government nor the Los Comunenes political party. According to the former head of the Colombian Government Negotiation Commission, Humberto de la Calle (2021b), the dissidents represent a
minimal percentage of ex-combatants; the Presidential Counsellor for Stabilisation and Consolidation has confirmed 12,943 ex-combatants participating in the reincorporation process (Consejería Presidencial para la Estabilización y la Consolidación, 2021).

On 19th June 2022, Gustavo Petro Urrego, won the presidential elections, starting the first left-wing government in Colombia’s history. Petro’s administration established a policy of total accomplishment of the Acuerdos del Teatro Colón agreements, part of a comprehensive and extended national reconciliation process with all the organisations involved in violent and illegal activities from any side of the political spectrum; this policy is called Total Peace ‘Paz Total’. Different dialogues have started simultaneously, building trust in Los Comunes’ members and contributing to the diffusion of tension in some territories. However, in some others, the armed conflict is still active with a dramatic effect on unarmed populations (Fanta Castro et. al., 2017; UNHCR, 2023).
1.2. FARC’s Culture (*La cultura fariana*)

The long duration of the internal armed conflict in Colombia is a remarkable phenomenon. FARC undertook permanent military operations for more than fifty years in a row. Indeed, it was the longest-running guerrilla globally, with a solid organisational structure, effective war strategies and active relationships with the national and international political environment (Pécaut, 2008). The cohesion of the guerrilla during five decades required more than an effective ideological discourse and a competent military command; FARC developed an internal social space for negotiating meanings and practices to face circumstances and dealing with the everyday life of their members. This social space was the *cultura fariana* (FARC’s culture); there, FARC’s political, cultural, and musical identities were promoted. As Ritter remarks in his study about violence, popular music, social and political movements in Peru (2002, 2006, 2009), these social spaces, culturally built, stimulated ritualised expressions of memory and identity, in which music had a central role. FARC’s culture interwove cultural and social diversities within the movement in a coherent and common framework, necessary to strengthen their members’ bonds both consciously drawing on diverse cultural and social practices and creating a culture in common to integrate them.

In fact, the growth in number and diversity within FARC’s troops implied a growing interrelation of different cultural practices; that required a *cultural policy* for inclusion, production, promotion, and ideological orientation of cultural and artistic expressions, to make FARC’s cultural practices and products coherent. In the 1980s, the number of FARC’s members increased continually, reaching a peak of more than 17,000 combatants at the beginning of the 2000s. The expansion of guerrilla actions nationwide and increased forced displacement of the civilian population by paramilitary activities incentivised guerrilla recruitment (Aguilera, 2013; Flórez, 2000; Ruiz, 2011; Steele, 2017). The new members arrived from different rural regions, where the guerrilla established new areas of influence; and from the cities, where urban militias
(milicias urbanas) operated. A significant increase in the percentage of women combatants, more than 33% of the total FARC combatants registered were women (UN/ONU-CNR, 2017), is also relevant politically and culturally (Duarte Correa & Rivera Guerrero, 2020). The increasing diversity of cultural practices was a factor in strengthening FARC’s notion of culture acquiring even a relevant political level as can be observed in the Tenth National Guerrilla Conference´s documents (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia FARC-EP, 2016).

Little or no research into the cultural policies or internal social spaces of FARC or other Colombian guerrillas exists. However, based on initial interviews with FARC ex-combatants artists¹ about the role of culture in FARC movement, FARC´s culture notion can be elucidated. The ex-combatant painter, Inty Maleywa, affirms:²

I have been asked that question a lot: How were artistic expressions possible in the middle of a conflict and the war? Some people don’t know the reason why we’ve been fighting; the media and their twisting promote a war against the reality about what FARC is. For them, it isn’t easy to believe that artistic expressions existed in FARC. I’ve said this before, all FARC-EP guerrilla members, men and women, we are all human beings who love and feel; there, we meet with many different people, artists also. I could say that the meaning of Cultura Fariana is the face of the entire Colombian territory that many Colombians are unaware of³.

³ A mí me han hecho varias veces esa pregunta: ¿Cómo están en medio de un conflicto, están en una guerra y hay expresiones artísticas allí? Hay gente que desconoce nuestra lucha y eso a los medios de comunicación, la tergiversación y la guerra que hay a la realidad de quiénes son las FARC realmente, se les hace muy difícil creer que estas expresiones existan dentro de las FARC. Lo que les he dicho, en realidad todos los guerrilleros y guerrilleras de las FARC-EP somos personas, seres humanos que amamos, sentimos.
FARC’s culture was a process allowed for collective construction of common meanings, practices and identities, following the movement’s ideological principles, through everyday creative and intellectual activities. Certainly framed in the ideology, under vertical military hierarchies and oriented to propagandistic purposes, FARC’s culture amounted to more than merely artistic and cultural processes and products made by their members (Vandkilde, 2006). FARC’s culture provided a background of shared meanings, expressing diversity and building memories that allowed a political, cultural and musical identity to be shaped. Over time, FARC’s culture had a profound effect on its political discourses. Although the notion of culture appeared only minimally in the documents of earlier National Guerrilla Conferences, emerged as a key concept in the Tenth National Guerrilla Conference (FARC-EP, 2016), the last one in FARC-EP’s history, concluding their time as an illegal armed group. Culture was a topic included profusely in the document, which presents a political concept of culture committed to social transformations. Perhaps inspired by Antonio Gramsci, culture has a political expression and responsibility; it is a battlefield for meanings to understand social, political and economic reality (Gramsci, 2012).

This section describes how FARC’s culture was a collective process, a cultural policy, allowing to establish the musical and political identities of the ex-combatant musicians as part of a consistent effort of the guerrilla to promote cultural activities, also motivated by personal initiatives of FARC’s artists and musicians, undoubtedly following ideological and propagandistic effects. The cultura fariana promotes experiences for individual and collective identities, a fundamental base for the interpretation of research findings.

y allí nos encontramos mucha gente, también hay artistas. Se podría decir que el significado de la Cultura Fariana es el rostro de todo el territorio de Colombia y que muchos desconocemos.
1.3. The Cultural Hour (*La hora cultural*)

As a cultural policy, FARC’s culture established terms for commanders and troops to promote art and cultural practices for political reflection and expression; at the same time, it provided the ways to make these a reality. Weekly, and sometimes daily, all guerrilla members, even during a military operation, participated as audience or performers in artistic and cultural events. The cultural hour (*la hora cultural*) institutionalised diverse artistic and cultural practices, stabilising a place for develop and share creative processes and products. Depending on the military situation, it was a routine of planned moments, rehearsing, producing and performing musical recitals, storytelling, poetry, guided painting exhibitions, lectures, drama, or dance. There are several anecdotes of music recitals and other artistic activities during military campaigns while facing extreme difficulties. The ex-combatant and musician Julián Conrado, comments:\(^4\):

> In the guerrilla movement whenever it was possible, we had the daily cultural hour; it was at night, so we would light a candle or a little lighter. Some of us with a talent for storytelling and singing presented our numbers; others performed little pieces of drama, there were various things related to the arts. Some others reviewed the daily news or talked about geography or history. Sometimes we read novels; when I enrolled in 1984, I carried around *The Old Man and the Sea*; it was a small book, easy to carry inside my backpack. I read that book for them; they mostly don’t know how to write or read, or what a novel was. However, when I read *The Old Man and the Sea*, it was magic to see how they waited expectantly for the cultural hour every night, anxious to know what would happen to the elderly sailor. They connected deeply with that novel, and I had problems because they asked me to read them more novels. I told them

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that I knew another one called *One Hundred Years of Solitude*, but that one was bigger; I had to carry *The Old Man and the Sea*, *One Hundred Years of Solitude* and *No One Writes to the Colonel* around in my kit. My backpack was about to explode! We created the cultural hour and fought for it because it was necessary; after all, at the beginning of the guerrilla movement, in the sixties and seventies, that space didn’t exist.; we fought for it little by little till we got it, and that’s what we called it: the cultural hour⁵.

The ex-combatant Inty Malywa adds:

The culture hour has been a tool for keeping us together – all the expressions of different artists who came together there, who felt like singing a song, writing, performing a piece of drama or forming a dance group – we could do all of this in the Cultural Hour. It wasn’t just humour and anecdotes, there were also performances that we organised during the day, if it was possible; and in our commemorative acts too, we would really think through what we wanted to do: a piece of drama or a choreography might be the best thing for certain days. During the first stage of the peace process in Conejo, Guajira, we were invited to a big cultural festival; they were astonished when we offered choreographies, regional dances, an exhibition of paintings and a piece of drama piece. They

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⁵ *En la guerrilla en concreto se creó la hora cultural, que era diaria cuando había condiciones, se hacía de noche se podía prender una vela o una mecha. Los que tenían vocación para el cuento echaban su cuento, los que tenían vocación para el canto hacían su canto, se hacían pequeñas obras de teatro, se hacían muchas cosas que tenían que ver con el arte. También se hacía un resumen de las noticias del día, se hablaban de geografía, se hablaban de historia. A veces se leían novelas, cuando yo llegué, en 1984, me llevé el libro de El Viejo y el Mar, como era pequeño lo cargaba en mi morral y leíamos ese libro, había muchachos que no sabían leer ni escribir que no sabían qué cosa era una novela; pero cuando les lei El Viejo y el Mar, fue una cosa mágica cómo se volvió la hora cultural en la noche, cómo la gente se quedaba involucrada, ansiosa por saber qué le iba a pasar al anciano pescador. Les gustó tanto la novela, que me metí en un lío porque querían que les siguiera leyendo novelas, les dije conocía una que se llama Cien Años de Soledad, pero esta era más grande así que para cargar en el equipo El Viejo y el Mar, Cien Años de Soledad, El Coronel no tiene quien le escriba, el equipo no daba más. Este espacio se creó allá y fue peleado también, porque al principio, en el movimiento guerrillero de los años sesenta y setenta no había esa hora, pero eso se fue peleando hasta que se logró y así se le llamó la hora cultural.*
saw us rehearsing, and were motivated to do their own ensembles and
collectives, even a women’s football team. When I enrolled (in the guerrilla), the
culture hour already existed; it was one of the most motivating and exciting
things that I found when I went to their campsite for the first time. I arrived from
Medellín, a city where since my childhood, at school, at home, with friend, and
in the media, I heard that members of the guerrilla were killers and kidnappers.
When I had the chance to experience a camp myself, those lies started to fall
away; I was amazed by so many cultural activities: pieces of drama, music,
dance. As I am a visual artist, we did an exhibition. Never in my life had I been
invited to do an exhibition; that kind of thing motivated me to hang on in there.\footnote{Las horas culturales han sido una herramienta que nos ha mantenido unidos, allí todas estas expresiones de diversos artistas que podemos llegar allí que les nace hacer una canción, escribir, hacer una obra de teatro o reunir su grupo de danzas, podíamos expresar todo esto en la Hora Cultural, allí no sólo había espacio para los chistes y para las anécdotas también para presentaciones que se hacían de día, sí había condiciones, y también en actos conmemorativos para nosotros, nos preocupábamos por qué íbamos a hacer: una obra de teatro o una danza que representa una fecha particular, para ser presentada en la Hora Cultural. En la primera etapa del proceso en Conejo, Guajira, nos invitaron a un evento cultural, ellos se asombraron cuando nos anotamos en danzas, danzas étnicas, una exposición de pintura, una obra de teatro. Ellos nos vieron ensayar y se motivaron a hacer sus propios grupos, incluso un equipo de futbol femenino. Cuando yo llegué ya este espacio existía y fue de las cosas que más me motivaron y me emocionaron cuando llegué por primera vez a un campamento, yo provenía de la ciudad de Medellín y toda mi vida, desde muy niña, en el colegio, la familia, las amistades y las noticias sólo se escucha que los guerrilleros son asesinos y secuestradores. Cuando tuve la oportunidad de llegar a un campamento y vivirlo, esa mentira se fue derrumbado porque yo era asombrada de tanta cultura, obras de teatro, música danza, como yo soy artista plástica hicimos una exposición, a mí nunca antes me habían invitado a una exposición; estas fueron de las cosas que más me motivaron para continuar allí.}

The cultural hour strengthened collective experiences through artistic and cultural
performances in which FARC musicians had an essential role. Indeed, the music
established communal rites of memory and identity in armed conflicts as can be
observed in the cases of the Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso) in Peru (Ritter, 2002,
2006, 2009); and the National Liberation Army (Ejército de Liberación Nacional; ELN)
in Colombia (Pérez Fonseca, 2016a). However, FARC’s music seems particularly
important in building memory and identity comparatively, because of its production’s
diversity, quantity and long tradition. The cultural hour was more than a moment of solace and distraction from the heavy everyday duties; it allowed memories to be created in particular ways, thus shaping political, cultural and musical identities collectively over time. According to Halbwachs (2004, as cited in Pérez Fonseca, 2016b), memories are made in a social framework; as a consequence, remembering is an action based on meanings constructed in specific contexts using certain notions of time, space, language; throughout cognitive processes (Weldon, 2001) and social representations (Wagoner, 2015, 2017); the past is a site of social meaning (Tileagă, 2013). Similarly, Le Doux (2002, as cited in Elliott and Silverman, 2017) points out that the identity, including musical identity, relies on autobiographies that provide coherence, reasons, feelings and actions. Memory and identity are personal and collective actions expressed in narratives, in which music has a central place.

This section explains the cultural hour as an instrument of FARC’s cultural policy; however, highlighting its role in musical creation, production, performance, sharing and distribution, building memory and identity in the everyday life through musical practices (DeNora, 2004). The ex-combatant artist and musicians remember the cultural hour as a site of profound personal and collective experiences influencing their musical and political identities.
1.4. FARC’s Music and Musicians: Elements and Approaches.

The studies about the role of music in workers’ unions, political parties and guerrillas in Colombia have emerged recently (Villanueva, 2016; Samacá, 2017). Anecdotes and passing allusions are available in historical and sociological research. Vega (2000, as cited in Pérez Fonseca, 2016b) mentions references about the role of the music in Colombian workers’ unions, identifying cultural elements in the social construction of Colombian left-wing movements and the guerrilla. He concludes that music is a pivotal component for popular political movements, particularly when political discourses align with socio-cultural claims (Vega, 2000; as cited in Pérez Fonseca, 2016b). Other cases note the relevance of musical celebrations and dance as an expression of protest. In Colombia, musical celebrations and parties (fiestas) affirm substantial aspects of collective identity (González Pérez, 2007, 2013; Lara Romero, 2012). The guerrillas’ fiestas reinforced political discourses through song lyrics inspired by such doctrines as socialism and anti-imperialism (Vega, 2002; as cited in Pérez Fonseca, 2016a, 2016b) indeed; FARC music was mainly composed for dancing. In general, the music, made by FARC´s musicians, is a myriad of popular songs written, arranged, recorded, performed and distributed over fifty years of military action as an illegal guerrilla and nowadays as a lawful political party. The movement recorded hundreds of songs; however, far more was never recorded. They had a place in the tasks of everyday life, fiestas, celebrations, and the cultural hour. These songs, written in different popular and traditional musical genres, are one of the most outstanding expressions of FARC culture and an expression of their collective memory and musical identity diversity.

During the conflict, some FARC´s musicians called their songs insurgent songs (canciones insurgentes), establishing differences with the musical genre known as protest songs (canción protesta) or social songs (canción social). In the Colombian and Latin-American context, the distinction is relevant; the protest song usually emerges as a response to exclusion, discrimination or oppression, with rebellious lyrics that inspire
revolutionary changes for the future, but usually, without an explicit call to use arms (Marsh, 2016). During the conflict, some FARC musicians preferred the term insurgent song; the lyrics contain a clear call to insurrection, popular uprising, the justification for taking up arms and promoting ideological principles. In that context, the insurgent songs align their lyrics with the movement’s political guidelines: Marxism-Leninism, Bolivarianism, agrarian reform and national sovereignty (Samacá, 2017). Another relevant feature is the us against them contrast that connects FARC political discourses and their music lyrics in one rhetorical construction based on a dual perspective of the world. This dual perspective between right and wrong, justice and injustice, good and evil, shaped meanings, memories and identities (Bolivar, 2017). In FARC’s music lyrics, the us against them contrast reinforced the distinction and differences necessary for their political identity and for radicalised it during the conflict; the lyrics presented a polarisation required to justify the violent means. FARC discourses also express their symbolic world in emotional terms, constructing narratives or emotional discourses (Bolivar Ramírez, 2006; as cited in Samacá, 2017). FARC lyrics are a discursive practice that profoundly impact the guerrilla members’ collective and personal memory and identity as evidenced by their narratives and by the scale of FARC’s music production and circulation. FARC’s discursive practices were not just a rational construction of the world; they were also emotional and established affective communities during the conflict, even under vertical hierarchies or rigid ideological structures. The findings of this research will prove how FARC songs communicate ideas, produce emotions and affections, creating and reinforcing political and musical identities simultaneously. They are narratives in which emotions and affections converge with ideology and politics concurrently (Ahmed, 2014; Bar-Tal et. al., 2007; Kemmer et. al., 2019; Olwell, 2016; Pettigrove & Parsons, 2012).

The political discourse of FARC has been consistent and cohesive. Their political ideology relies on three ideological doctrines: socialism, anti-imperialism and
Bolivarianism (Samacá, 2017). FARC has a precise understanding of these doctrines, not necessarily coincident with other Colombian left-wing movements; this understanding is the ideological base of their political identity. During the conflict, the lyrics of FARC songs were coherent with the movement’s ideology and political identity. Partly, FARC songs were tools of political instruction, but, at the same time, the lyrics affirmed essential values that distinguished FARC from other movements. After the Peace Agreements and FARC’s transformation into a political party, their lyrics still are inspired by their ideological basis, but revealing an explicit call to reconciliation and the disappearance of the belligerent content, as the results of this investigation will show later.

During the armed conflict, FARC members promoted music for remembrance and political occasions. The music, based on narratives, social rites and structured by political discourses, built a collective memory and reinforced the movement’s historical construction (Tyllner, 2016; Pérez Fonseca, 2016b). Two different kinds of music emerged: the anthem and marches for formal occasions, and songs for singing, dancing, and sharing in everyday life. Although the former is a minority among FARC’s music, both types are relevant because together they invigorate the narratives that strengthen collective identities. FARC’s music, remembrance and discourses were three fundamental narrative modalities for building up their memory and identity during the conflict through, first, the evocative effect of crucial movement’s moments; second, the emotion involved in the musical performance; and third, its oral transmission (Pérez Fonseca, 2016a). The narratives of epic episodes, the memory of companions fallen in combat, the exaltation of heroes and martyrs, and the fidelity to principles and values were fundamental contents (Pérez Fonseca, 2016a; Davis & Warren-Findlow, 2011). The anthem and marches evoked an epic narrative to reinforce the bonds among
FARC members in a military context at commemorative, formal or solemn events. In fiestas and celebrations and mainly in everyday life, popular dance music was played, danced, and sung, to share memories and strengthen relationships, building moments for integration and socialising. Beyond the ideological content, FARC’s songs express emotional, personal and biographical aspects of liminal experiences (Turner, 1982, as cited in Pérez Fonseca, 2016a), in which ideological and emotional aspects of memory and identity emerged concurrently, as can be seen, for instance, in some video materials of FARC dance parties.

As can be observed in other songs traditions written during armed conflicts (Pettan, 1998; Nuxoll, 2009, 2014, 2015), FARC songs built a collective identity in two ways; inside, reinforcing the links among their members; and outside, promoting solidarity with their cause and establishing a distinction from other political organisations framing their political and musical identities. Here, a crucial starting point is necessary: FARC’s songs are mostly Colombian popular dance music: vallenato, joropo, chucu-chuco, among others. Dance music forges strong bonds among FARC’s members throughout parties and celebration experiences; however, it also communicates an integration with Colombian culture and society. The music in the fiestas and celebrations are pivotal in expressing Colombian popular culture identity (González Pérez, 2007, 2013). Indeed, FARC’s musical ensembles that perform in parties, celebrations and cultural hours look like any other ordinary ensemble animating a party elsewhere in Colombia. A strong feeling of familiarity emerges from their music videos that show FARC musical ensembles playing for dancing audiences, young couples talking, and drinking and eating together with an evident sense of community.
FARC’s songs have strengthened the bonds with regional and local communities and have communicated its belonging to the nation by adopting popular, traditional and even commercial musical genres (Bolivar Ramírez, 2017). Indeed, stylistic elements of the popular musical genres used by FARC musicians are in no way different from standard traditional, popular and commercial songs. This feature reveals two attitudes in FARC musicians: first, they know the popular musical genres widely and proficiently; and, second, they have no particular interest in creating a musical novelty or a sort of rupture with the characteristics of the musical genre. The musical genre in FARC songs appeals to likeness and similarity (Bolivar Ramírez, 2017). FARC’s songs are an expression of Colombian culture and society. The National identity is vital for FARC’s political identity. In contrast to separatist or independent movements, FARC aspires to a profound transformation of the country, with itself a constitutive part of it.

As part of a peace-building process, FARC musicians are redefining their role in the its culture. Memories and identities promoted by their music now have a different social environment. In this context, FARC’s musicians present as two distinct groups based on their social recognition and visibility. On the one hand, some of them had pursued a long career, even when they were active combatants, and produced music that circulated within, for guerrilla members (guerrillerada), and outside among wider audiences connected mainly by the internet (García Cardona & Paredes Restrepo, 2004). Nowadays, some of them are undertaking musical projects with recognised musicians, ensembles and producers on the Colombian musical scene, and count on significant audiences and followers. On the other hand, other FARC musicians have undertaken their musical practices in local contexts, sharing their music with their closest companions and with a limited distribution of their musical productions. They do not have an extensive background in commercial music, and contact with audiences outside the guerrillerada is scarce.
Their testimonies reveal that their political commitment to the new legal party is undeniable; the political content in their lyrics is still evident. The lyrics by ex-combatant musicians with long and recognisable careers display some changes; some of them still use a clear *us against them* narrative, but the belligerent discourse has disappeared. The call to a popular uprising has been replaced by an invitation to solidarity and cooperation for a new social transformation. On the other hand, the local FARC musicians also proudly express their militancy and adopt a pacifist message, but their new lyrics mainly refer to love, *fiestas*, friendship and issues of everyday life. They have established a clear distinction between their political and non-political lyrics. This differentiation is necessary for at least two reasons: first, they need lyrics suitable to new social environments and new audiences they write lyrics about everyday issues, easy to promote at *fiestas*, carnivals, and other paid performances. Second, new experiences with their partners, family and neighbours serve as relevant inspiration for new compositions.

Regarding ex-combatant musicians' personal and emotional situations, they are involved in a complex psychological, social, economic and political transitional process. They are dealing with a dual role, as victims of violent circumstances, and perpetrators as part of a belligerent armed organisation. In both conditions, the Colombian internal armed conflict impacted their personal, family and community relationships, and at the social, political and cultural levels (Guanumen, 2015, Jiménez Alfonso, 2017). They face individual and social challenges that have a dialectic confluence; on the one hand, their particular psychological condition; and, on the other, their socio-economic and political situation. Both capacities allow or restrict cultural participation and expression (Kornfield, 1991, as cited in Guanumen, 2015). As a consequence, the transition to a peaceful democracy, following the very long and degrading armed conflict, has involved profound political identity changes, at individual and collective levels, humanising the enemy through a reconciliation processes (Ugarriza, 2013, as cited in...
Those reconciliation processes have to consider ways to re-build the victims and ex-combatants’ cultural bonds and, consequently, their cultural identities, in order to find a holistic solution.

The ex-combatant musicians return from a hard, hierarchical everyday life, based on commands and duties, to new family interaction, which involves horizontal communication and ordinary problems, mainly economic fragilities. Simultaneously, they and their ex-combatant companions have to face perceptions of fear and distrust in different social contexts, trying to overcome the image of enemy forced upon them for years (Guanumen, 2015). The ex-combatant musicians need to reconstruct family and community links, severely affected or broken by years of separation; these reconstructed links must be integrated into their transforming social and cultural identities. In their family and community contexts, the ex-combatant musicians implement social changes through their projects, initiatives, and musical practices, transforming perceptions, prejudices, and ways of thinking. Indeed, cultural practices contribute to the post-agreement’s long-term aims, promoting spaces for negotiating cultural differences for mutual recognition without violence (Benedict et al., 2015). They face three fundamental challenges in such societies: political reinsertion, reconciliation, and civic and public participation (Ugarriza, 2013, as cited in Guanumen, 2015).

Undoubtedly, a peace process is a structural and cultural change in the entire society. The transformation of meanings, practices, logic and ways of communication, is necessary; even the historical narratives of the country, previously considered satisfactory, have to be modified. The peace process is a social experience for producing large-scale cultural change (Guanumen, 2015) in which FARC ex-combatant musicians have an irreplaceable role.

This recount of FARC´s musicians’ cultural, social and political backgrounds, before and after the peace agreement, and most importantly, in the current transitional period
bases a more profound understanding of the transformation of the conflict as a comprehensive and profound identity negotiation in personal and collective levels. This approach is necessary to answer the research questions based on a consistent approach from the social and cultural perspectives of the musical identities field (MacDonald et al., 2017) as will be shown later in this document.
Chapter Two.


Musical identities are different ways in which individuals and communities perceive their relationship with music and express their musical experiences in socio-cultural contexts (MacDonald et al., 2002, 2012). Musical and political identities interact when individuals find in music a way to express their political self; and vice versa, as can be seen further in this document. In situations of conflict transformation, the interaction is particularly intense, involving personal, historical, social and cultural changes that affect the identity of individuals, movements, communities and nations. This research will confirm that FARC musicians’ musical identities express self-realisations during the political construction of a new social movement as part of a peace-building process. They are undertaking a conflict-transformation process (Lederach, 2003), personal and collective actions to construct a different social and cultural reality with acute effects on negotiating their musical and political identities. In doing so, they face new conflicts; although the peace agreement deactivated some factors of violence, others continue into the complicated post-agreement situation, typical of societies in transition (Little, 2014). Music enables this dynamic of social interaction to be observed; it is a social practice communicating cultural and political identities and conflicts particularly rich because of their broad way of social circulation and presence in everyday life (Featherstone, 2008).

In this context, the present research contributes at different levels. The development of Colombian society depends on successfully implementing processes related to de-escalating the internal armed conflict. These processes have socio-cultural aspects that are indispensable to a proper reintegration of ex-combatants into civilian life, in which music has a substantial role as was observed in the North Ireland (Bailie, 2020; Witherow, 2016) and Bosnia-Herzegovina (Howell, 2018). The study of ex-FARC
combatants’ musical identities and the political identities expressed through their music has potential to contribute to understanding their individual and collective realities, producing valuable new knowledge for improving institutional actions to support socio-cultural aspects of their reintegration, and enhancing the design of policies to develop effective socio-cultural interventions. Moreover, the field of musical identities is increasingly interested in developing empirical research in communities to deepen understanding of the ties between musical identities and socio-cultural, political and economic contexts. This proposal will contribute to that aim, focusing on musical identities in post-conflict situations and analysing political identities through musical practices in those contexts, both being aspects to which insufficient attention has been paid until now despite recent contributions from different authors (Bolívar Ramírez, 2006, 2017; Quishpe, 2020; Samacá, 2017; Potes, 2017; Giraldo Melo, 2020).

This research will study the musical identities of FARC musicians, and their political identities as constructed through their music, based on social and cultural perspectives from the field of musical identities (MacDonald et al., 2017), the music and social movements theoretical framework (Eyerman & Jameson, 1998) and the transformation of conflict approach (Lederach, 2003, 2005). Thereby it would be possible to observe how musical identities are negotiated as a force for transformative political and cultural changes at the personal and collective levels. Additionally, the narratives serve as a primary source for following the political and socio-cultural transformation of identities (Bruner, 2000). FARC musicians´ narratives (life histories and songs) communicate how they negotiate their musical and political identities.

Based on a phenomenological perspective and qualitative methods, this research will apply an ethnographic approach and narrative analysis to undertake a qualitative study of FARC musicians´ narratives: life histories and songs. Based on five (5) FARC’s musicians’ musical biographies, obtained through three semi-structured in-depth
interviews conducted with each one, fifteen in total, the *life history analysis* will be the first input to observe the relationship between their music and the social movement, and the role of their music in the conflict transformation process (Bergh & Sloboda, 2010; Burnard, 2015; Ntarangwi, 2015). The *songs-as-narratives analysis* of four (4) songs will be the complementary input.

This research was developed over four stages. First, the development and approval of the research proposal, from August 2018 to June 2019; second, the fieldwork, from August 2019 to June 2020; third, the analysis of information, from July 2020 to July 2021; and, fourth, the writing of the thesis, from August 2021 to February 2023. This chapter contains two main parts: a literature review, and a description of the research aims, questions, and methodology.
2.1. Literature Review

This first section presents a literature review based on developments in the fields of musical identities, political identities in war and post-war (conflict) contexts, anthropological and sociological perspectives of violence and conflict, music in conflict scenarios, a theoretical framework of music in social movements, an approach based on identity and conflict transformation, and methodological contributions of post-conflict ethnography with ex-combatants’ communities.

2.1.1 Musical Identities: Social and Cultural Perspectives

The study of musical identities allows analysing different deep relationships with the music individually and collectively, framed in cultural experiences and social contexts (MacDonald et al., 2002, 2012). This field is vital for this research, focused on analysing FARC’s musicians’ musical identities and the place of their political identities in their music from an interdisciplinary perspective. The significant development of the musical identities field means that there is consistent evidence about the role of music as a means for expressing social identities, regulating behaviours, and communicating values and attitudes, including political concerns (MacDonald et al., 2017).

Indeed, in the post-agreement context, FARC musicians are reconstructing and negotiating characteristics of their selves and identities through new personal and collective experiences rooted in profound political and socio-cultural transformations. In this scenario, the musical identities field allows the functions or uses of FARC musicians’ music in personal, collective, cultural and political terms to be studied. It categorises these functions as cognitive, emotional and social (MacDonald et al., 2002, 2012). Because of the interest of this research in the relationship between musical and political identities, the social function is crucial. Therefore, this research observed the management of interpersonal relationships, to understand how their music develops and negotiates identities through musical preferences, options and decisions, defining
spaces of belonging or exclusion. Similarly, it identified the *emotional* or *mood* function as a tool for facilitating their changes and adaptations expressively; and *self-identity* as a function for establishing constitutive personal aspects of their musical identities and political expressions through their music.

This study considered the two critical dimensions of the musical identities field: the *identities in music* (IIM) and the *music in the identities* (MII). On the one hand, *identities in music* (IIM) depend on different *self-definitions* rooted in social, cultural and historical contexts (MacDonald et al., 2002, 2012). Musical roles as songwriters, singers, producers or instrumentalists have a place among FARC’s musicians, although they face tensions between the immediate realities of their jobs and their professional musical aspirations. On the other hand, FARC musicians’ *self-definitions* are rooted in political and ideological discourses, with their songs and musical practices becoming expressions of their political identity. Here, *music in identities* (MII) frames the uses of music as a function of other identities, in this case, their political identity. This research will study the convergence between FARC musicians' MII and IIM dimensions.

According to the social constructionist approach, *social interactions* continuously form and develop the self (MacDonald et al, 2002). This perspective offers a convenient basis for this research. Individuals evolve and change identities in constant interaction with others; these identities can be contradictory (MacDonald et al, 2002). In the post-agreement context, FARC musicians face a complex process of identity negotiation through changing interactions. Here, language is crucial to understanding the behaviours and self-transformations in developing new identities. The autobiographical narratives build and communicate the identities, providing senses of self. Additionally, like spoken language, music is a medium for identity shifting, construction and communication; the music – songs, in particular – are narratives in themselves. The permanent construction and reconstruction of the *self* through autobiographical
narratives relies on language or music (MacDonald et al., 2002). Following this perspective, FARC musicians’ narratives (life histories and songs) will provide substantial elements to understand how they negotiate their musical and political identities personally and collectively through the conflict transformation process. As it will be explained later, for this research the narratives are not a source to establish a solid, invariant or truly core of FARC’s musicians' musical and political identities. The life histories and songs are necessary to observe the musical and political identity dynamics, the musical and political identities negotiations. In life histories, the singular personal voice is constituted by a polyphony of voices (Loots et al., 2017) beyond the appearance of unity or homogeneity. The songs, as a participant element in wider cultural dialogues, connect with personal expressions of self and individual identity, always socially constructed (Negus, 2012).

Individual and collective identities arise from personhood and intersubjective relationships. Both are recognisable in first-person narratives and life histories because their meanings are multi-dimensional (Lieblich & Josselson, 2013, as cited in Elliott & Silverman, 2017). Life histories are more than a sequence of actual or fictional events; they are performative expressions of identities because the words are more than isolated descriptors – they are collective actions (Austin, 1962; as cited in Elliott & Silverman, 2017). In particular, ideology, social class, political party and other socio-political terms are not just nouns; they are verbs that establish types of social performances and relationships with others (Elliott & Silverman, 2017). Moreover, music is a cultural medium for negotiating political identities among other social identities; it shapes the individual and collective awareness of self. The musical presentational and representational performances are narratives that build identities (Turino, 2008; Lieblich & Josselson, 2013, as cited in Elliott & Silverman, 2017). The narrative identities in and through music strengthen the personal identity construction (Barret, 2017) and are a form of social narratives that structure collective identities.
(Shenhav, 2015; Pérez Fonseca, 2016a). These personal and social narratives built through the music can be observed, for example, in the performing and listening of the canción social ayacuchana (Ritter, 2013) in Perú and the regional identity constructed through the revolutionary corridos in the Colombian eastern plains region (García Navas, 2015).

Finally, musical identities in popular music (McKinley & McVittie, 2016) will be relevant for analysing the role of popular musical traditions in FARC’s music. McKinley and McVittie (2016) examine the social interactions that negotiate the musical identities in everyday life, revealing how popular music discourses interrelate social actions, political ideas and the concept of group’s inclusion or exclusion of individuals and collectives. For FARC musicians, the practising a popular musical genre is a substantial part of how they negotiate their identities, which involves problematic aspects such as belonging to a musical tradition, the proximity to or distance from traditional musical practices, the audiences, and how to learn and teach a musical tradition, among others (Green, 2002).

2.1.2. Political Identities in War (Conflict) and Post-War (Post-Conflict) Contexts

War is a violent expression of conflict. As a transformative process, war is a violent social practice always based on a cultural logic. Warrior-hood, the identities of bellicose actors, and political identities confronted in war depend on hierarchies and functions and rituals, myths, and culturally constructed stereotypes (Otto et al., 2006). Political identities in war are functional and specific constructions made to create differences and mobilise capacities against real or imagined threats; the “imagining of violence” makes political identities (Laclau, 1994, as cited in Bowman, 2014).

During war, political identities are particular forms of identity that can subsume quotidian identities, forging radical senses of self and community. Violence generates
narratives that induce changes in identities establishing *antagonism* as an explicit
excluding limit in the discursive construction of society; these limits are *political
identities* by themselves (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985; as cited in Bowman, 2014). Political
identities shape *us against them* definitions, in which “*them*” (they) require a label as an
*antagonist* and a permanent construction and reconstruction of the limits. Political
identities, based on a diametrical sense of antagonism and, in some cases, ideas of
annihilation, usually have a place in social structures in which a military component is
necessary to uphold the status quo. On the other hand, alternative ways to live in
society affect political identities, making them flexible and eroding established
conceptions of antagonism; this is expected to happen in post-conflict situations based
on democratic developments.

War creates allies and enemies but also builds connections and support networks that
influence collective identities. Although political identity in contexts of war relies on *us
against them* logic, it coexists with a powerful dynamic of group and sub-group
identities. The connexion between war and identities is a *process* of strategic and
everyday life identifications based on discourses and counter-discourses (Kolind,
2006). Moreover, war articulates, destroys and creates identities; in this context, the
participants need discursive strategies to create narratives that are helpful in adjusting
emerging identities with their biographies and situations in everyday life (Otto et al.,
2006).

Moreover, as this research proposes, it is necessary to understand these changes and
their consequences when the factors of war decline. In post-war (post-conflict)
contexts, the political identity built during the war must change diametrically (Tilly,
2003). The discourses and the ideology shift as part of the construction of new political
identities. Cultural and musical practices reveal these transformations and the
negotiation of new political identities. Post-war contexts involve changes in political
identities. These are expressed in counter-discourses and new narratives, in which the legitimation of war declines as supportive categories weakens, as Kolind (2006) identifies in his study about violence and identities in post-war Bosnia. The post-war period implies detachments from a way of life, the loss of rank, the abandonment of arms and uniforms, of objects that had a symbolic dimension of power and reinforced personal and collective identities during the war, including renouncing specific musical uses. *Power* is a crucial concept for understanding combatants and ex-combatants’ identities. Post-war, *power*, as dominance through force or by threats of violence, loses efficacy and changes to a new conception of *power*, based on persuasion (Otto et al., 2006) implying an entirely new political identity expressed in counter-discourses and new narratives embedded in cultural expressions. As will be observed later in the experience of FARC musicians, music has an important place in these emerging cultural expressions (Hammack & Pilecki, 2012).

2.1.3. Anthropology and Sociology of Violence and Conflict: Fundamental Concepts and Approaches

The sociocultural anthropology offers a vast production on the violence, conflict and war (Nordstom, 2005; Ferguson, 2011; Sluka, 1992). Some, among numerous approaches, are the communal, local and ethnic violence (Maček 2009; Sluka, 2000; Constantinou, 2007; Subramaniam et. al., 2014; Leonard, 2009; Henig, 2012; Emde, 2018); State violence and civil wars (De Juan & Pierskalla, 2015; Aretxaga, 2000; Policzer et. al., 2001; Dufort, 2014); and terrorism, insurgence and counter-insurgence (Ogbuehi, 2020; Zahab, 2016; Araj, 2008; Carruthers, 2015). Similarly, on the global war on terrorism (Caton & Zacha, 2010; González, 2008; Al-Mohammad, 2012; Siddiqi, 2012); the genocide (Sanford, 2009; Kubai, 2014; Verkaaik, 2007); refugees (Oka, 2014; Puig, 2013; Papataxiarchis, 2016; Robinson, 2012); and reconciliation’s alternatives and contradictions (Nagel, 2002; Shaw, 2007; Manz, 2008; Al-Mohammad, 2012). This research finds in the phenomenological perspective of violence, conflict
and war (Schmidt & Schröder, 2001) a solid conceptual and theoretical foundation, thanks to its emphasis to describe the experiences and clarifying the meaning of the subject’s experience in his biography and every daily life, on which this research will base his analysis of musical and political identities.

The phenomenological perspective on violence offers three approaches: first, an operational approach connecting violence to general features of human nature, rationality, social adaptations and material conditions. Second, the cognitive approach sees violence as culturally constructed, representing cultural values at a discursive and practical level. Third, the experiential approach relies on the subjective and individual experience of violence. The dialectical integration of these approaches is necessary for effective analytical frameworks and holistic explanations (Schmidt & Schröder, 2001).

From politology and international law, a precise definition of armed conflict and wars is indispensable for the analysis and establish the legal consequences. However, according to Roscoe (2017), from some anthropology of war and violence approaches, a critical debate about the violence, conflict and war categories, is necessary to provide a comprehensive understanding of complex realities as perceived by their actors (Roscoe, 2017). In general, the Colombian case is defined as an internal armed conflict, an asymmetric and irregular confrontation between different violent actors and the Colombian Armed Forces (Hochschild & Caicedo, 2020). Although, it is not a war, according to the conventional definition as a confrontation among states or regular forces, the use of the war category is accepted in some cases because of the role of the Colombian state. Additionally, the word war is frequent in the narratives of Colombian combatants and ex-combatants and in some media, political and social actors. At this point, it is important to underline the phenomenological approach to violence, conflict and war emphasises the experiences, processes and meanings more than technical definitions according to international law.
Based on the above, war is a confrontational situation fundamentally characterised by regular acts of violence, legitimised by the perpetrators; it is a decision, never unanimous, that some actors promote or impose when it is necessary for their interests (Ferguson, 1990, as cited in Schmidt & Schröder, 2001). These “war actors”, mainly elites, find in violence an appropriate course of action, encoding the call to war in a “moral idiom” to create discourses about revenge, dignity, freedom, religion, nation, etc., based on “rational evaluations”. Bellicose actors mobilise others by force, but also through emotional discourses in a cultural grammar that determines benefits, reinforces meanings of violence, and provides a motivational framework; violence is a performative act as action, discourse and symbol. However, the symbolic dimension of violence is not under war actors´ total control; performative acts can emerge against aggressors, subverting the dominant group´s intention through unexpected cultural meanings claiming the self-agency and the political and cultural identity of victims and minorities. FARC´s songs have been performative acts, subverting some Colombia´s socio-political elite´s cultural grammar intentionally, and claiming by itself the self-agency and the political and cultural identity of popular sectors, the peasantry, especially.

The consequences of violence include culturally mediated experiences, inserted in the collective memory, representing perceptions and offering legitimations for future actions (Galtung, 1990). The tangible expression of violence is empirical facts with profound effects on the population and territories involved, some of them discerned and documented in historical records – shaped, however, by cultural discourses (Schmidt & Schröder, 2001; Ritter, 2002, 2006, 2009, 2013; Ritter & Daughtry, 2007). Violence is dialectic; it has operational properties but is also a form of symbolic action conveying cultural meanings and ideas of legitimacy. The legitimate violence is the acceptable use of force in specific contexts; however, it is debatable among members of the same
groups and society (Schmidt & Schröder, 2001). The legitimate violence recreates ideas of the past and behaviour models appealing to feelings that exalt social differentiation and suffering\(^\text{10}\), and generates mechanisms to promote traditions of confrontation; both mechanisms provide routes to assert specific interests. In the post-war (post-conflict) process, in which different kinds of violence are not legitimate, both mechanisms lose efficacy, as the others actors’ suffering is progressively recognised and the confrontational tradition starts to be questioned. The transformation of these mechanisms, based on feelings of social differentiation and suffering, can be observed in the changes to the lyrics of FARC’s music.

During the war, the actors proceed violently following cultural models that define their actions. These models require codes of legitimation that align their interests to moral imperatives, the most critical being historicity. In order to determine the narratives around the past, wars are fought from and over memory: from remembering experiences, and over, in order to impose legitimate versions of the past (Schmidt & Schröder, 2001; Krebs, et al., 2017). As a consequence, violence is a world-making force constructing imaginaries of violence; different actors claim the historical truth for themselves and its political, social and economic consequences. The imaginaries of violence emphasise the particular historicity of confrontation through representational strategies: narratives, performances and inscriptions, all of them open to new versions of the world that include the representations necessary to establish and disseminate positions and interests in war (Schmidt & Schröder, 2001).

As mention before, Violent imaginaries are general agreements about a specific historicity of confrontation; however, they have no total acceptance because the groups

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\(^{10}\) According to Schmidt and Schröder (2001), suffering is a feeling necessary for the legitimation of violence rooted in the justification of the suffering inflicted due to the more significant proportion and depth of suffering caused by the enemy.
contain sub-groups with different positions (Schmidt & Schröder, 2001). Indeed, sub-
groups can promote alternative versions that eventually erode the legitimacy of the
violent imaginaries. Narratives keep the memory of the past violence active in histories
that, for some actors, justify the acts, glorify the aims and exalt the benefits obtained,
highlighting the injustices, losses and suffering incurred (Schmidt & Schröder, 2001).
Performances are public and ritualised representations that stage the confrontation and
enact the prototypical images of violence. Inscriptions are a representational strategy of
the violent imaginaries that embed images in the cultural landscape using banners,
murals, television, the internet, sounds and; without mention the category, Grant and
Stone-Davies (2013) identify the radio experiences of broadcasters and listeners
understanding, denying, calling and sublimating different dimensions of conflicts and
wars.

The symbolism propelled by the violent imaginaries or imaginaries of violence has five
characteristics: first, a polarised structure – us against them – with minimal ambiguity,
or none at all; second, a principle of totality in every action, the confrontation is a
defensive-aggressive situation in which their actions are aggression, and our actions
are defensive responses. Third, the moral superiority of our cause is beyond the results
of the struggle, even in defeat. Fourth, the description of the post-war scenario is,
discursively beyond real facts, a total victory or a complete defeat in which the winning
group eliminates the losing one physically or politically. Violent imaginaries de-
contextualise aspects of history to create a legend of confrontation, an imaginary of
internal communion and outside aggression (Schmidt & Schröder, 2001). Violent
imaginaries combine real and imaginary fragments of history to influence new collective
 identities. FARC’s music is a constitutive part of the movement’s transformation of
violent imaginaries; the changes in their narratives, performances and inscriptions can
reveal the crisis in the code of historicity that legitimates the use of violence in the
movement’s new political identity.
2.1.4. Music, Violence and Conflict: Brief Research Background

This literature review found three main perspectives: first, the research on music and non-combatant communities in wartime situations; second, about music and combatants’ experiences during the war; and, third, on music and ex-combatants in post-war or post-deployment contexts.

2.1.4.1. Music and Non-Combatant Communities in Contexts of Armed Conflict and War

The studies about music and non-combatant populations affected by violence have been approached from different fields: musical identities (Zapata Restrepo & Hargreaves, 2017; Silverman, 2012), music education (Cohen et al., 2012; Barret & Tafuri, 2012; Zapata Restrepo, 2011, 2017). Moreover, there also exist studies from the field of community music (Howell, 2018; Mullen & Deane, 2018; Balfour, 2018), music and censorship (Hofman, 2017; Guy, 2017; Drewett, 2017; Hofmann, 2017), music and social justice (Cohen & Duncan, 2015; Hickey, 2015; Woodward, 2015), among others. Specially, the ethnography and social history approaches of Ritter’s studies on popular music, social movements and dirty war in Perú are relevant for this research (Ritter, 2002, 2006, 2009, 2013; Ritter & Daughtry, 2007).

In the Peruvian case, the official discourses of the past, based on institutional perspectives, court trials and mass media, marginalised other forms of narrative about the conflict (Ritter, 2009). Music had a powerful effect on constructing alternative versions of the conflict and incorporating political resistance and musical creativity, personally and collectively (Ritter, 2009). Performing and listening to the canción social ayacuchana have been sources of fundamental contributions to recovering the violence’s silent history and dealing with the traumatic past (Ritter, 2013). Also, the performance of the canciones testimoniales reveals unnoticed aspects of local experiences and attitudes, the use of video clips, as a new form of circulation,
contributing to the search justice for victims, and for memory (Ritter, 2013). In comparison, FARC musicians create an alternative version of the conflict based on the lyrics of their songs and music videos; although produced for propaganda purposes, they are crucial elements for a comprehensive perspective of the Colombian internal armed conflict history (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia FARC-EP, 2011).

According to Ritter, in the first years of the eighties, the discourses about progress, modernisation and development explain the simultaneous peak of the Pumpin\textsuperscript{11} carnivals \textit{(carnavales de Pumpin)}, the carnival songs contests \textit{(concursos)} and Shining Path’s activities in Perú (Ritter, 2002). During the war, some music for the carnival was a ritual and a political expression of peasant and indigenous communities, partly influenced by Shining Path’s ideology (Ritter, 2002). The violence turned the regional musical performance into a \textit{site of memory}, a space to recover the collective remembrance, in which \textit{ritual performances} promoted transformative actions, based on experiences addressing and reworking the collective memory through metaphors and metonymies that influenced social changes, political activism and cultural resistance (DeNora, 2000; as cited in Ritter, 2002). The \textit{ritual performances} generated political resistance in cultural interstices, \textit{liminal spaces} where new meanings emerged unobserved (Comaroff, 1994, as cited in Ritter, 2002). Simultaneously, the \textit{concursos} promoted changes in the musical genres involved. Lyrics about love and common issues declined in favour of political and social concerns; although some songs supported Shining Path ideas, most communicated different expressions of rebelliousness. The effect of the \textit{myth of progress} that linked the music and political discourses in the Peruvian popular music studied by Ritter has an analogy in some

\textsuperscript{11} The \textit{Pumpin} is a peculiar form of carnival in the province of Víctor Fajardo, Ayacucho, Peru. This is also the name of the musical style.
features of the lyrics in FARC songs, based on a promise of happiness and justice in a revolutionary future.

2.1.4.2. Music and Combatants’ Experiences in Situations of Armed Conflict and War

The research background from this perspective is relatively new. From United States soldiers’ experiences, Daughtry (2015) studies, based on an extended ethnographic research, the impact suffered by members of United States Army and Iraqi civilians physically and psychologically affected by the soundscape, which he calls *belliphonic*, experienced in the Iraq war. His conceptual contributions and findings about the role of sound and music in the war experiences is framed in the Iraqi war circumstances. Gilman (2016) establishes a framework to analyse the uses of music among soldiers and veterans in the United States. This includes the uses of music to set work/leisure spaces, compose a personal soundtrack of their experiences of war, make gender affirmations and modulate feelings. Pieslak (2009) offers an analysis of the place and uses of music of United States soldiers in Iraqi war from recruitment, inspiration, expression and the relationship between musical genres and the ideology, among other perspectives. Pieslak (2015) analyses the perception of the music’s effect in some radical activist in terms of motivation, recruitment and retaining; he observes the music’s propagandistic effect associated to extreme political ideology and some popular culture practices, the media and consumer society.

On the other hand, Johnson and Cloonan (2008) advanced critical views about music in wartime dynamics, considering its role accompanying, inciting and arousing violence. O’Connell and Castelo-Branco (2010) include in their compilation volume the section *Music in War* with Sugarman’s contribution (2010) about songs, myths, peace and war in Kosovo; and Naroditskaya’s (2010) on the musical enactment of conflict in Azerbaijan. Both are based on fertile interdisciplinary perspectives. Grant offers
different approaches from the musicology of war (Grant et. al, 2010, Grant, 2020). From a historic perspective, she observes different uses of music for punishment and humiliation treatments in the British military forces during connecting music, military discipline, torture and the corporal pain inflicted as a practical and symbolic social practice (Grant, 2013b). Her studies about music and torture (Grant, 2013a, 2014) identify the substantial role of music in cruel, inhuman and degrading treatments (CIDT) and, on the other hand, rehabilitation and restore dignity processes; she establishes a logical/illogical relationship between the social structure of torture and the social functions of music. Additionally, her analysis of the music functions for perpetrators´ aims (Grant, 2019) describes a wide implication of music in atrocities and genocides, ritualising the violence and reinforcing the victim dehumanisation (Grant, 2017).

Finally, the studies on the musical experiences of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) combatants in the Sierra Leonean civil war are pertinent contributions to analysing music in irregular armed movements (Nuxoll, 2009, 2014, 2015). These studies are especially relevant for this research. According to Nuxoll (2014), the RUF’s commando and morale songs were crucial for military training, combat operations and to inspire zeal and bravery. Although these songs had a foreign origin, Gio (Liberia), they promoted a strong sense of cohesion and identity among the Sierra Leonean guerrilla. The wartime experience of combatants re-contextualises the meanings of the songs (Nuxoll, 2014); their musical dissemination and performance bestow unity and encourage social links, acting as a cognitive praxis (Eyerman & Jamison, 1998; as cited in Nuxoll, 2014). The Gio songs illustrate how music’s affect is attributable to emotional states (Nuxoll, 2014); they create a collective experience to motivate, ensure obedience and reinforce the combatants´ focus, at the same time, were part of drills, celebrations, mourning and nostalgic moments. The attributable affect of music is especially relevant among Sierra Leonean ex-combatants who find in musical styles or
musical genres elements of personal and collective identities that represent them and align them socially. The *attributable affect of music* helps the acquisition of multiple identities necessary to deal with social and emotional situations during and after the war (Nuxoll, 2015). In post-war transitions, these multiple identities change in the context of a new *soundscape* shaped by fresh musical alternatives. The analysis of different tendencies in musical creation after the war in Sierra Leone is helpful for contrasting FARC musicians´ creative experiences in their current, post-conflict soundscape, especially when adopting new urban and commercial musical genres (Wade, 2000).

Technological aspects are also relevant. Musical radio broadcasting influences understanding, denying, affirming and sublimating different dimensions of conflict (Grant & Stone-Davis, 2013), as the cases of Sri Lanka (N’Weerasinghe, 2013), Sierra Leone (Richards, 2013) and Rwanda (Parker, 2013) demonstrate. These can be contrasted with FARC’s experiences of musical diffusion through clandestine radio broadcasts. However, the introduction of the mp3 format made listening to music a more personal and mobile experience for combatants and ex-combatants (Pegley, 2015). The impact of the mp3, digital music production by software and applications has been crucial for FARC musicians’ listening and production activities, particularly after the Accords.

2.1.4.3. Music and Ex-Combatants in Post-Conflict, Post-War and Post-Deployment Situations

Research into music as part of therapeutic processes for post-deployment military personnel has a long tradition in the field of music therapy, especially considering the effects of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) (Bensimon et al., 2008, 2012; Fani, 2011; Hunter, 2019; Spencer, 2013; Shing, 2016; Garrison, 2016; Story & Beck, 2017; Noyes & Schlesinger, 2017; Betancourt et. al., 2012; Breslau, 2004; Kienzler, 2008;
Moghimi, 2012; Story et. al., 2017). However, research on the socio-cultural role of music in ex-combatants’ experiences is scarce. Pinto (2011, 2014) presents an analysis of the exchange of musical experiences between victims and ex-combatants as part of reconciliation processes in Colombia. Additionally, Kucera (2012) and Gilman (2016) focuses on the role of music among United States veterans of the Iraq and Afghanistan wars, and Pegley (2015) re-evaluates the benefits of sound therapy based on his study with Canadian retired soldiers. The literature focuses on combatant and ex-combatant non-musicians, and military personnel of conventional or regular armies.

Research into the role of music in post-war or post-deployment situations provides information about how combatants and ex-combatants used music to manage their emotions and stress, to face life losses, and unfamiliar contexts, and how they remember it, as part of the preparation for military actions (Pegley, 2015). For veterans and ex-combatants, listening to music is crucial for their autobiographical memory, evoking recollections, reflections, remembering and even forgetting the war (Pegley, 2015). Among FARC musicians, the evocative effect of music has a role beyond the autobiographical memory; it is essential to the construction of their collective memory.

2.1.5. Music and Social Movements: Theoretical Contributions

The transition from an illegal group to a lawful social movement led to fundamental changes in FARC’s music. The social movements built a space for cultural transformations, allowing new meanings for particular musical genres through a social process called the mobilisation of tradition (Eyerman & Jamison, 1998). Among social movements, the songs help to reconstitute the structures of feeling, meanings, identities, and the collective willingness to act in culture and society (Eyerman & Jamison, 1998). Social movements are spaces for producing culture; their political dynamic expands cultural actions that create new meanings necessary for a collective identity. They also confront ideas, values, and attitudes in everyday life through
exemplary actions, a symbolic or material cultural representation or expression that reveals the social movement from within, communicating values and principles at an individual or collective level. These actions reconstitute political and cultural dimensions simultaneously, providing a political context for cultural expressions, and cultural resources for political aims (Eyerman & Jamison, 1998).

Social movements produce cultural transformations, conceiving new relations between music and politics through a collective learning process (Eyerman & Jamison, 1998). This cognitive approach focuses attention on the construction of ideas among social movements and its articulation with a collective identity. The knowledge here is not only scientific or formal; the social movements produce it when inventing and reinventing the structures of feeling that provide cohesion to new social formations, promoting a politicisation of knowledge (Williams, 1977; as cited in Eyerman & Jamison, 1998). As the creation and recreation of the social movements’ interpretative framing, the concept of cognitive praxis helps us to understand the relationship between culture and social movements historically (Williams, 1977; as cited in Eyerman & Jamison, 1998). Social movements’ musical expressions are a kind of cognitive praxis that constructs their culture internally and externally, individually and collectively (Eyerman & Jamison 1998). The cognitive praxis concept contributes to understanding the relationships between FARC’s music and culture, and FARC’s ideology.

Thus, social movements become cultural laboratories for creative work, deconstructing and recombinining materials from the cultural traditions. The mobilisation of traditions in social movements is another cognitive praxis that involves symbolic, material and ritualised practices to produce meanings and ideas. Music in social movements embodies traditions through rituals and performances that empower and create collective identity in an emotional and a discursive sense (Eyerman & Jamison, 1998). Music in rituals gathers and highlights the members’ roles, locating them in a tradition
of long struggle, promoting meaningful construction processes (Small, 1998). Rituals and celebrations, and FARC musicians´ experiences of fiestas, construct meanings, thereby forming a collective identity, solidarity and a social order, creating liminal spaces where the breaking of boundaries emerges (Turner, 1969; Schechner, 1993, as cited in Eyerman & Jamison, 1998). The inclusion of social movements´ songs in a particular musical tradition, and vice versa, contributes to supporting the structures of feeling, a central aspect of cultural formation (Williams, 1977; as cited in Eyerman & Jamison, 1998). Furthermore, the songs express a range of social forces, historical processes, local cultures and the inevitable tension with commercial interests (Eyerman & Jamison, 1998). Musical traditions are not just sounds and performances; they evoke images and symbols. They resemble ideology because the latter is not just a discourse but is a pre-formed interpretative system of reality composed of images, symbols, and actions that stimulate emotional responses (Eyerman & Jamison, 1998). These traditions are narrative forms, usually oral and performative rather than written, that reconcile cultural and political memories and identities.

2.1.6. Identity and Transformation of Conflict: Fundamental Perspectives

FARC´s musicians decided to transform their personal and collective life by undertaking a peace-building process. Their social (political) and cultural (musical) identities changes drive them to embrace the transformation of the conflict, an interaction between dynamic actors, in which their examination of the contextual changes suggests responses for deactivating factors of violence (Lederach, 2003). Three fundamental elements give structure to a conflict transformation conflict model: first, the presenting situation, integrated by patterns and history; second, the future horizon, constituted by solutions, relationships and systems; and third, how the process of change develops, shaped by structural, cultural, relational, personal, episode and epicentre subcomponents (Lederach, 2003). In the Colombian case, these three elements are collective, but were given individual expression, framing FARC musicians´
experiences during the transition process, and possibly identifying characteristics of their musical and political identities negotiation based on their narratives.

According to Cook-Huffman (2009; as cited in Reimer, 2013), the relationship between identity and conflict is multifaceted and multi-layered. Identities evolve and interact throughout conflicts. At the same time, the interactions of identities influence the conflict dynamic, establishing the actors’ roles, types of responses and perceptions (Cook-Huffman, 2009; as cited in Reimer, 2013). A relevant concept here is identity conflict that encompasses situations in which some actors appealing to cultural differences to promote violence. Usually this occurs when the claims of one group, rooted in their identity, history and memory, acquire a central role (Wolff, 2006; as cited in Reimer, 2013). Identity conflicts are particularly intense when a collective fears its cultural disappearance by means of nationalist or ethnic violence; however, social or political minorities can also fear and face threats of annihilation (Korostelina, 2009; as cited in Reimer, 2013). In the Colombian case, during the eighties and nineties, the Unión Patriótica, the party that resulted from the peace agreement with Betancur’s government, was persecuted and their members were executed systematically as a political minority. In the present historical and political perspective, FARC ex-combatants, and specifically FARC musicians, fear a similar situation. Identity conflict has a place among FARC musicians, in their effort to reshape FARC’s culture as a response to structural changes; they are finding a place for their music in the tensions between the past, present and future conceptions of their culture and the new political party identity.

Conflict is a normal and continuous dynamic in human relationships, necessary for constructive changes (Lederach, 2003). The transformation of conflict highlights the creative changes generated by the conflicts and the relationships that make them possible (Lederach, 2003). At the same time, identity conflict is a dynamic interweaving
of different relationships, transforming individual, collective, cultural and social realities that produce positive or negative responses and deactivate or activate factors of violence (Lederach, 2003). Personal narratives are significant in identifying the conflict transformation process and analysing actors’ relationships and experiences (Lederach, 2003; Reimer, 2013; Zarowsky, 2004). Identity resides in the narratives of how individuals or collectives define themselves (Lederach, 2003). In a process of conflict transformation, narratives require ‘moral imagination’, a conscious effort to overcome the cycles of violence, which generates, mobilises and builds four capacities. First, the possibility to imagine a web of relationships that includes one’s enemies; second, to hold in tension paradoxically curiosity and complexity that erode the basis of dualistic polarities; third, to promote creative acts in every field of society; and fourth, to accept the inherent risk in advancing towards unknown scenarios beyond violence (Lederach, 2005). The moral imagination focuses, first, on a capacity to perceive the world beyond its superficial and immediate appearance; second, to emphasise the necessity of creative acts and, third, on promoting quality of transcendence, breaking out narrow conceptions to explain the reality (Lederach, 2005). Citing Wright Mills, Lederach points out that the moral imagination appeals to calls for a proper research vocation that connects structural history and personal biographies, assuming critical assessment in studying the social world (Wright Mills 1959; as cited in Lederach, 2005).

2.1.7. Ethnography with Ex-Combatant Communities in Post-Conflict and Post-War Contexts: Methodological Aspects.

The literature on ethnography with former combatants in post-conflict and post-war scenarios can be found from different fields: sociology, anthropology and psychology mainly (Russell Bernard, 2006; Janzen, 2016). For this research, valuable materials about ethnography in war contexts (Wood, 2006; Brun, 2013; Al-Masri, 2017; Berghs, 2014; Hazlehurst, 2016; Racanelli, 2019) and guides to managing personal security (Mazurana & Gale, 2013) are useful for dealing with ethical aspects, extreme political
tensions, the instability of events and the ex-combatants’ traumatic situation (Vallejo Samudio, 2020; Vinaccia & Ortega, 2021). Recent research about the present situation of ex-combatants recruited as children by irregular forces in the Colombian conflict (Salamanca Sarmiento, 2019) is pertinent. Salamanca Sarmiento applied an ethnography of global connections (Tsing, 2005, as cited in Salamanca Sarmiento, 2019) to examine normative understandings of child soldiering in the Colombian context, tracing the tensions between global discourses and local practices (Salamanca Sarmiento, 2019). She undertook writing workshops with a group of Colombian former child soldiers to produce accounts of their warrior-selves and their peasant-selves (campesino-selves), components of their understandings of who they are in the present (Salamanca Sarmiento, 2019). Finally, she contrasts these accounts with conventional narrative and globalised figure of the child soldier (Salamanca Sarmiento, 2019).

However, these contributions are insufficient in considering the identities negotiation dynamic in the initial stages of peace processes and illustrating specific procedures to ‘do no harm’ to communities in transitional dynamics (Hennings, 2018). Recently, the Ethnographic Peace Research approach (EPR) (Millar, 2018a, 2018b, 2018c, 2018d) identified fundamental problems and methods for ethnographic research and other interventions during processes of reconciliation and conflict transformation. A relevant difficulty is differentiating victims from perpetrators and dealing with ex-combatants’ double conditions (victim/perpetrator) (Hennings, 2018). Sometimes, it is ethically problematic to observe communities and societies in a black-and-white, victim-perpetrator fashion; according to Menzel (2015, as cited in Hennings, 2018), based on her research in Sierra Leone, a polarised classification in post-conflict societies is inconvenient and insufficient for understanding the complex and non-linear dynamics of the war period and post-war consequences. My research does not set out to prove the condition (victim/perpetrator) or judge the previous or present actions of FARC
musicians; it will study their musical experiences and political expressions through their music.

In peacebuilding processes, ethnographic research requires identifying the sub-groups within a social movement, including differences in age, rank, gender and origin. Identifying ex-combatants is necessary for understanding diversity inside a social movement, as is naming identities, roles, and positions, without compromising their dignity in the intra-community relationships (Hennings, 2018; Balsiger & Lambelet, 2014; Erlingsson, 2013). As a “cultural outsider”, the researcher must handle comprehensive dialogues with diverse sources in order to understand situations and hierarchies (Hennings, 2018). Depending on how peace was agreed, diversity and belonging to the movement are fundamental for assuring economic or exceptional legal treatments. The legal aspects, especially around amnesties, usually explicitly establish the terms of the ex-combatants' situation (Hennings, 2018). Some characteristics of the Colombian peace process facilitate the identification of features and distinctions among FARC musicians. The Peace Agreement established the Territorial Spaces for Training and Reintegration (Espacios Territoriales de Capacitación y Reincorporación; ETCR) where some ex-combatants, mainly of rural origin, built their residences and undertook educational and productive projects. Other ex-combatants returned to their families in their home municipalities and cities. In the ETCRs and in the cities, FARC members are part of collectives and networks that recognise and support them; protected by the terms of the Peace Agreement, they do not live clandestinely or in anonymity; they are visible members of their movement and their communities. In particular, the Peace Agreement does not apply an amnesty; it develops a special transitional justice regime called the Special Justice Mechanism for Peace (Justicia Especial para la Paz; JEP). The JEP will administer justice, judging and sanctioning the illegal actions of all the actors involved in the conflict.
In this case, physical access to the ETCR zones is not restricted. However, the authorities mount checkpoints to monitor people’s passage and guarantee security. FARC members consider this control necessary. I carried out meetings in nearby municipalities and cities; some interviews were done online due to the pandemic lockdown. According to Hennings (2018), official authorizations in post-conflict situations have pros and cons; in her ethnography about Khmer Rouge, she opted not to use them. In this case, official authorizations to access the ETCRs do not exist.

Three factors are pertinent for strengthening trusting relationships: first, gaining legitimacy through the researcher’s networks and taking advantage of their background; second, ensuring confidentiality; and, third, identifying the limits of going local with ex-combatant communities (Hennings, 2018; Hoffman & Tarawalley, 2014). The researcher’s legitimacy depends on factors such as attitude, origin, age, and gender, but above all, respect and appreciation (Hennings, 2018). In this case, in 2017, during two previous visits to the Icononzo ETCR, there were factors in my favour: my academic career at a public university and my last contact with some ex-combatants interested in undergraduate education in arts, were valuable. Additionally, my mature age facilitated interaction and trustworthiness. Ensuring confidentiality can imply in-situ decisions to avoid compromising trust and security; it can be necessary to refrain from recording some interviews and discussions when the conversation starts to affect personal or collective issues (Hennings, 2018). Following these ideas, I was always ready to stop the audio and video recording in such cases; fortunately, that situation did not happen during the interviews. Clear procedures were required for managing the confidentiality and security of information and physical materials, of which the participants were fully abreast. The challenges of going local with ex-combatant communities called for proper and ethical levels of immersion. According to Hennings’ experiences in Cambodia, an appropriate immersion process required enough time in which the language barrier is crucial; sufficient knowledge of the local language saves
time and effort. In this case, although with limited time in each fieldwork place, I did not face a language barrier, and collaborators helped as fieldwork liaisons in the immersion process.

This research accomplished the rigorous University of Edinburgh research ethics procedures, particularly following the College of Humanities and Social Science (CHSS) Research Ethics Framework and Edinburgh College of Art (ECA) Research Ethics Policy and Procedures. ECA has developed a three-tiered system for the ethical review of research activities to ensure the identification and attention of every study according to its complexity. This research undertook Level 1, completing the PGR Self Audit Checklist for Ethical Purposes. The exercise found no risks warranted audits at levels 2 or 3. The Research Knowledge Exchange and Impact Office (RKEO) confirmed level 1 and approved the document. The Self Audit Checklist established that the study proposal had no issues of confidentiality, data handling, management and consent, which could not be adequately handled by the standard tenets of ethical academic research or not adequately dealt with and compliant with academic procedures. The absence of conflict of interest, potential physical or psychological harm or stress, for participants and researcher was also established. Finally, the Self Audit Checklist explained why FARC was not construed as a terrorist or extremist group since their demobilisation and laying down of arms after the Accords. Additionally, in all stages of the process, the research emphasised explaining the informed consent in detail, reinforced the proper management of all interview materials, encrypted the transcriptions and protected participants' anonymity.
2.2. Aims, Research Questions, Methods and Timescale

This research aims to analyse FARC musicians’ musical identities, identifying the role of their music in constructing their political identities. FARC musicians’ negotiation of identities is part of significant changes in their personal, social, political and cultural contexts, as members of a new social movement involved in a conflict transformation process. This research grounded on a phenomenological perspective and qualitative methods, applied an ethnographic approach and narrative analysis, to focus on two forms of narratives: *life histories* and *songs*. Based on in-depth, semi-structured interviews, the *life histories analysis* covered their musical biographies, the relationship of their music with the social movement, and the role of their music in conflict transformation. For this research, the songs are a form of narrative; the *songs-as-narratives analysis* focused on their lyrics and musical video material obtained during the fieldwork or from the musicians’ archives. Specifically, this study will resolve two fundamental research questions:

- *What are the musical identities of FARC musicians?*
- *What is the role of music in constructing FARC musicians’ political identities?*

The research questions imply three aspects: first, the ex-combatants' musical identity; second, their political identity constructed through their music; and third, the negotiation of both identities during the transformation of the conflict process. Those aspects required three complementary frameworks respectively: first, the musical identities social and cultural perspectives to observe specifically their management of interpersonal relationships, mood and self-identity (MacDonald et al., 2017); second, the music and social movements theoretical framework to identify the mobilisation of tradition, cognitive praxis and exemplary actions (Eyerman & Jameson, 1998) and; third, the transformation of conflict approach to analyse their presenting situation, horizon of future and the developments of the change process (Lederach, 2003, 2005). Consequently, this research requires a study designed to analyse ex-combatants’
musical and political identities' interaction during the transformation of the conflict through their narratives. Based on two fundamental dimensions from the musical identities field: the identities in music (IIM), identifying their musical roles and affirmations, and the music in identities (MII), observing the place and function of their music constructing their political identity in the transitional period; the research question's aspects, and frameworks mentioned, can be integrated comprehensively.

The theoretical, methodological and analytical proposal can be resumed as follows:

The analyses articulated elements from narrative, discourse and life history methods (Squire et al., 2008; Livholts & Tamboukou, 2015; Andrews et al., 2013), from social movement methodological practices (Della Porta, 2014a; Hutter, 2014) narrative inquiry methods (Wells, 2011) and embodied and narrative inquiry (Bresler, 2006; Barret & Stauffer, 2009, 2012; Barret, 2017). Additionally, this research considered methodological aspects of fieldwork in conflict contexts (Malthaner, 2014), ethnography with ex-combatants in post-conflict scenarios (Hennings, 2018; Millar, 2018a, 2018b, 2018c, 2018d), ethics in social movement research (Milan, 2014), in-depth interviews and life histories in social movements (Della Porta, 2014b; Ayoub et. al., 2014; Derry, et. al., 2010) and narratives in conflict transformation processes (Reimer, 2013; Paffenholz, 2014).

Figure 1. Theoretical, methodological and analytical levels
2.2.1. The Life History Analysis (Interviews)

The narrative analysis of interviews with FARC musicians required methods beyond the narratives of events, based on Labovian approaches (Patterson, 2017) and the narratology triangle: sequence, coherence and closure (Tamboukou, 2017a). In this case, the narratives were observed through a dual focus – "what happened" and, more importantly, "what it felt like, as it happened" (Montgomery, 2010; as cited in Patterson, 2017) – to understand the affective actions of the musical experiences and the attributable effect of music (Riessman, 1993, as cited in Patterson, 2017; Nuxoll, 2014, 2015). Additionally, it is necessary to remark that the local and broader societal context are interlinked, and both are determinant in the claims of identity in autobiographical construction (Phoenix, 2017; Riessman, 2008), including musical (DeNora, 2017) and political (Tamboukou, 2017a; Tamboukou, 2017b) identity expressions. The person-centred narratives are more than an individual and subjective point of view interpreting the context; they become expressions of a multi-layered, personal and collective world that can be analysed through the Listening Guide Method (LGM) (Gilligan, 2015; Gilligan & Eddy, 2017). The LGM is a critical response to the limitations and assumptions of the single coding of data, presented by researchers interested in identities, gender, morals, ethics, mental health and other studies (Gilligan et al., 2003; Gilligan, et. al., 2011; Bekaert, 2020). The LGM proposes a multi-layered approach integrating theoretical, ontological, epistemological and methodological dimensions in order to analyse an individual’s narratives (Brown & Gilligan, 1992, as cited in Gilligan et al., 2003). The method sees the individual embedded in webs of intimate and extensive relationships on personal and social levels (Gilligan, et. al., 2011). The LGM adopts a relational ontology, allowing an understanding of different experiences and interactions about social, cultural, political and other structural constructs (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003).
The LGM is a relational, analytical process to identify the *polyphony of voices* that constitute a singular personal voice (Loots et al., 2017). This personal voice is a socially constructed, personal identity, an expression of an individual, multi-layered world inserted in cultural (musical) and social (political) relationships. Four critical questions about the voices and their relationships structure LGM analysis (Gilligan & Eddy, 2017):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Who is speaking and to whom?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To tell what stories about which relationships?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In what societal and cultural frameworks?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In what “body” (embodied person) or physical space?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The voices emerged in the narratives emotionally as images, descriptions and metaphors, meanings and definitions, descriptions of collaborative networks, experiences balance and evaluation, knowledge constructions, expectations and sense of future, among other oral structures (Doucet & Mauthner, 2008). Additionally, the analysis of FARC musicians’ narratives observed the emerging of *past-present-future* narratives, pivotal to identifying the negotiation process of musical identities. According to McKinlay and McVittie (2017), these are based on:

| Memories and remembering. *I was-I did/we were- we did* (past identities) |
| Current self-definitions and actions. *I am-I do/ we are- we do* (present identities) |
| Hope and future expectations. *I will-I will do/ we will- we will do* (future identities) |

Embodiment in narratives and life histories was an additional layer in this analysis. Bodies and embodiment in narratives and life histories (Hydén, 2013), the embodied located perspective (Livholts, 2015); and the embodied narrative inquiry (Bresler, 2006;
DeNora, 2006; Stanley & Temple, 2008; Barrett & Stauffer, 2009, 2012) contributed to observing emotions, body reactions, gestures, hesitations, sighing, laughing, singing, playing and prosody, and emotional and paralinguistic expressions as a constitutive part of the narratives.

During this research, I carried out fifteen (15) in-depth, semi-structured interviews. Three (3) interviews were undertaken with five (5) FARC musician, each lasting approximately one or two hours. The first interview included answers to basic information and their musical biographies, focusing on managing interpersonal relationships, mood, emotions and self-identity. The second interview covered the relationship between their music and the social movement, considering the mobilisation of tradition, cognitive praxis and exemplary actions. The third interview encompassed the role of their music in the conflict transformation process, highlighting the presenting situation, the horizon of future and the development of the change process.

2.2.2. Songs-as-narrative Analysis (Lyrics and Music Video)

This research applied the same approach and methodology used in the life history analysis, the songs being understood as a narrative. Based on lyrics, visuals, staging and performance elements in musical video materials, this research studied five (4) original songs applying the LGM readings. This analysis considered only songwriters; a backing musician, not a singer-songwriter, included in the life history analysis, was excluded at this point.

Lyrics have a substantial role in the construction of musical identities in popular music (McKinlay & McVittie, 2017); they are a communicative form of discourses and identities (Machin, 2010). This research applied some elements of the cultural production of social movements (Lindekilde, 2014), and others from the analysis of lyrics in popular music based on the music as cultural phenomena socially built (Frith,

The analysis offered elements for understanding the tension between residual, emergent and dominant segments of culture, and between local-national references (Eyerman & Jameson, 1998). Specifically, the common elements of FARC songs between the popular, traditional and commercial musical genres provided evidence of how they sought to be part of local and national culture, appealing to likeness and similarity. The effects of how musical genre were used, as well as visual and performance elements, have been observed previously at the personal-collective and local-national levels of memory and identity construction (Ritter, 2002, 2006, 2009, 2013) and characterise specific forms of mobilisation of tradition (Eyerman & Jameson, 1998). Although musical genre is a flexible category vis-à-vis, formal musical elements (Frith, 1996; Frith, et al., 2001), some sound and visual features can establish the songs´ proximity or belonging to musical traditions – a relevant aspect in musical and political identities for FARC musicians.

The LGM application to the song-as-narrative is a novelty. It is based on observing two characteristics in the ex-combatants’ musical materials: lyrics and music videos. As will be seen forward, LGM focuses on a systematic listening of narratives to obtain specific products for in-depth analysis of the identity dynamic narrated: the identification of the plot and reader’s response, the “I” poem, the relationships web and the context. The lyrics and music videos allow us to identify those products, making viable the LGM analysis (Jewitt, 2012). LGM is consistent with current literature about popular music analyses (Machin, 2010; Moore, 2001, 2003, 2007, 2012; Brackett, 2000) that include lyrical, performative and visual elements as part of the analysis.
On the one hand, the lyrics analysis discloses: the activity schema to reveal the lyrics’ narrative and core structure (plot), the participants (subjects and relationships) to find the kind of communication and social actors involved and their linguistic representation (Van Leeuwen, 1996; as cited in Machin, 2010), the action and agency (verbs) and its language representation (relationships) (Halliday, 1978, as cited in Machin, 2010), and the setting and circumstances (context). On the other hand, the music video LGM analysis is an audio-visual narrative analysis allowing to identify the musical genre characteristics and representations, fundamental expressing the musical and political identities construction, also visual elements adding to the LGM analysis symbolic and representational elements (Ritter, 2002, 2006, 2009, 2013), and the performance, gestures and movements communicating an embodied narrative (Bresler, 2006; Barret & Stauffer, 2009, 2012; Barret, 2017). In short, LGM is applied to music video analysis describing, frame by frame, the images, its technical features, type of visual shot, visual descriptions and locations; the content to obtain the plot and reader response; characteristics and features observing the themes, emotional expressions, body gestures focused on the uses of the personal pronoun ("I" poem); protagonists and relationships; and the contextual connections.

2.2.3. Methodology Application: The Listening Guide Method Analysis

An ethnographic approach was necessary for undertaking interviews, with two objectives: encouraging the flow of participants’ narratives and creating in-depth immersions in interviewees’ everyday lives and contexts. A detailed transcription procedure was required because of the interview length and the number of expressive elements that had to be studied. Word repetitions, hesitations, exclamations, colloquial expressions, background noises, incomplete words and sentences were relevant for observing the emotional dimension involved in constructing the narrated musical and political identities. On the other hand, the interviewees and I selected the songs the
analysis based on their relevance and explicit reference as a significant song in each FARC musician’s musical biography.

The translation process was a challenge trying to maintain the conversational and natural meanings, forms and expressions of the colloquial Spanish and the Colombian popular uses of the language. The translation process was developed in three stages: firstly, a total and comprehensive translation of the entire transcriptions made by the researcher. Secondly, a British academic colleague, Peter Cousins, a doctoral candidate at the Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Granada, Spain, reviewed and corrected pertinent transcription fragments. He holds a B.A. in Modern Languages (Spanish and German) from Merton College, University of Oxford, and an M.A. in Conflict Resolution from the then-Department of Peace Studies, University of Bradford, England. He has worked closely in the context of the Colombian armed conflict, spending six years in the country. Thirdly, a final translation revision was made by a Colombian expert and colleague, Gloria Patricia Zapata Restrepo, PhD in Music Psychology and Education at Roehampton University, England, and M.A. in Psychopedagogy at the Universidad de Antioquia, Colombia. She is the director of the UNESCO Chair in Arts, Education and Culture of Peace at Juan N. Corpas University and Universidad Distrital Francisco José de Caldas, Colombia.

The Voice-Centred Relational Method (VCRM), better known as the Listening Guide Method (LGM), guides the qualitative analysis of life histories and songs. As mentioned previously, the listening approach employs a set of fundamental questions: who is speaking, what stories are they telling, about which relationships, and in which societal and cultural framework. These questions frame four readings of (listenings to) the transcriptions that structure the LGM method (Brown & Gilligan, 1992; cited in Gilligan et al., 2003). First, locating the narrative plot; second, identifying the use of “I” (“we”), the self in the context of the story told and the composition of an “I” based poem; third,
listening for relationships; and, finally, tracing the references to broader social, political
and societal contexts.

Figure 2. Listening Guide Method Readings

2.2.3.1. LGM Reading One: Listening to the Plot and the Reader-Response
The first listening, or reading, has two stages: identifying the plot (Gilligan et al., 2011) and
the reader-response – that is, how the listener responds to the participant’s
narrative (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003). The first stage allows the researcher to listen for
the plot and explore the contents’ identifying features that distinguish the particular
psychological landscape of the musical experiences in life histories and songs. First,
determining the major and minor themes, asking who is present or missing, finding
emotional hotspots, salient images, metaphors, gaps or ruptures (Gilligan & Eddy,
2017). The second stage connects the reading with the researcher’s reactions to the
stories. The researcher draws links to the participants’ narratives by integrating their
background experiences and history into the speech (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003;
Gilligan et al., 2011). In this case, I incorporated my expressions, word repetitions,
hesitations, and emotional responses. During the reflection process or reader-
response, I take note of my interventions to identify my emotional reactions, opinions or
thoughts related to the events described, revealing my own voice among the
interviewee’s voices.
The plot is also helpful for identifying body gestures and expressions, and locates the metaphors relevant in narratives, enabling creative strategies for remembering and communicating events, situations and experiences. On the other hand, the plot allowed an emotional hotspot to come forth, illustrating the (pre)dominant emotions during the interview and those expressed in the songs’ content, revealing the polyphony of voices that shape the narratives. A sunburst chart helped represent the diversity and proportion of voices.

2.2.3.2. LGM Reading Two: Listening for Uses of the Personal Pronoun in Life Histories and Songs

According to the LGM, the second listening identifies the uses of “I”, the self, in the story’s context (Brown & Gilligan, 1992; as cited in Gilligan et al., 2003). The listener pays attention to the participant’s personal pronoun to understand how they express their experiences as a FARC musician and how they identify themselves in the songs’ lyrics (Golding & Hargreaves, 2018). This second stage consists in constructing an “I” poem (Golding, 2011, 2013), coding the personal pronoun as it appears in the transcriptions (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003). The different uses of / illuminate how the ex-combatants define themselves in their musical biography and through the songs’ lyrics, their relationship with the social movement (guerrilla/political party), and the place of their music in the conflict transformation (Urbain, 2008). In addition, the “I” poem allows close attention to be paid to the data, insofar as the voices’ distinctive rhythms and cadences can be heard (Brown & Gilligan, 1992).

The “I” poem follows two rules of construction: highlighting and selecting, in sequence, all the passages where the first-person “I” occurs, and then including associated verbs and any other words relevant to its meaning (Gilligan et al., 2003, 2011). The poem emerges from the highlighted text, enabling it to focus on the associative stream of consciousness carried by the first-person voice, cutting across or running through the
narrative rather than being contained by the structure of paragraphs or sentences (Gilligan et al., 2003, 2011). In the song’s lyrics, the poem focuses on the subjective roles and actions of the narrative sung and performed.

Nevertheless, this method, focused on musical and political identities, requires the researcher to observe when participants switch from the first-person voice, the “I” to “one” and “we”. Although “I” is the fundamental, first-person, nominative pronoun, “one”, though indirect grammatically, is quite common in Colombian Spanish (especially in oral narratives) and highlights ambiguous manifestations of self, essential for a complete understanding of subjective expressions. Furthermore, the uses of “one” and “we” help keep distance from some narrated facts in ex-combatants’ life histories. The uses of “we” illuminate the relationship between personal and collective identities, fundamental for expressing musical and political experiences; “we” is also a fundamental expression in the political content of songs’ lyrics. Therefore, in addition to the “I” poem, this analysis incorporates the uses of pronouns “I”, “one” and “we” through an “I, one and we” poem. Both poems act as “lenses”; the “I” poem shows the core of the first person, while the “I, one and we” poem permits a broader, subjective, intersubjective and social view of the self.

2.2.3.3. LGM Reading Three: Listening for Relationships Developed in the Course of Musical Experiences

The third listening focuses on interpersonal relationships and the way that these are articulated. The broader connections generate contrapuntal expressions that emerge in one personal voice (Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Gilligan et al., 2003, 2011). Based on Mauthner and Doucet’s (2003) procedure, I highlighted each voice identifying words specifically related to relationships (names and nicknames; roles in the family, friends job, and the movement).
Interpersonal relationships provide a matrix connecting the protagonists mentioned in the narrative with the events that shape their musical and political identities on four different levels: self, family and friends, guerrilla and political party, and background. The mosaic charts helped integrate the information and count the appearances of every protagonist during the speech and song lyrics. It is crucial to underline that the mosaic chart synthesises the data and recognises the protagonists’ appearances it was not a quantitative approach for eliciting statistical interpretations.

2.2.3.4. LGM Reading Four: Listening and Attending to the Socio-Political Nature of Musical Practices

The fourth listening pays attention to relationships with broader social, cultural, political and economic structures (Brown & Gilligan, 1992; Mauthner & Doucet, 2003; Gilligan et al., 2003, 2011). This reading highlights the bonds with the country, political parties, national government, and institutions; and also, ideals associated with the homeland, FARC principles, political fighting, sacrifice, and other expansive or transcendent concepts, linking personal experience to the social, historical, cultural and political contexts.
Chapter Three.


The chapter analyses the narratives of five ex-combatant musicians by applying the Voice-Centred Relational Method (VCRM), better known as the Listening Guide Method (LGM): Camila Aguirre, Clemente Blasco, Noelia Rosales, Miguel Leal and Álvaro Merchán; these are not their actual names, the names of all persons mentioned in their narratives were also changed in this document. This chapter provides evidence about the pertinence of the LGM methodology in obtaining substantial data to answer the research questions, deepening comprehensively the musical and political identities negotiation process of the ex-combatant musicians adding layers to read their narratives in individual, collective, social (political) and cultural (musical) contexts.
3.1. Camila Aguirre.

Interview Date: 29.11.2019. Place: Bogotá.

Total interview time: 1:37:33

In Camila and the following cases, the semi-structured interview was based on a pre-determined set of open questions; some of them prompted dialogue, and others allowed to explore particular answers or topics. Camila Aguirre, 33 years old, is a member of Los Comunes. She lives in Bogotá and has a job at the party as a bodyguard. She is married with a two-year-old little daughter. She, Jesús Ferrer and others founded Horizonte Fariano (FARC’s Horizon), one of the most important FARC musical ensembles. She sang, played percussion, arranged, produced and recorded more than seventy songs; she danced, performed and video-recorded a dozen plays and music videos for more than fifteen years without interruption. During the conflict, her most important activity with the ensemble was the command of the military activities necessary for the musical rehearsals and production. She is not currently involved in any musical activities.

3.1.1. LGM First Reading.

The plot and reader’s response, the result of the LGM first reading, shows the fundamental themes that shape Camila´s musical experience. Her plot shows a direct and concise narrative: initially, the sound of nature; the decision to sing when she enrolls in the guerrilla as a girl; the enjoyment of singing with her musician uncle, who was later assassinated by paramilitaries during her childhood; her family; and her relationship with the guerrilla. In addition, the plot picks up on the meeting with Jesús Ferrer and others to start Horizonte Fariano; the ways of making music amid the conflict; her present hopes, based on her daughter and family; and her frustration with her current job, impeding her from studying tailoring or music.
Camila responded with concise answers, even to difficult questions. She used few metaphors, just five in the entire dialogue, to reinforce some descriptions. These metaphors occur when she talks about the sound of nature as *figures* and *drawings*, her mother’s return to her birthplace as a *resurrection*, her skinny aspect when she was a girl, her daughter’s and husband’s brown skin as a Turkish trait, and the intensive work for the ensemble that she defines as falling in the *group’s mania*, an obsession to make music with the group. Camila’s answers express character and humour; the emotional hotspot illustrates the predominant emotions during the interview and revealed the polyphony of voices that make up her emotionally conveyed speech. In Camila and the following interviews, the graph was generated based on the number of times related words or emotions were expressed.

![Figure 3. Camila’s Voices through an Emotional Hotspot.](image)

Camila’s voice of *happiness and pride* is her most frequent voice, associated with her memories of making and sharing music. The *anger and disappointment* voice mainly
have their place when talking about her current employment situation. The *sadness* and *nostalgia* voice emerges when she recalls the musical ensemble breaking off, the *vehemence* voice when remembering her military responsibilities organising the ensemble’s activities. The *tenderness* voice occurs when she talks to and about her daughter; simultaneously, it is a voice embodied and expressed in numerous gestures and attitudes beyond speech.

Camila hesitates frequently, mainly related to her habit of answering rapidly. However, the high number of hesitations occur at specific moments of the dialogue, and are linked to emotional situations about her body, feelings, companions, the music that she made, and mostly about abandoning her musical activities. To identify the recurrence of hesitations, a simple average was practical: the number of words divided by the number of hesitations in a given paragraph. This procedure is not a quantitative approach for explaining the frequency of hesitations; it is just a way of recognizing moments of high and low instances of hesitations during the speech. The table shows the number of hesitations, indecisions and reluctance over the total number of words in precise interview moments. The moments of greatest hesitation are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>She talks about how she became hard and strong.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>She talks about her family.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>(2/10) 13:46 / (2/9) 13:52</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>She talks about her emotions and stage fright</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>(11/57) 25:47</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recognising herself as a sensible person.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>(21/104) 27:38</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>She reflects about her musical identity.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>(5/26) 1:09:35</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>She points out her giving up of music.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>(9/46) 1:12:49</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Moments of Greatest Hesitation in Camila’s Narrative.
On the other hand, the fewest hesitations appear at a few moments of deep connection with some relaxed and enjoyable memories.

| She talks about her welcome to guerrilla | (0/12) 03:07 |
| She talks about her connection with the FARC songs’ lyrics. | (1/175) 29:39 |

Table 2. Moments of Least Hesitation in Camila’s Narrative.

Camila continually involves her body, e.g. face gestures (13) and hand movements such as clapping her hands (9) and hitting the table with her hands (6); and in particular, when she remembers her authority leading the military aspects of the ensemble, some songs she disliked and some lectures about doctrine. In addition, other occasions include when she recalls the songs and musicians from her birthplace, the ensemble’s breaking up, and how she dislikes using make-up for recording the videos. Moreover, exclamations to animate her answers are frequent (24), and laughs (30) are recurrent during the dialogue. Changes in her tone of voice (11), usually linked to gestures such as clapping hands, appear in emotional memories about her musical experiences.

3.1.2. LGM Second Reading.

The “I, one and we poem” reveals elements of Camila’s musical and political identities, sometimes affirmatively, sometimes contradictorily. Similarly, the poem reveals her hopes and doubts during her experience of the transformation of the conflict.

Regarding her musical identity, she does not consider herself a musician despite years of practice and dozens of musical productions. Amid numerous hesitations, she denies her identity as a musician.
Table 3. *I, one, we* Poem Excerpts about Camila’s Reluctance to Consider Herself a Musician.

She thinks she does not have enough knowledge or education to consider herself a musician.

Table 4. *I, one, we* Poem Excerpts about Camila’s Musical Education.

However, contradictions emerged.

Table 5. *I, one, we* Poem Excerpts about Camila’s Possibilities of Making Music Again.

Especially when her identity as a singer and her preferences for playing instruments have a place:
Camila’s musical identity refers to concrete activities such as singing and playing; yet, she denies her identity as a musician because of a lack of music education opportunities and her current job limitations; for her, a musician must be a professional or an academic. Her perception of lack of support from the political party, to become motivated and to provide her with significant professional development, and her feeling of abandonment because of the ensemble’s painful separation, appear as the leading causes for her reluctance to make music again. Camila feels affected by some troublesome circumstances related to the ensemble breaking up. Her current abandonment of musical activities shows a paradoxical conflict with her enjoyment and pride in remembering singing, producing, teaching and leading music with *Horizonte*.

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### Table 6. *I, one, we-Poem* Excerpts about Camila’s Musical Experiences.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poem Excerpts</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12:56 I started singing like... at eighteen (18).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15:27 I listened to my uncle sing there, and it made me sing too.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16:33 I (applause) always said that I [prefer to] <em>sing</em> [emphasis]... because, well, everyone had to... do something, and I wasn’t very good at telling jokes.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28:49 ... in other words, ... to be able to <em>sing a song</em>, you have to... feel it... to be able to interpret it, that is, feel [emphasis] what you are going to say.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31:55 I put it like, all that cooourage and like things like that, and I really liked singing that song...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35:25 <em>La Holandesa</em> (Monique, a Dutch member companion) didn’t know... how to <em>sing ranchera</em>; but, well, I taught her to <em>sing ranchera</em> [laughs].</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59:16 <em>Because I have a voice that... is thick and, second, because when I sing... I like to put feeling into the songs</em> [change of tone] that is, the... <em>I feel the song</em> [emphasis]... <em>I sing it with... with courage and strength</em> [the girl’s voice]... and I know how to <em>modulate very well</em> [smaking sound with her lips]...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59:22 And what is modulation? <em>Because I just sing</em> [laughs].</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59:27 I do it... if I do it, I do it unconsciously; you know, because I don’t know about music.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59:29 <em>I really like poetry and... and this...</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59:31 I also know how to express myself very well; they used to say [emphasis] I don’t know... with... with the... with the poem and with the song [change of tone]...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:12:23 I knew, of course... and I liked it... to me... moreover... <em>more than singing, I enjoyed learning to play instruments.</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---
Fariano. Her low self-esteem at her musical knowledge and skills reveals a profound contradiction with dozens of musical productions during years of continuous practice.

Regarding Camila’s political identity, it always appears to be linked to music. Camila does not use political concepts or ideological discourses to point out her or Horizonte Fariano’s political commitments. When she talks about her music, Camila’s political identity emerges, and explains her clear but conflictive relationship with the political party, which seems straightforward in ideological aspects but complex at the emotional level.

Table 7. I, one, we-Poem Excerpts about Camila’s Political Identity.

Regarding the transformation of the conflict, even before the agreement, the poem shows Camila’s own desire to reach peaceful way of living, to studying tailoring or music, and make politics – a quiet life for her and her companions. Camila clearly expresses a sincere commitment to the peace process. The transformation of the conflict is a contradictory process for her. Camila’s political identity is solidly founded as a party member; however, the disappointment at the leaders’ attitude, estranged and detached, is more than a feeling of dissatisfaction for her: it represents a painful
feeling of *abandonment*. She thinks that the party does not comprehend her expectations; for her, the party is not doing enough in practical terms to support her in studying tailoring or making music again. Additionally, she longs for a peaceful, discreet life with her daughter and husband, studying music and doing tailoring; however, the political party does not seem an enabling factor for that, but is only interested in promoting her as a bodyguard.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“I, one and we poem” excerpts</th>
<th>48:01 I was one of those who raised my hand when they asked who agreed that we should stop laying down arms, and who did not agree.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>48:06 I was one of those who raised their hands; I agreed that we should lay down arms.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>48:09 I was <em>all</em> [emphasis] the time totally convinced about the peace process and what the bosses were doing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>48:12 I do not regret... what... what happened, the event that occurred...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>48:16 I commented to the teacher, from the time that I have been... er... already within the law [living a civilian life?]... until now, for example, no commander has arrived..... as they did there... a commander who comes... to give reasons to you... or what criticism do you have against them.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8. I, one, we-poem Excerpts about her Experiences of the Transformation of the Conflict.

### 3.1.3. LGM Third Reading.

The interpersonal relationships provide Camila´s web of relationships with the protagonists mentioned in the narrative, shaping her musical and political identities on four levels: self, family and friends, guerrilla and political party, and background. The reading enables the connections to be identified between Camila, people and collectives who play a role in her musical and political identities, and her experience of conflict's transformation. A mosaic chart is a viable solution for integrating the information about interpersonal relationships, consolidating the appearances of every protagonist during the speech. It is crucial to underline that the mosaic chart synthesises the data and recognises protagonists’ re-appearances; it is not a quantitative approach to statistical interpretations; the mere quantification is irrelevant.
without a qualitative explanation of factors and connections as described after each graph.

Figure 4. Camila Aguirre. Level 1. Self and Interpersonal Relationships (Self).
The mosaic chart displays Camila’s references to herself, her different roles, and definitions of herself that occur during the interview. Musical and political identities emerge in terms of her “I” as a direct connection with her individual identities. Her “we” appears as an expression of collective identities to which she belongs: the musical ensemble, the former guerrilla and the current political party.

Her musical identities in terms of “I” are divided between her life making music and her reluctance to accept she has been a musician. Her life making music shows a connection with Jesús Ferrer revealing numerous angles as a singer, percussion player, dancer and producer, Horizonte Fariano’s founder, a teacher of certain instruments, and combatant responsible for musical activities during the conflict. The contradictions emerge when she connects with herself as someone who made music with love and dedication, who wrote rancheras, peasant music and rap that she still listens to at home, and as someone who could return to making music again. However, her reluctance to consider herself a musician connects with Camila describing herself as a non-musician, just a rookie recording dozens of songs but knowing nothing about music because nobody ever taught her. Her musical identities related to “we” connect deeply with the ensemble and her companions, with whom she made music every day.

Her political identities in terms of “I” reveal a place for the embodied experience: the self, strong and disciplined, obtained in the guerrilla everyday life; now connected with Camila as a bodyguard abandoned by the political party, reprimanded for her pregnancy but enjoying her daughter, proudly fighting to be someone in life. Her political identities related to “we” link with belonging to the movement’s base, the troops, and ex-combatants for whom nothing has changed. Her political identities are detached from ideological discourse; they are embodied through emotional experiences. However, there was one moment when she expressed ideology as a
formal discourse, as a slogan and principles, when she briefly sang the song lyrics “Those who sowed will return”.

Additional relationships appear associated with the conflict’s transformation. First, Camila’s relationship with her military self is central and unexpected for me; some martial dimension in her musical experience was predictable, but not its relevance and the immense responsibility it represented: the musical rehearsals and production required a complex, risky and expensive military operation; something I was completely unaware of. Second, the expression of her ‘fear’ and ‘nostalgia’ selves. Her fear emerges in the unstable and uncertain present situation for ex-combatants. Nostalgia is a relevant voice when she talks about her renunciation of music and the emotion involved in making it; she experiences a relationship with her musical self, characterised by mixed happy and melancholic references to the past.

Figure 5. Camila Aguirre. Level 2. Self and Interpersonal Relationships (Family and Friends).
The second level shows the relationship web with her family and friends. Here, it is clear the focus is on her references to her little daughter; a significant part of her non-verbal communication cannot be picked up here. Her facial expressions and body language are, by nature, beyond speech. On the other hand, the place given to her musician uncle, who was assassinated, is unexpected; even though Camila remembers him anecdotally, the frequency and position of his appearances reveal his importance, unnoticed at first glance. The relationships that show expressions of musical identities appear when remembering her uncle and talking contradictorily about her reluctance to make music and sing for her daughter. Camila’s political identities focused on her mother and relatives involved with the guerrilla, prompted by paramilitary violence and persecution. Camila experiences the transformation of the conflict in her family and friends’ relationships, expressed in her family’s return to her birthplace – the past characterised by loss and the childhood family’s forced displacement, changes to a calm but challenging present as a mother and wife. Although the musical ensemble’s break-up happened shortly before the peace agreement, the transformation of the conflict is for Camila a paradoxical process, from an everyday life involved in the music during the conflict to a “terminally-ill of music” feeling of herself having been abandoned after the conflict.
Figure 6. Camila Aguirre. Level 3. Self and Interpersonal Relationships (Political Party and Guerrilla)
Level three shows the crucial role of the ensemble in her relationship with the movement. Although she mentions many companions and *Horizonte Fariano* members in different experiences, two relationships are determining and reveal the place of music in her experience of the transformation of the conflict: her relations with Jesús and Noelia are crucial musical references for her. In her memories about Jesús, located in the past, Camila shows herself to have been guided by him, actively involved in the music and empowered, protecting the ensemble. In past and present situations, Camila talks about Noelia, how she starts to play music professionally, holding a position inside the party that allows her to study music. Conversely, Camila’s narrative reveals her as detached from the music, abandoned by the party and subordinate in her job. Some additional, conflictive relationships have a place in remembering the people that left the ensemble.

The relationship with commanders and bosses reveals a dimension of her political identities based on loyalty and political coherence. The transformation of the conflict emerges in the change described, from a feeling of proximity and solidarity from her superiors, to a disconnected and arbitrary attitude. The relationships with her non-musician companions show expressions of her musical identity; helping her (or otherwise) in her musical productions during the conflict, they identified her as a comrade and a musician. Her companions’ appreciation of her role as a musician in everyday relationships collectively built Camila’s musical identities. Additionally, all her companions have a place as people that Camila recognises as equals, constructing political and musical identities together, especially and intensively: we as movement, we as FARC musicians, we loving upbeat music, we as political party members, and we as Manuel Marulanda followers.
The final level illustrates the background relationships in which the enemies’ presence has a remarkable place due to numerous but dispersed mentions throughout the interview, underlying an expression of clear political identities. The reader-response
and interactions (the interviewer), emerge in due proportion throughout the entire narrative, based on feelings of empathy and the vivid dialogue about music. Relationships with other musicians affect her musical identities, influencing her musical preferences and causing her to remember local musicians assassinated by paramilitaries. The connection with the audiences that enjoyed Horizonte’s songs, admiring Camila’s voice and being touched politically by her music, illustrates how her musical and political identities were constructed simultaneously. Internet-based relationships facilitated the process of simultaneously building up her musical and political identities, the presence of Horizonte Fariano’s music on the internet attracting enthusiastic or aggressive followers. Some institutions, the Colombian people, some collectives and protesting sectors are relationships that open and extend her political horizon; previously so absolute as a result of the movement’s political line. This represents significant connections in her experience of the transformation of the conflict.

3.1.4. LGM Fourth Reading.
The final reading allows for observation of the broader relationships that frame Camila’s self. These connections link her personal experience with the social, historical, cultural, and political contexts. The appearances of the guerrilla and the current political party are decisive in Camila’s contextual relationships and show how her musical and political experiences during the process of conflict transformation are framed. The changes experienced are substantial: from the guerrilla, where she and her companions make music together, following her instructions under her military responsibility, to the current political party, to which she feels she belongs through following the party, but abandoned by it at the same time. Adding to this sense is her rejection of music, but living out her motherhood. Her relationships with cities and places enlighten her musical-genre preferences and cultural bonds in two ways: her musical experiences when she was young, and her experiences making music to
motivate her companions and motivate the people, crucial functions of music in the guerrilla. Her early musical experiences connect her birthplace (Las Mercedes), her preferences for rancheras and peasant music, and the local and rural culture. Her experiences producing music for her comrades and audiences connect towns, cities and nearby areas of guerrilla influence with the carranguera music, regional musical genres, rap and Andean cultural traditions.

Her relationships with musical education impact on the current place of music in her life; in fact, the restrictions in accessing musical education determined her present musical identities. Despite her demotivating experience studying security courses, these experiences established her identity as a bodyguard, frustrating her wish to learn tailoring and music like Noelia and other companions. Additionally, relationships with different social categories allow the context of Camila´s political identities to be identified. Finally, a broader relationship with the conflict appears in her mention of paramilitaries and the Colombian Army. Both draw a critical line in Camila´s political identity because of its effect on her and her family’s lives, framing the confrontation project, a structure of the FARC’s military and political discourse during the conflict.

3.1.5. Camila Aguirre. LGM Readings General Perspective.

Her plot, a product of LGM first reading, shows a direct and concise narrative: the sound of nature, her musician uncle assassinated and her family and the guerrilla musical experiences are the main protagonist. She talks about her hopes, based on her daughter and family; and her frustration with her current job, impeding her from studying music. She used few metaphors to emphasise some descriptions, usually with a vivid sense of humour. Thanks to the emotional hotspot, a result of the LGM second reading, her voices emerge. Her happiness and pride is her most frequent voice, associated with her memories of making and sharing music. The anger and disappointment voice talking about her current employment situation. The sadness
nostalgia voice emerges when she recalls the musical ensemble separation, the vehemence voice when remembering her military responsibilities organising the Horizonte Fariano’s activities. The tenderness voice occurs when she talks to and about her daughter; simultaneously, it is a voice embodied and expressed in numerous gestures and attitudes beyond speech. Camila hesitates frequently; especially linked to emotional situations about her body, her companions and the music she made. The fewest hesitations appear with relaxed and enjoyable memories. Camila continually involves her body, in particular, when she remembers her authority leading the military aspects of the ensemble, some songs she disliked and some lectures about doctrine.

The “I, one and we poem”, a product of the LGM second reading, reveals Camila’s musical and political identities, sometimes affirmatively, sometimes contradictorily. The poem reveals her hopes and doubts during the transformation of the conflict. Regarding her musical identity, she does not consider herself a musician after numerous hesitations. She thinks she does not have enough musical education to consider herself as a such although she made dozens of musical productions during years of continuous professional practice. Contradictorily, she defines herself as a singer and instrumentalist; she remembers both roles, producing, teaching and learning music enthusiastically. Regarding Camila’s political identity, it frequently appears associated with her musical experiences. Without ideological discourses and talking about the music she made, she explained her political commitments. Regarding the transformation of the conflict, the poem shows her expectations for a peaceful way of living, to studying tailoring or music, and make politics committed with the peace process. The transformation of the conflict is a contradictory process for her; she experienced a conflictive relationship with the political party, loyal but complex at the emotional level. She thinks that the party does not comprehend her hopes to study tailoring or make music again, and is only interested in promoting her as a bodyguard.
Camila’s relationships, analysed through the LGM third reading, identify her different roles, and definitions of herself. Her musical identities in terms of “I” show an opposition between her life making music and her reluctance to make music again. Her musical identities related to “we” connect deeply with the ensemble and her companions during the conflict. Her political identities in terms of “I” reveal embodied experiences: the self, strong and disciplined, obtained in the guerrilla everyday life; now connected with Camila as a bodyguard. Her political identities related to “we” link with belonging to the movement’s companions, the troops, and ex-combatants. Her political identities are detached from ideological discourse; they are embodied through emotional experiences, when she used to sing particularly.

Additional relationships appear associated with the conflict’s transformation: Camila’s martial dimension in her musical experience, her concern about the unstable and uncertain present situation for ex-combatants and the nostalgia she feels when she talks about her renunciation of music and remembering the emotion when she made it. She experiences a relationship with her musical self, characterised by mixed happy and melancholic references to the past during the transformation of the conflict.

The second relationship level shows her family and friends mainly. The focus is on her little daughter through non-verbal communication; her uncle and her family as victims of paramilitary violence and persecution is recalled revealing events that were the basis of her political identity. Her musical identity is connected affectively in two crucial moments, when remembering her uncle musician who was assassinated and talking contradictorily about her reluctance to make music and sing for her daughter. Her relationships with the movement are mostly narrated from her musical ensemble experiences with her musical companions. The relationship with commanders and bosses reveals a dimension of her political identities based on loyalty and political
coherence. Camila recognises her companions as equals, constructing their political and musical trajectories together intensively.

The background relationships reveal experiences with other musicians who influenced her musical and political identities, especially, remembering local musicians assassinated by paramilitaries. The connection with the public illustrates how his musical and political identities were built simultaneously, highlighting how the audience enjoyed his voice and was politically inspired by his music. The appearances of the guerrilla and the current political party are decisive in Camila’s contextual relationships. It represents a conflict between a nostalgic past making music and her rejection of music, but living out her motherhood. Her early musical experiences connect her birthplace (Las Mercedes), her preferences for *rancheras* and peasant music, and the local and rural culture. Her experiences producing music for her comrades and audiences connect towns, cities and nearby areas of guerrilla influence with the *carranguera* music, regional musical genres, rap and Andean cultural traditions reveal again the interaction between her musical and political identities.
3.2. Clemente Blasco.

Interview Date: 15.05.2020. Place: Villavicencio.

Total interview time: 3:20:31

Clemente Blasco, 39 years old, is a member of Los Comunes and an active professional musician of Colombian eastern plains tradition. He lives in Villavicencio and studies sociology at Universidad de Los Llanos. On January 2023, his YouTube Channel has 246 followers and 44 music videos. The eastern plains' musical tradition and political activities were relevant in his familial environment and he achieved recognition and an outstanding level as a harp and cuatro player.

3.2.1. LGM First Reading.

In his plot, a result of the LGM first reading, Clemente described three fundamental dimensions of his musical and political identities in discontinued moments. First, his belonging to the eastern plains culture, rooted in peasant musical traditions influenced by his family, is described through a narrative connected with emotional memories about the pasaje, a genre typical of eastern plains music, and the cantador, a popular singer’s style based on improvisation. Second, the bonds with the guerrilla that protected him against the paramilitaries provided a context for his musical career through his political activities in the country that shaped his unique singing style. Music and politics are inseparable for him; in FARC, the culture was part of the ideological formation (Fast & Pegley, 2012). His musical and political identities emerge emotionally, remembering his fallen musician companions, FARC's artists and his commanders supporting his musical initiatives. Thirdly, the transformation of the conflict motivated him to define music as “magic that unites people, irrespective of politics or ideology”, and FARC's music as an “ideological fight without weapons”, part of the national cultural memory. Nowadays, he puts his feelings into words that do not incite violence, emphasising a social message even in his love songs. He is starting from scratch in the musical scene and is worried because some ex-combatants were
murdered; however, as a producer, cultural manager, music teacher, and mostly sharing with his family, he feels satisfied and self-accomplished. He states that his political ideas are his music. Clemente uses metaphors frequently to produce a vibrant narrative. Some metaphors involved his body expressing his emotions about music, for instance: enjoying the *música recia* as something that “penetrates the skin and calls to mind family memories” and the effect of music on guerrilla companions as “healing”. Some metaphors about his musical activities connect with his peasant origins, the success of his alumni as “a fruit planted a long time ago” that he enjoys today. Clemente mentions a potent metaphor about music’s relevance in his life: his songs are “accumulated from throughout his entire life”, with his songs as “my life history”. Similarly, the FARC’s music is described as “songs for combat without arms”, culture as “an artistic weapon”, some changes to the *joropo* dance as a “revolution” and *the mountains* as the place of the popular struggle.

Figure 8. Clemente’s Voices through an Emotional Hotspot.
In his emotional hotspot, Clemente´s narrative communicates imagination and humour vividly. The emotional hotspot reveals the voices that shape his life history about music and politics in his narrated biography.

The happiness and pride voice manifest ostensible coherence between his pride as a songwriter, and joy in performing as a singer and harpist. His vehemence and authority are rooted in his belonging to the eastern plains tradition and his contribution to FARC´s music. His voice of anger and disappointment reveals the contradiction between a long trajectory in the guerrilla and starting from scratch as an ex-combatant at different narrative moments. The sadness and nostalgia voice is nostalgic for childhood and guerrilla camaraderie, but is mainly sore because of the assassination of companions. With his trust and confidence voice, he narrates a future perspective of projects and musical creativity with relatives and fellow musicians who appreciate and admire him, something possible only through the Accords.

Clemente expresses few hesitations; his narrative is relaxed, full of humour and fluid. In conversation, accompanied by his cuatro, he offers plenty of musical examples, anecdotes, and vivid memories of his songs. He sings and plays in crucial emotional moments when discussing his musical and political identities. This “performance” is a way of expressing himself politically and personally through his music. The hesitation average reveals relatively frequent hesitations connected with emotional topics and moments:
Table 9. Moments of Greatest Hesitation in Clemente´s Narrative.

The hesitations average identifies moments of little hesitation, characterised by fluent confidence and relaxation, in a narrative marked by few moments of indecision.

Table 10. Moments of Least Hesitation in Clemente´s Narrative.

The most remarkable body gesture and expression of his narrative happened when singing (20) and playing (19) his instrument, when his musical and political experiences were closely related to some songs or musical practices such as improvisation, lyric creation, or verse endings. Additionally, he improvised short verses describing the presence of music in the everyday life of the eastern plains and illustrating the style of popular singers (cantador). He sang and played songs by different songwriters showing a vast knowledge of eastern plains music. He played the famous song “The Butterfly Cow” by Simón Díaz, underlining the presence of poetry in the everyday culture of the Plains. Similarly, he played a fragment of Walter Silva´s song, “The Errand Boy”, showing how political content is expressed in simple issues; and Julio Miranda´s song “Selfishness”, played at a funeral when improvising a repertoire for the occasion.
Proudly, he sang and played his song “Fisherman’s Soul”, dedicated to Pope Francis; “Chant”, dedicated to a friend who died in combat; and “The Last Peacock”, composed only in his mind and remembered by heart. Singing different songs, he underlines critical ideas: “Little Guerrilla-Bird” to explain the relevance of verse endings, “Happy Verses” to show how love-songs have political content, “Peace Tale” to describe his musical project for children, and a unnamed rebel song to show why anyone who faces injustice can identify with his lyrics. Clemente’s narrative is an impromptu performance involving his body, actively singing and playing his cuatro.

Other body gestures and expressions are relevant. Laughs (28) and exclamations (41) are frequent, especially recurrent when talking about Clemente’s way of writing songs, musical influences on him, his singing style, and the rebel character of the musical traditions in the Plains. He often emphasises (34), particularly when talking about music during his childhood, his first song in the guerrilla and his experience composing songs in his mind during marches and military operations.

3.2.2. LGM Second Reading.

The “I, one and we poem” reveals fundamental affirmations of Clemente’s musical and political identities based on an ostensible distinctiveness as a Plainsman, with deep roots in his region’s musical tradition, influenced by his father and other relatives.
Table 11. I, one, we Poem Excerpts about Clemente’s eastern plains Identity.

However, his narrative about his singing style and unique voice characteristics differ from the tradition; this affirmation is a distinct element of his musical identities. His voice’s uniqueness connects deeply with his political identities; he attributes his voice’s characteristics to his political experiences with the guerrilla.

Table 12. I, one, we Poem Excerpts about Clemente’s Voice Characteristics.

His identity as a songwriter is most solid when he describes his creative musical process. His affirmations as a composer and songwriter throughout his entire life are central in his narrative about his musical identity.
Table 13. I, one, we Poem Excerpts about Clemente’s Identity as a Songwriter.

His musical identities as a professional musician emerge in different experiences and trajectories: teaching, making, distribution and production. These identities complement others as a traditional musician from the Plains and an outstanding harp player.

Table 14. I, one, we Poem Excerpts about Clemente’s Identity as a Professional Musician.
His concept of music bridges his musical and political identities. His definition of music connects his experiences making music and the people as the purpose of his musical creativity. The poem reveals a narrative about his music in the guerrilla, offering an additional way to understand the close relationship between his musical and political identities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“I, one and we poem” excerpts</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>29:05</td>
<td>one must not make a noise..., there cannot be anyyy... indiscipline... one's life..., and others'... depends on that...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29:13</td>
<td>So when there was the option and the chance, and the area conditions where... one was authorised, allowed to... they gave us the time to practice...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33:20</td>
<td>In other words, one knows what music is... It's magic... music unites human beings regardless of political, ideological, and language differences... whatever [emphasis].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33:32</td>
<td>When I start to play a song, even just out of curiosity, some people begin to get close, approaching me even if I sing badly. They'll approach me to listen carefully to what I'm doing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:24:41</td>
<td>I told you that before my presence [in the guerrilla], there were some pioneers of rebel music from the Plains many years ago.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:24:52</td>
<td>I... I never knew any... other harp players in FARC. At least, I took that... [laughs]... that honour, I was the first harp player... the only harp player that FARC ever had...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:24:59</td>
<td>I brought the music of the Plains... to the... to the guerrilla classrooms, little places for workshops... in the mountains.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:25:06</td>
<td>Two of us survived, the rest are all dead, and they died in the war. Zolman stayed; he is still alive... and myself. The rest of the group died in the war; they died in the war.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:39:50</td>
<td>During Plan Patriota, they [Colombian Army] burned our instruments several times... you know... we had to flee many times [...] However, he [Briceño, a commander] brought them again for us or sent us to buy them with those in charge of the logistics, he got us the instruments again, and we continued making music.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:52:10</td>
<td>[The first day in the guerrilla] They [guerrilla companions] knew that I had artistic skills and immediately, they shout: Let him sing! Let him sing! And I don't know how they got a cuatro... so I sang some songs there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:52:19</td>
<td>When I went there [the concert stage of the Tenth Conference], I went and talked to Arias [a recognised musician], we had known each other since I was a child, and he said, “Sure, brother! Sorry, I didn’t know it was you, my ensemble is ready for you”. For me, it was very emotional [...]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:52:19</td>
<td>So it was... people were excited, very happy about the songs; they shouted, clapped, that was a really incredible experience because it was us, you know, it was... I identified my songs with their everyday lives, not only guerrillas but the peasants who were there and lived in that region...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15. I, one, we Poem Excerpts about Clemente’s Idea of Music and his Music in the Guerrilla.

Clemente’s political identities emerge as expressions of personal convictions and principles; however, they are associated with emotional situations in which his music...
plays a role. The narrative about his political identities is about his ideas and the music involved. His political identities have a place when he describes his motivations and the purpose of making music.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 16. I, one and we poem excerpts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>16:24</strong> I had [for producing his first song]... an ideal ...or a projection... “the life is a struggle” [emphasis] because it was the situation of that moment... eeh... and my perception, not only because of the death of my partner but the generalised situation [of the country]... eeh...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>33:20</strong> I love to make music for the people, to make the people feel good and identified with the cause. In my case, with social songs...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1:17:55</strong> ...many companions fell along the way... eeh... and I try to... through what I write, what I sing... [for them] not to be forgotten... what they have built over all these years, highlighting them in a song... their story.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1:23:08</strong> I think that... popular artists... when I talk about popular, I mean those who identify with the people's causes [...] ...popular artists identify with the people, must... accompany all those social processes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1:37:41</strong> The vast majority of my songs have social content. I think that when I write them, I feel, mmm..., pain, sometimes anger, because they are based on events that no-one wants to happen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1:37:52</strong> ...but I managed to clarify and synthesise it in words that do not incite further violence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1:41:05</strong> I could at this moment write a song for the guerrillas, for FARC, to motivate the boys, for the student who had been beaten to the limit, in the protests... in a march in Bogotá, for someone who felt hurt, attacked by the State, identified with the combat song I wrote...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

His narrative about one of his favourite songs illustrates facets of how he negotiates his political identities. The changes in his idea of the Catholic Church, from his early ideas to the present, represent an ideological transformation narrated through his experience writing a song for the Pope. The song is also valuable for underlining convictions about the human character of the movement. Writing songs is a way to express his negotiation over political identities. The poem also allows us to identify a remarkable experience making a song for a friend of the LGBTI community.
Table 17. I, one, we Poem Excerpts about how Clemente negotiates his Political Identities.

His political identities find a concrete expression in his reflection about his songs’ content, the “message”, and reflecting on the social character of his lyrics. However, some contradictions emerged about the combative and peaceful elements of FARC songs.
Table 18. I, one, we Poem Excerpts about the Contents of FARC songs.

His positions on politics and his ideological discourses substantiate his concept of social movements and political organisations. As mentioned above, music has a crucial role in building his political identity.

Table 19. I, one, we Poem Excerpts about Clemente’s Interwoven Political and Musical Identities.
Regarding the transformation of the conflict, the poem reveals his decision to construct a new political and musical identity for himself. A serious commitment to the Peace Agreement and an enthusiastic effort to continue his musical career are evident, especially talking about ideas to improve his musical productions, highlighting the relevance of teaching music for him.

Table 20. I, one, we Poem Excerpts about Clemente’s Experiences of the Transformation of the Conflict.

The poem reveals high expectations and fears framing the negotiation of his musical and political identities.

Table 21. I, one, we Poem Excerpts about Expectations and Concerns around the Transformation of the Conflict.
The web of relationships narrated by Clemente allows us to observe his collectively constructed musical and political identity. The levels show rich and deep connections with the eastern plains’ musical traditions, crucial for his musical expressions and political ideas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Musical identity &quot;I&quot;</th>
<th>Transformation</th>
<th>Resolution of the conflict</th>
<th>Political identity &quot;I&quot;</th>
<th>Musical identity &quot;we&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clemente as a singer with a special voice</td>
<td>Clemente as an ex-combatant singer</td>
<td>Clemente as an ex-combatant saying I’m here</td>
<td>Clemente as an ex-combatant musician</td>
<td>We (as FARC’s member)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clemente as a criollo</td>
<td>Clemente as a man from the Plains</td>
<td>Clemente as an ex-combatant saying I write songs</td>
<td>Clemente as an ex-combatant saying I produced this music</td>
<td>We (as FARC’s member)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clemente as a musical creator</td>
<td>Clemente as a musician starting from scratch</td>
<td>Clemente as an ex-combatant saying I need your cooperation</td>
<td>Clemente as an ex-combatant singer</td>
<td>We (our songs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clemente as a child recording an album</td>
<td>Clemente as a cultural manager</td>
<td>Clemente as a delegate to the National Conference</td>
<td>Clemente as a music teacher in the mountains</td>
<td>We (as FARC’s member)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clemente declaiming a poem</td>
<td>Clemente teaching music</td>
<td>Clemente thinking of leaving the country</td>
<td>Clemente making art and music in the jungle</td>
<td>We (as FARC’s member)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 9. Clemente Blasco. Level 1. Self and Interpersonal Relationships (Self).

The mosaic chart shows Clemente’s musical identities in terms of “I”, with significant relevance to his being a singer with a distinct voice. His unique voice underlines his self-image and music; it results from his trajectory as a guerrilla member sharing with musicians from different regions, constructing his singular musical and political identity. His artistic name, portrayed him as a traditional songwriter, criollo (creole) singer and a Plainsman artist communicating the pride he feels for his roots. His musical identities reveal tensions; first, appearing as a precocious musical creator, remembering the first album he recorded as a child, heard widely in his region, even by the guerrilla, and...
reciting poems at school. This contrasts with his self-image as an ex-combatant musician who started from scratch, despite his trajectory; this is crucial to understanding his emotional situation as a professional musician after the Peace Agreement. His musical identities as a professional musician in roles as cultural manager and music teacher are remarkable. Those linked to his memories of being in the guerrilla connect him as part of FARC’s artistic diversity expressing his commitment to the arts and the movement, even in adverse situations. His musical identities in terms of “we” expressed fundamental belonging to FARC’s musical traditions and the culture of the Plains in the movement.

His political identities in terms of “I” emerge in political roles, for example, making music in the movement as a delegate to the National Conference, as a cultural activities producer a music teacher in the mountains, and the first and only harpist in FARC’s music history. His musical identities at personal levels also expressed deep concerns at the current context, even thinking of leaving the country. His political identities in terms of “we” are evident in two dimensions: as a FARC member and ex-combatant assuming a commitment to peace. The way he negotiated his identities throughout the process of conflict transformation expresses a profound transition, with his political identities changing from a combatant to an ex-combatant, from the guerrilla to a political party member. Nonetheless, his identity as a musician essentially remained, despite a relevant transformation in creating, producing and distributing his music.
Figure 10. Clemente Blasco. Level 2. Self and Interpersonal Relationships (Family and Friends).

The second level shows Clemente’s relationship web with his family and friends. The connection with his musician relatives is central. He highlights emotional encounters with his family; evidently, his family has an essential place in his musical memories, particularly some relatives who passed away, and his brothers who were his first musical companions. His relationships with his parents and his paternal family are significant in his narrative about how he started out musically, especially his father and the memory of his mother, who passed away. The connection with his uncles, aunts, and especially with his grandparents, places him solidly in the family musical tradition and the culture of the eastern plains. The closest relationship he mentioned was with his wife, and his songs he metaphorically considers his sons. Juan Cigarra, his dog,
has a colourful presence in his narrative. During the conflict, his relationships with his friends are deeply connected to the narrative of his musical trajectory: (not their actual names) Fátima Vaquero, who made his first recordings in the movement; Sergio, his musical companion and the one and only survivor of the Llano y Selva ensemble; and Harry, a close friend who passed away. After the Peace Agreement, his experiences with a songwriter colleague; his close collaborative musical connection with his sound engineer and producer; and especially with his nephew, a recognised musician, are relevant in the relationship web of his current musical activities. The extended relationship web shows some friends connected with specific projects and initiatives: an LGBTI community leader, and events producer, a critic, music producers, a colleague who suggested he write a song daily, and a friend who suggested he write songs for children.

Figure 11. Clemente Blasco. Level 3. Self and Interpersonal Relationships (Political Party and Guerrilla).
Level three reveals a profound emotional connection with his past friends and fallen companions from the movement. His memories about the companions who knew his music when he enrolled in the guerrilla, their gratitude for his music after long marches, for teaching them, and for his anecdotes with FARC’s artists reveal relationships with the movement before the Peace Agreement. His concern about the situation of current party companions is a crucial concern nowadays. Notably, his efforts to contact some companions, to learn more about their security and job situations come through remarkably in his narrative. During the conflict, his musician companions and his ensembles are significant in his memories about the movement: *Llano y Selva* and *Los Rebeldes del Sur*, and *Paz y Folclor* after the Peace Agreement. A personal narrative has a place in his guerrilla and political party relationships. Both collectives appear when he talks about musician companions learning from him, playing *cuatro* and *maracas*, rehearsing and performing all night long, especially when he recalls his recent performance with some children in a *Paz y Folclor* show.

He narrates his relationship with the guerrilla, mentioning two actors: commanders and artists. The references about commanders are frequent, partly because of the military regime framing everyday life and the role of FARC’s commanders in supporting cultural and musical activities during the conflict. The rich relationship web with FARC musicians and artists expresses his connection with the former guerrilla and the current political party. His relationships with the political party have formal expressions, although always in the context of musical activities, as a delegate for the Tenth National Conference and an active member of the Commons Artist Cooperative (*Comunarte*).
The fourth level illustrates the background relationships. Some *musicians* referenced have a central role – musicians who are fundamental to Colombian and Venezuelan *llanera* music, especially the *música recia* tradition. His detailed explanations about the peasant- and newer styles influenced by academy-graduated musicians contain broader references based on a comprehensive perspective and a solid criterion of respect for the tradition. His knowledge about the political content of music from the eastern plains is also remarkable, underlining how he has contributed to this expression of his musical culture. His Plainsman identity constantly lies beneath

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**Figure 12. Clemente Blasco. Level 4. Self and Interpersonal Relationships (Background).**
references to popular verses, poetry, songs, and indigenous or creole traditions. His broader relationship web shows experiences that build his political identities with Catholic and LGBTI organisations. On the other hand, he remarks on his political principles when he talks critically against the system, particularly about poverty, proletarian populations, the situations of communitarian leaders, and musicians’ and artists’ socioeconomic difficulties.

3.2.4. LGM Fourth Reading.

The social and political context is crucial to Clemente´s narrative. The social categories that contextualise his musical and political identities are numerous and diverse, including macro-categories such as humanity, spirituality and God, including the Catholic Church and the Pope. Some categories appear in his political opinions: peasant communities, child poverty, ‘deep Colombia’, vulnerable populations, the student movement, and urban or indigenous communities. On the other hand, some broader relationships relate to his musical profession: the music industry, social networks, new technologies and YouTube. His critical position on different topics is explained on the basis of broad categories such as the pandemic, the State, the Colombian people, the country, the masses, rights, society, the nation and the ‘system’; and more specifically, criticising politicians, bureaucrats and an “individualistic society”. A vivid interest in some topics appears in categories such as women’s/gender equality, LGBTI rights, and environmental protection. Finally, reintegration institutions, universities and a radio station emerge when talking about the peace process.

Relationships based around the political party and the transformation of the conflict reveal FARC´s historical and present perspective as experienced by Clemente. Historical references about FARC appear in his narrative on political philosophy, the guerrilla movement, commanders’ and combatants’ anecdotes, the popular struggle, and revolutionary and insurgent history. On the other hand, current party perspectives
appear in such categories as leadership, ideology, values, principles and the line of the new political party. Additionally, the relationship with the movement focuses on its cultural developments: FARC’s historical-cultural legacy and culture. On the other hand, the current cultural perspective of the political party receives attention: cultural reincorporation projects based on messages about peace, hope, inclusion and reconciliation; and in particular, keeping social criticism as a motivation for writing songs and producing art. Relationships around the transformation of the conflict include those from crucial moments of FARC’s transformation, but also concerns about the new conflict dynamic and the socioeconomic situation of FARC musicians and artists. Historical categories of Colombian political history frame some moments of his narrative: peace processes under former presidents, left-wing political parties and some historical figures.

In his narrative, the conflict is explained with historical and sociological categories: peasants, unions, ideologies, the cultural struggle, anger, violence and resistance, social and political divisions, democratic restrictions and nonconformity. The armed struggle and conflict are included in his biography, remembering the violent repression against UP, El Caguán military operations and the fighting during the Plan Patriota period, when some companions were murdered. In general, insecurity and distrust affect the current uncertain moment of the Peace Agreement’s implementation. Educational institutions appear as stages in his childhood and in his earliest moments making music.

The broader relationship with his cultural context shows valuable connections concerning his musical and political identity narratives. The eastern plains’ culture is central in numerous expressions: the cattle culture, San Lorenzo fairs, parrandos and bailones (parties), popular arts and local cultural institutions for popular dance and music. His relationships with political party musicians and artists allow him to trust in a
collective initiative to boost its arts cooperative. Audiences appear as a primary concern; other motivations include making music to sell, dealing with followers and detractors, finding new audiences for social songs, enjoying himself with lovers of music from the Plains, and working on musical projects with inclusive communities.

Cities and places offer a complete map of his musical and political identity experiences. Municipalities from the region of his birthplace, Arauca, are frequently mentioned: Cravo Norte, Puerto Rondón, Pie de Monte Araucano, Arauquita, Saravena and Arauca city. Relevant, too, are the regions where he had creative experiences with the guerrilla and other musicians and artists: Caquetá, Guaviare, Norte de Santander and Meta, the rural areas of the Quinigua rainforest, Catatumbo, Orocué, Mesetas, and the cities of Cúcuta and Villavicencio. In his memories of political and musical identities are mentioned some historical places where FARC had a presence: El Caguán, La Uribe, Urida (Rondón, Ye de Playa Rica), Magdalena Medio, Darién and the Yarí savannah. Clemente’s reflections about the sites of his new activities since the Peace Agreement make a special mention of some demilitarised zones and Bogotá. His identity as a musician from the Plains involves the frequent mention of the savannahs of this shared Colombian-Venezuelan region. The natural world is a relevant connection, especially underlining his experiences in guerrilla: the jungle, the land, nature and the mountains.

Contextual connections with musical genres are extensive and diverse, showing constant contact with musicians and musical practices, even classical music. The presence of the Plains’ musical tradition is central: folk savannah music, *música recia* and *joropo*. However, his musical identities show interest in and experiences with *vallenato*, different genres of popular music: pop, rock, rap, *bachata*, *ranchera* and *corrido*. His anecdotes from the guerrilla connect him with Andean peasant music, especially *bambuco* and *pasillo*. It is noteworthy how Clemente mentions music as a *healer* in his experiences with his companions during the conflict. The connection with
the FARC’s music is expressed through vivid memories of cultural hours, parties, and political and cultural acts. His knowledge about FARC’s culture and music allows him to explain its musical legacy and memory, the relevance of its history, and the rebel, insurgent, political and social content of its music across different genres, songwriters, singers and ensembles. He finds differences between protest, social and rebel guerrilla songs based on political motivations and the aims of making music. Proudly, he mentioned rebel music pioneers from the Plains in recognising his own relevant role as one of them himself.

3.2.5. Clemente Blasco. LGM Readings General Perspective.

Clemente’s plot narrates a life story of an eastern plains peasant musician committed to the social and political ideas represented in FARC’s ideals. However, he found in the guerrilla a process that build his political identity but also his musical identity, reinforcing the belonging to his region’s culture and sharing with different musicians, shaping his unique musical character. Vivid and emotional memories describe his musical and political experiences, even nowadays the social message of his songs is always present. Despite the uncertainty of some aspects of the Accords, he believes in it; he thinks that as a songwriter and producer he has a role in the transformation of the conflict.

Clemente uses metaphors frequently to describe scenes from the eastern plains culture. Some metaphors involved his body expressing emotions about music and his peasant origins, mentioning a profound metaphor about music’s relevance in his life: “…my songs are my life history”. In his emotional hotspot, Clemente's voice of happiness and pride connects with his joyful creating, teaching and producing music and his pride as an outstanding harp player and lyrics writer. His vehemence and authority refer to the relevance of social and political content in his songs and his contribution to FARC's music. His anger and disappointed voice express his concern
about making and distributing his music nowadays and his pain at hearing about the murder of ex-combatants. His voice of sadness and nostalgia has a place recalling his fallen musician companions. His voice of trust and confidence emerges when talking about his colleagues, his latest musical productions and his commitment to the Peace Agreement. Clemente expresses few hesitations; his narrative is joyful and fluid; playing his cuatro, he expresses himself politically through his music; his narrative is an impromptu performance involving his body.

The "I, one and we poem", a product of the LGM second reading, reveals his singing style and unique voice as a distinct element of his musical and political identity. His musical identity as a professional musician emerges from experiences teaching, distributing, producing and being a harp player. Clemente's political identities emerge as personal convictions and principles associated with the ideology and emotional situations in which his music plays a role. Writing songs is a way to express his negotiation of political identities. Regarding the transformation of the conflict, the poem reveals his decision to construct a new political and musical identity for himself. A serious commitment to the Peace Agreement and an enthusiastic effort to continue his musical career is evident, especially talking about ideas to improve his musical productions, highlighting the relevance of teaching music for him.

The mosaic charts, products of the LGM third reading, shows Clemente's musical identity in terms of "I" as an exceptional singer, resulting from his experiences in the guerrilla; his musical and political identities emerge together. His artistic name, reinforce his identity as a traditional songwriter. His musical identities in terms of "we" expressed fundamental belonging to FARC's musical traditions, the culture of the Plains in the movement and FARC's artistic diversity. His political identities in terms of "I" appears in political roles making music in the movement, as a producer, music teacher and the first and only harpist in FARC's music history. His political identities in
terms of "we" are evident in two dimensions: his memories as a FARC member and his reality as an ex-combatant assuming a commitment to peace. How he negotiated his identities throughout the conflict transformation reveals the profound changes he is experiencing from being a combatant to an ex-combatant, from a guerrilla to a political party member. Nonetheless, his identity's core as a musician remained despite new ways of creating, producing and distributing his music.

Clemente’s relationship stands him in the family musical tradition. His closest relationship nowadays is his wife, his dog and songs (sons for him). During the conflict, he and his companions considered the music as a healer. After the Peace Agreement, he reinforces his bonds with his family, songwriters and musical productions colleagues. Emotional connections appear, remembering his ensembles, central personal links with the movement. His role as a music teacher has a political dimension when he talks about musician guerrilla companions learning from him. Background relationships reinforced his Plainsman identity that lies beneath references to popular, indigenous and creole traditions remarking on his political principles against the system and defending poor or proletarian populations.

The final reading, a result of the LGM fourth reading, allows the observation of social categories that contextualise his musical and political identities, such as humanity and spirituality. Some political categories and broader relationships relate to his musical profession, and his critical position on different topics appears. Relationships based around the political party and the transformation of the conflict reveal FARC’s historical and present perspective as experienced by Clemente. The relationship with the movement focuses on FARC’s historical-cultural legacy. The conflict is explained with historical and sociological categories but mainly recalling the violent repression against Clemente’s family and some fallen musician companions.
3.3. Noelia Rosales.


Total interview time: 2:39:58

Noelia Rosales, 34 years old, is a member of Los Comunes. She lives in Bogotá and has a job coordinating its cultural activities. She is married and has a two-year-old son. She was the singer in the most recognised FARC ensembles during the conflict. After winning a singing performance contest in the guerrilla, she started in Rebeldes del Sur (Southern Rebels); later, she was assigned to different regions and finally joined Horizonte Fariano. She is an active musician studying music in Bogotá.

3.3.1. LGM First Reading.

In her plot, she talks about everyday issues interacting with her son. Studying music is one of the first things she mentioned about herself. Humorously, she remembers some popular musical genres from her birthplace, carols and tunes. Then, she was not interested in becoming a singer; it was just part of family, school or community activities. During her adolescence, Noelia experienced mixed feelings about music. She disliked it because her father, a speaker maker, who eventually abandoned her, sometimes drunk, listened to music at high volume, particularly a ranchera song that still stirred up her deep feelings. She started music professionally in the guerrilla; after many jobs, she made music motivated by her companions. She preferred studying FARC's military instruction, expecting to be a military trainer, but her joker character was an obstacle to assuming military responsibilities. In 1999, she was chosen to be the singer of a FARC musical ensemble in a massive event, starting her musical career. Sometimes the ensembles had military responsibilities.

In the cultural hour, she improvised couplets that she learned in her birthplace; a friend encouraged her to write songs. In 2002, when Plan Patriota began, Noelia started to write many songs but most were lost during the conflict. Thanks to her companions,
who learned them by heart, Noelia has recovered some pieces. Her guerrilla and party companions have asked her never to give up music. She interrupted herself to describe her last moments with Marulanda and how she began to write a song for him. Some difficult moments inspired her lyrics, particularly Marulanda and Briceño's deaths.

She never wanted to play an instrument but learned some percussion and piano. Her companions admired her as a songwriter; humorously, she recalls the admission exam for songwriters to a recognised musical academy. Noelia describes her method: she writes imagining the melody and lyrics simultaneously and inspired by the sounds of nature; amid urban noises, it is impossible for her. Noelia sometimes creates melodies with a clear idea about the musical genre, but she prefers to agree it with her colleagues. Noelia did not have a musical education but she remembers learning music, sound gear and production by working on them with professionals in the guerrilla. FARC's music teachers were professionals who taught them clandestinely. Although she thought that learning music was pointless because death could happen at any moment, she made the most of some teachers.

She wrote and played Andean music with *Horizonte Fariano*, admitting she did identify with it. *Los Rebeldes del Sur* was a music-learning experience for her; singing frequently different musical genres: rap, eastern plains' and *vallenato* music. The musical genres of her pieces are not a fixed issue; she has written songs in different genres; she loves energetic music, but sometimes, she wants to sing a slow *trova*. She enjoyed *Rebeldes*'s rehearsals and some comforts they had as musicians; amusingly, she remembers the problematic equipment transportation.

In 2013, when peace talks began, she arrived at the Catatumbo region; there, she produced music with *Horizonte*, especially the *cantatas*. Eventually, some members left the ensemble, but she continued convincing the commanders to maintain their support.
She led the ensemble using music software to produce songs and music videos based on reggaeton and rap, singing lyrics focused on the peace process. A recognised Venezuelan group, Dame pa' Matala, contacted her to record some songs together. She considers her new music part of FARC’s musical tradition; listening to new popular music is motivating for her as a songwriter. Her musical creativity is an expression of her independent attitude. She underlines two essential points: writing relevant lyrics and never plagiarising. Nowadays, she produces her songs, sharing materials with her companions by mobile phone and using Garage Band software; they are increasingly making music remotely.

Although she constantly sings Colombian traditional music in the academy, her new audiences prefer her songs written in commercial genres. For her, the audiences have different attitudes about the lyrics; some have emotional connections with the ideological content, especially in conflictive regions; but others only connect with their personal issues. She recognises the relevance of social media in distributing her songs, but she feels uncomfortable with them; once, promoting her music and political ideas they turned into aggressive situations. She motivates ordinary people politically by talking face-to-face with them: sometimes it is more effective than singing a song, she said. For her, the essential aspect of her music is the emotional connection with people.

Intelligently and humorously, Noelia often uses metaphors to clarify and go deeper emotionally at some points in her narrative. She does so to explain her relationship with music, for example, learning written music as “learning a foreign language”. Some metaphors describe her musical experiences during the conflict: for instance, the effort of studying music as “killing my head or killing my mind”. She uses vivid metaphors when talking about her creative experiences as a musician, extracting a part of a reggaeton song as “stealing a bite from a track”. She also uses metaphors to describe
her songwriting process, for example, imagining song arrangements as “dreaming up my song”. Some metaphors expressed ideas and feelings around her military experiences. For instance, preparing to sing as “preparation for combat”; singing as “another type of combat”; a song finished and ready to play as a “weapon ready!”

Some metaphors about her concept of music are deep: the music as “the most sincere way to say something, a way of connecting with others, an expression of life” and “life itself”.

Noelia’s narrative reveals an evident intensity in the emotions attached to her musical and political biography.

Figure 13. Noelia’s Voices through an Emotional Hotspot.

*Happiness and pride* is her prominent voice, rooted in her attitude and humour, particularly when narrating her trajectory as a serious musician and songwriter, committed to Manuel Marulanda and the guerrilla, first during the conflict and now with
the party. Noelia’s trust and confidence are her voice as a mother, producer, composer, military trainer and party member. Her voice of sadness and nostalgia allows her to tell vibrant memories of her music, companions, and nature – now left behind. Noelia’s anger and disappointment voice show her worried about the future of her family and the party.

Few hesitations appear in Noelia’s narrative. Confidence and humour relaxed her while she recalled her memories and opinions. Her constant interaction with her “little son” and her dog, Dumi, added familiarity and a peaceful attitude. Her conviction about studying music in order to be a professional musician, her political opinions and her role in the political party are moments of fluent narrative. The hesitation average shows some moments of relatively frequent hesitations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>She talks about her mother’s resistance to paramilitaries.</th>
<th>•(11/74) 01:15</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>She talks about her son’s musical skills.</td>
<td>•(10/62) 05:26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When discussing her musical education during her childhood.</td>
<td>•(1/4) 29:08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>She jokes about her name and nickname.</td>
<td>•(3/18) 1:43:16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>She talks about producing music in new musical genres.</td>
<td>•(14/99) 1:47:49/1:48:18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 22. Moments of Greatest Hesitation in Noelia’s Narrative.
The hesitation average shows moments of low hesitation framed in the context of a straightforward narrative:

Table 23. Moments of Least Hesitation in Noelia’s Narrative.

Noelia’s energetic and enthusiastic narrative involved her using her body to underline some moments and words. Indeed, *exclamations* (224) are highly frequent across different themes and topics, mainly the music during her childhood and adolescence and remembering the last days with Marulanda. *Laughter* (190) is recurrent and provides an animated narrative, especially when she talks about her political task of chatting with people in everyday situations, and talking (and joking) about new and traditional musical genres. *Caring for her son* (46) was essential in her new role as a mother. Additionally, she uses some *emphasis* (40), explaining how she finds music in nature, remembering the recognition from her companions, her experiences in music education and the hard job rehearsing for festivals. At emotional moments, she *changes her tone of voice* (13), remembering musical performances during the conflict. Similarly, her voice changed when recalling learning and producing, her idea of music, and her experiences with new musical genres.

Her narrative has crucial moments of non-verbal expressions connected with her creativity. She *sang* (10) to remember key compositions in her life: her first song, dedicated to La Macarena Mountains; ‘*General of Generals*’, dedicated to Manuel Marulanda; other that dedicated to Iván Ríos, a commander; another about Manuel
Marulanda’s life and a recent tune written for a friend and made with Garage Band and mobile phones. However, she sang short, interrupted fragments, barely remembering the lyrics; except ‘General of Generals’, she cannot remember the titles of any songs. Humorously, she recites (3) to recall some traditional verses. Finally, she banged on the table (1) when she remembered the crucial moment she decided to be a musician.

3.3.2. LGM Second Reading.

The “I, one and we poem” reveals the roots of Noelia’s musical and political identities in her musical trajectory within the guerrilla. The movement has been a crucial space for her musical career after mixed emotions over her childhood and adolescent musical experiences.

Her musical identities show a deep connection with her environment and her ways of composing by listening to the sounds of nature.

Table 24. I, one, we Poem Excerpts about the Connection between Nature and Noelia’s Musical Creativity.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Excerpt</th>
<th>Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I sang because of what I heard amid nature... a bird, the... the sound of five birds... I, wow! That gives me enough to make a song [emphasis]. When one hears the sound of waterfalls, one hears many noises [emphasis]... I don't know if other people listen to them or if it’s just me... I sometimes said to them [companions]: Listen! Listen! What song do you hear in the flow of that waterfall? ... 'Are you crazy or what?!' [laughs], they said. I am not crazy, no! I listened to music!</td>
<td>05:26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I told you that I wrote on riverbanks or listening to the sound of birds, even when it rained. And that’s why here in Bogotá, it has been impossible for me to write...</td>
<td>56:42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I didn't need to say: I will write a song today! [emphasis] No, sometimes I just fall asleep, and it starts to rain; I begin to hear the sound, and a song comes to mind. I just get up and start writing.</td>
<td>57:47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Come on, this sounds like a “Los Inquietos” style vallenato to me, somebody said to me, I said: Ok, I’ll fix this [...] I sat on a river bank... I sat down to listen to the river, and I... asked myself what I could do with that; then, I remembered there was a large water flow and a small one: the one on top sounded: ta, ta, tan... and tan, tan, tan [sings] the other one below. I sang: You are light, and life / You are the guide / Iván Ríos I...” and that chorus did not sound like “Los Inquietos” anymore [laughs].</td>
<td>58:59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
“I, one and we poem” reveals rich and diverse experiences in forging her musical identities: the customs from her place of birth, her father’s having been a speaker maker, and her indigenous tradition.

Table 25. I, one, we Poem Excerpts about the Links between Noelia’s Experiences in her Place of Birth, and her Musical Identity.

Her musical identities are rooted deeply in a conflictive relationship with music during her childhood. In crucial emotional moments, music had a role. She narrated her parents’ separation through a song.

Table 26. I, one, we Poem Excerpts about Noelia’s Conflictive Relationship with Music During her Childhood.
Her experiences in making traditional couplets influence her musical identities, promoting crucial skills for her to eventually write her own songs. Those experiences connected her with her indigenous identity, her family, and deeply with her identity as a songwriter.

**Table 27. I, one, we poem Excerpts about Noelia´s Roots in Popular Traditions.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“I, one and we poem” excerpts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>37:00 ...well, I used to make up many couplets because, in that part of Nariño with Putumayo, it is usual to come up with them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38:42 [In the couplets contest] you have to block the other [laughs]! And I sometimes dared to make couplets with sixteen-year-old boys when I was eight [emphasis]!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43:09 Álvaro [musician friend] said to me, “Noeli, why don’t you write... if you write couplets?” ... I made many couplets... but joking... I said, “You should write a song! Go on!” [...]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Her musical identities that link with her learning experiences connect with two main loci: the *organisation*, during the conflict, and the music academy, after the Peace Agreement and having settled in Bogotá. Her reflection on the learning process opens up a moment to communicate fundamental ideas about her music, even building up a concept of FARC´s music.
“I, one and we poem” excerpts

40:55 ...It was mandatory [for FARC’s musicians]... What instrument are you going to learn? [They asked me]

41:12 I decided to play the drums, just because, because... well... because it seemed to me that hitting something was preferable to boring myself playing the guitar.

41:47 Yes, I played them [the drums] [laughs]. I, well... it wasn't something that I wanted... However, I listened to the piano and liked it [emphasis]; I imitated it; nowadays, I realise that doing that is very usual [emphasis]. However, I did it to warm up my voice, to practise scales and that...

1:12:05 [In the guerrilla] there were teachers of different things... we had professionals there... who supported us... well, clandestinely [laughs], they were there for three, four months... with us, they suffered bombardments with us.

1:12:17 They told us, “Well, and you have to learn to measure beats”, and I, I was so out of time [emphasis] ... But, I joked about that because I said, Damn! I sing now, but I am not exempt (immune) from... from... being shot anywhere, I am not immune from a raid; so, why “do my head in” learning, for... for someday... if with one shot, someone could kill me! Ah! I’m not going to “kill my mind”. I will do what I want while I can. I know that the people who will recognise me the most are my companions, and they could die with me at any moment. So what?

1:56:14 Most of us were empirical musicians; others who knew music were already clear about their preferred musical genre. They wanted to adapt them [my songs] to... they tried to adapt to... the things they knew and how they made them [change of tone]. So it was very complicated... [laughs].

2:04:16 ...when I was in [the guerrilla], I really liked Ricardo Arjona’s music, it has... nothing to do with that, but it was very cool for me.

2:04:52 I love Silvio Rodríguez’s music... because he said... for example, I, I... I tried to understand, I tried to analyse his lyrics, without... asking anyone, I wanted to understand them on my own [...] I, damn it! Come on! What did he mean? But, usually, I gave up and asked people from the cities about it.

2:05:03 I liked... I... Mercedes Sosa... some songs [emphasis], not too much. It’s not because all those who think of themselves communists heard her and I imitated her, no; it is something that was born in me. I feel it...

2:02:49 ...music is infinite; that is, we cannot hang on to the same old stuff, it evolves, and we have to evolve along with it.

2:17:49 They [teachers in the admission exam] asked me: What is music for you? Well, for me, music is life [I said]...

Table 28. I, one, we Poem Excerpts about Noelia’s Concept of Music.
Experiences of friendship provide memories that are relevant to her musical identities, significantly when some friends helped her recover and remember her songs, and encouraged her to sing—in particular, in the guerrilla voice contest, the event that defined her musical identity as a singer.

Table 29. Poem Excerpts about the Role of Friends and Companions in Noelia’s Musical Identity.

The poem shows her musical and political identities to be strongly connected, particularly when she narrated the ensemble’s military tasks during the conflict.
Table 30. I, one, we Poem Excerpts about Noelia’s Musical and Political Identities.

The poem reveals the diversity of her musical identities when she narrates the different roles and activities she assumed as a singer, songwriter, production manager, musical producer, sound engineer and music-video producer and director.

Table 31. I, one, we Poem Excerpts about Noelia’s Roles in her Musical Identity.
The poem reveals crucial expressions of her musical identities in her role as musical director. Notably, when she assumed the leadership of Horizonte Fariano, she expressed her musical ideas decisively, based on her short but significant experiences with Rebeldía Oriental and Rebeldes del Sur. This character also can be seen when she explains the role of vallenato tradition in FARC’s music.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“I, one and we poem” excerpts</th>
<th>Time (mins:secs)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1:34:49 Sami told me: “Noelí, I believe in you, and I want to make music with you; let’s do something different from what Horizonte has done before”. I said to him, “Well, go for it.”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:35:11 The Old Man [Jiménez, a commander] said, “Do it, I’ll give you time”... he said, “I warn you not to waste your time, right? But, if you are ready to do it, just do it; I support you...”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:35:23 I told Sami, “I know how to handle the Garage Band on Mac because I learned to edit audiovisual productions”... I asked him, “How about we steal a sample from a song track?”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:38:36 ...we remained together with Leo; despite everything, we continue calling ourselves Horizonte...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:42:38 I was in Rebeldía Oriental, during the heavy... bombardments in the jungle in 2010, in La Macarena. We were all there, and we started [making music again], despite it all...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:22:55 [With Horizonte, I discovered] social networks... well, if one reaches two thousand [followers] it means that someone else recognises you [laughs] – it is something [laughs]! I think that some people remember Rebeldes del Sur... the people of Caquetá know the project... the things they [the band] did in the south, but it is regional... just in the region: Putumayo, Caquetá...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 32. I, one, we Poem Excerpts about the Role of Leadership in Noelia’s Musical Identity.

The most relevant expression of her political identities emerges in her narrative about her experiences with Manuel Marulanda, FARC’s founder and leader. Her vivid and expressive memories communicate a profound link with the movement through emotional moments and the songs she dedicated to him.
Table 33. I, one, we Poem Excerpts about how Noelia’s Political Identities Reveal an Emotional Connection with Marulanda.

The poem illustrates a particular way of negotiating musical and political identities through the process of transformation of the conflict. Her narrative communicates her experiences writing *reggaeton* songs, a new and popular musical genre, but critically changing the songs’ superficial lyrics for explicit, political content. Her new productions incorporate technologies for remote musical production, allowing communication and collaboration with musical companions across the country. These creative decisions renew the usual musical genres of FARC’s musical tradition, but above all, show a simultaneous negotiation of her musical and political identities, adapting them to the new context.

Table 34. I, one, we Poem Excerpts about Negotiating her Musical and Political Identities by Exploring New Musical Genres.
The process of transformation of the conflict finds a crucial expression in her experiences as a mother, music student and woman worker since the Peace Agreement. Her expectations during the conflict for a peace agreement and the role of her music after that connect her musical and political identities throughout that time: her music then and now, and the expectations around – and reality of – the Peace Agreement. Her objections to slow and sad music in general, contrasting with her preference for vivid and upbeat music during the conflict, is noteworthy; she changed her mind about this after the Peace Agreement. These changes show a simultaneous negotiation of her musical and political identities.

Table 35. I, one, we Poem Excerpts about Noelia’s Expectations around the Transformation of the Conflict.

The conflict’s transformation opens up a perspective of dreams and expectations for her future. Her musical and political identities change, and she points to concrete aims. On the other hand, the poems reveal her concern about connecting emotionally with her audiences and her difficulties remembering lyrics when she feels she can build an emotional link with those who listen to her. It can be noticed that the segments of the poem are longer than in the previous cases; this is due to her talkativeness and her verbal expression style.
Table 36. I, one, we Poem Excerpts about Noelia’s Expectations with her Audiences Following the Transformation of the Conflict.
3.3.3. LGM Third Reading.

Noelia’s interpersonal relationships show her web of protagonists interacting in her negotiation of her musical and political identities. In particular, her narrative mentions numerous different protagonists, allowing us to observe a rich and complex relationship web at every level.

Her musical identities in terms of “I” manifest crucial affirmations of herself as a musician. Her narrative about her contradictory relationship with the music during her childhood, her feelings about learning music while thinking that was a pointless effort, her doubts reflecting that music could be the chance to go far if she didn’t die, and her decision to study music professionally, all illustrate a musical trajectory attached to personal decisions. Her musical identities are rooted in her particular way of writing songs, hearing music in sounds of nature. She defines herself as a musician with a spontaneous disposition to learn, write, produce and perform, sometimes forgetting the lyrics or singing out of beat, but always recognising herself proudly as a valued songwriter for the movement. In connection with her companions and the movement, she identifies herself as a musician who constantly rehearses and communicates clear political ideas in her lyrics. Her musical identities emerge in her narrative through frequent self-affirmations as singer, producer, video producer and songwriter.
### Musical Identities "I"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noelia (as musician)</th>
<th>Noelia (singing out of town)</th>
<th>Noelia (teaching her students)</th>
<th>Noelia (as composer)</th>
<th>Noelia (deciding to study music)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Noelia (as a student at the Luis A. Calvo academy)</td>
<td>Noelia (learning why she sings)</td>
<td>Noelia (teaching her students)</td>
<td>Noelia (as a composer)</td>
<td>Noelia (deciding to study music)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noelia (a songwriter)</td>
<td>Noelia (focusing on lyrics)</td>
<td>Noelia (as a video producer)</td>
<td>Noelia (thinking about Rodriguez’ songs)</td>
<td>Noelia (enjoying Sonia’s songs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noelia (as a rapper)</td>
<td>Noelia (writing and rehearsing)</td>
<td>Noelia (as a singer)</td>
<td>Noelia (thinking about protest songs)</td>
<td>Noelia (looking for a new musical genre)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noelia (as a percussionist)</td>
<td>Noelia (proud of herself)</td>
<td>Noelia (doing musical things on her own)</td>
<td>Noelia (worrying about writing music)</td>
<td>Noelia (singing an upbeat song for a son of a 60s rock band)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noelia (mimicking the piano)</td>
<td>Noelia (singing proudly)</td>
<td>Noelia (as an ensemble musician)</td>
<td>Noelia (as a guerrilla singer)</td>
<td>Noelia (worried about her career)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noelia (as a producer)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Noelia (melancholic singing)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Transformation of the Conflict

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noelia (as a mime)</th>
<th>Noelia (eliminating)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

### Political Identities "I"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noelia (joking with her companions)</th>
<th>Noelia (as a nurse)</th>
<th>Noelia (joining the guerrilla)</th>
<th>Noelia (working with explosives)</th>
<th>Noelia (as a military trainer)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Noelia (wiping her teeth)</td>
<td>Noelia (anti-communist)</td>
<td>Noelia (as an anti-communist)</td>
<td>Noelia (as a military trainer)</td>
<td>Noelia (as a military trainer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noelia (looking for a dream)</td>
<td>Noelia (fearing death)</td>
<td>Noelia (fearing for her own life)</td>
<td>Noelia (thinking of returning to armed struggle)</td>
<td>Noelia (thinking of returning to armed struggle)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Musical Identities "We"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>We (FARC musicians evolving with current music)</th>
<th>We (singing and organizing cultural events)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>We (privileged musicians among the troops)</td>
<td>We (performers and audience at cultural events)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We (with different instruments)</td>
<td>We (carrying instruments and gear in a bus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We (with sound equipment)</td>
<td>We (carrying instruments in a jingle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We (liking black hair)</td>
<td>We (FARC musicians creating Colombian traditions)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Her Real Name

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noelia</th>
<th>Noelia busy in her job</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Noelia (with her proper second name)</td>
<td>Noelia (with her proper second name)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Noelia’s Alias

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noelia (joking about her alias as an “artistic name”)</th>
<th>Noelia (not being serious)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No (a person with bad karma)</td>
<td>Noelia (as a political activist)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noelia (able to be bold)</td>
<td>Noelia (as a guerrilla activist)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noelia (dealing with commanders)</td>
<td>Noelia (drinking in the peace process)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noelia (fearing for her life)</td>
<td>Noelia (thinking of returning to armed struggle)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Noelia’s Teacher

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noelia (focusing on learning)</th>
<th>Noelia (fighting for a dream)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Noelia (as a teacher)</td>
<td>Noelia (as an emotional support)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Political Identities "We"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>We (singing)</th>
<th>We (carrying instruments and gear in a bus)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>We (performers and audience at cultural events)</td>
<td>We (FARC musicians creating Colombian traditions)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

Figure 14. Noelia Rosales. Level 1. Self and Interpersonal Relationships (Self).
Her musical preferences illustrate a broad relationship with different musical influences, from pop singers and protest songwriters to reggaeton and rap singers. She prefers upbeat music with political content, but sometimes she enjoys performing slow political songs. As a songwriter, she is looking for a new musical genre connecting her with contemporary popular music genres, making the necessary changes in the technology to produce her new songs. Her musical identities in terms of “we” reveal three dimensions; first, her memories of “we” as musicians in everyday life: we as FARC’s ensemble singers, studying music and enjoying some privileges. Second, “we” recall producing music: singing and rehearsing, having different instruments and sound equipment, transporting instruments in extreme conditions and organising cultural hours. Third, her intentions and initiatives about FARC’s music: “we” as FARC musicians, “we” who salvage Colombian traditions, and FARC musicians evolving with current music.

The relationships identified in her narrative show her “I”-focused political identities, recalling her roles when enrolling in the guerrilla: working on explosives, as a nurse, as a radio operator and her wish to be a military trainer. Similarly, when underlining her strong personality, debating with commanders, sometimes branded as anti-command but finally ascending to be an assistant of FARC’s highest leader. Her political identities found a particular expression in her natural sense of humour, visible in her affectionate nicknames La Chiqui and China, and anecdotes about her companions. Her narrative reveals two crucial moments in negotiating her political identities: first, thinking about whether or not to continue in the peace process, and later discussing in political debates on social networks. In terms of “we”, she expresses her political identities through the memories of different activities and responsibilities: “we”, studying the country’s culture, adapting vehicles for musical events, digging ditches, and assimilating the failure of the musical ensemble’s mission. Key expressions of her political identities in terms of “we” have a place in concerns about the new reality after
the Peace Agreement: “we” are joining civilian life, facing empty promises, and surviving.

Her identities narrated in terms of the transformation of the conflict allows a rich diversity of expressions to be identified. She remembers being an actress, her indigenous heritage, doing community projects and disobeying her teachers. Her names illustrate changes in how she negotiated her identities before and after the conflict: Her real name, Noelia (alias and “artistic” name, she jokes), Noeli (diminutive used by her companions) and Noi (diminutive used by closer people). The new images of herself expressed in her narrative reveal an active negotiation of her identities after the Peace Agreement: Noelia as a mother, “busy in her job”, and “fighting for a dream”, “leaving many things behind” and “transforming herself” as a person.
Figure 15. Noelia Rosales. Level 2. Self and Interpersonal Relationships (Family and Friends).
The web of Noelia´s relationships with family and friends reveals numerous interactions. Her close friends are crucial for her identities, some from her experiences in the guerrilla, including people she lost. Similarly, some musician friends appear: songwriters, players, singers and producers, with whom she remembers making music during the conflict, especially (not their actual names) Jesús Ferrer (the musical director of *Horizonte Fariano*), Samuel Arango (Sami, her singing partner) and Marcelo Ruíz (exploring new genres with him after the Peace Agreement).

The interactions with her son, husband and even the family dog communicate her new identity as a mother raising a family. The relationship web contains a place for her parents and grandparents; she recalls enjoying close contact with her mother after the Peace Agreement, and father's making sound speakers, hearing loud popular music, and his abandonment of her. The narrative shows a strong emotional link with her forcibly displaced family. Everyday life issues associated with some distant family and friends are mentioned in connection with her musical and political activities: remembering funny anecdotes with companions, making couplets, contradicting her teachers during her childhood, and producing music in new musical genres.
Both before and after the Peace Agreement, her relationship with the guerrilla and the political party comes across as extensive and diverse. Noelia’s relationships with
musicians and musical ensembles are central to her identities, noticeable in her role with FARC’s most recognised musical ensembles and her production experiences with professional musicians. Similarly, they come out when she recalls joking about how she started out making music with her companions, the long rehearsals preparing repertoire for festivals, and her leadership when continuing with *Horizonte Fariano*. Additionally, her relationships with commanders affirm connections with the movement, especially with Marulanda, the ‘Old Man’ (*El Viejo*), with her remembering helping him as her assistant, listening to his jokes and anecdotes, but notably recalling her songs dedicated to him. She remembers particular commanders because of her position and, mainly, because of their direct involvement in promoting musical activities.

Her friendships illustrate significant musical experiences before and after the Peace Agreement: her guerrilla-, later political party, companions, asking her to write songs; others copying them by hand, learning them by heart. Their role motivating her to be a singer and musician is emotionally significant. Those relationships connected her with music deeply, mainly the companions who helped her with musical activities, even in high-risk situations. She feels a solid political overlap with companions who believe in the peace process. Her relationship with FARC is voiced in three dimensions: memories of Marulanda, her admiration for some of FARC’s musicians, and her love for “the people”. Relationships have a concrete face when she recalls her guerrilla and militia companions, nowadays her political party friends.
The fourth level, her broader relationships, shows connections with her audiences' experiences before and after the Peace Agreement. Those connections sit among other interactions in her musical trajectory, but they illustrate her interest in audiences' responses and reactions. The relationships with musicians and ensembles who influenced her reveal part of her interest in different musical genres, pop, protest songs and other popular music. Nature appears as a crucial environment for her creativity. Some minor relationships reveal aspects of her new everyday life after the Peace
Agreement: some people whom she encourages to reflect on politics, her music academy teachers, followers and haters of her online musical activities.

3.3.4. LGM Fourth Reading.

The final reading allows for observation of connections that contextualise Noelia’s sense of self. Her connections are dense but allow personal experiences with the social, historical, cultural, and political contexts to be observed.

The connections between musical genres and musicians reveal numerous experiences emerging in her memories of her musical biography. She admires songwriters such as Silvio Rodríguez, Adriana Lucía and Gina Savino, some vallenato singers such as Jean Carlo Centeno and Nelson Velásquez, and ensembles such as Las Diosas del Vallenato and Sonora Dinamita. On the other hand, there appear some musicians that she dislikes: Antonio Aguilar, Darío Gómez, J. Balvin and Los Rayos del Norte. She remembered some pleasant childhood experience with music, mentioning the local song contest, carnivals and Christmas songs. There are unpleasant experiences connected with some adults’ behaviour: “music means nothing”, and “it is the ugliest thing on earth”.

The variety of musical genres is extraordinarily diverse. Some musical connections belong to Noelia’s childhood memories: flute and drums, indigenous music, ranchera, certain pop singers, and some Colombian and Brazilian popular music. However, the most common connections appeared in her memories about the music she made in the guerrilla: initially peasant Andean music; dance music genres such as salsa, chucuchucu, even music from the Plains. Later, she recalled how she improved as a singer exploring Cuban trova, while expressing more interest in new musical genres in FARC’s musical tradition: hip-hop, reggae and reggaeton, exploring how to create a new musical genre. Her musical identities express a preference for upbeat music and a
vivid interest in commercial genres; however, she insists on stating a political position in her musical activities to “defend Colombian musical traditions”. Her connections with the guerrilla’s music is expressed in uncountable anecdotes of making music in everyday life and cultural hours; however, her explorations of “our reggaeton”, as a new protest genre, are noteworthy in her negotiating her musical and political identities.

The connections between cities and places provide an overview of extended influences and experiences. Noelia’s birthplace is defined as her mother’s homeland: Santiago, on the Nariño-Putumayo border, and her holidays along the Colombian-Ecuador border. Places with an historic FARC presence show up in her memories about the guerrilla: El Caguán, El Billar, El Yari, San Vicente del Caguán, Cartagena del Chairá, La Macarena and Catatumbo; they were the context for her musical projects. Additional places emerge in her narrative, showing an active mobility between diverse regions: Antioquia, Cauca, Meta, Caquetá, Quindío and Norte de Santander. Bogotá is her new place of residence, work and for studying music since the Peace Agreement.

The connections between the political party and the transformation of the conflict manifest dynamic internal mobility within the guerrilla and increasing responsibilities during the conflict. The seriousness of learning and assuming the organisation’s internal regulations, conference documents, military duties and training are visible. Noelia’s narrative connects with two commanders, key to her experiences making music and learning about politics: “Comrade Manuel” [Manuel Marulanda] and “El Mono [Jojoy]” [Jorge Briceño]. She remembers Pastrana’s peace failed process and the subsequent upsurge of the conflict as difficult but emotionally significant moments for making music for her own companions. The Peace Agreement has brought a dramatic change in her connections: the new political party, the FARC’s artistic cooperative Comunarte, and the music academy are particularly important. Her education process shows links from her primary school to her current professional
musical education, bridging her childhood experiences making music in her community and learning new music, as well as her concerns about the future of her musical career.

The connections with nature are fundamental for her creativity: the jungle, the rivers and mountains, and particularly the Camuya River and the Serranía de La Macarena that she mentions affectionately. Broader cultural connections are diverse: her identity with the Kamëntsa and Inga communities through carnivals and dances is something she is proud of. Her vivid memories of Mother’s Day and Christmas connect her with her mother and family. Her funny memories of participating in local couplets contests reveal a fundamental experience for her songwriting skills. The media and the technology appears in her use of tools for musical production, her experiences with social networks, and the internet for circulating her music. Her relationships with social categories in political perspectives, such as “the State” and “the people”, are less frequent but are mentioned with political conviction. Conflict-related connections include paramilitaries, the Colombian army, *Plan Patriota*, and energetic expressive denunciations of the people who “ruin the country” and “destroy natural resources”.

3.3.5. Noelia Rosales. LGM Reading General Perspective.

The plot reveals her animated character, the connection with her son and the relevance of everyday issues. Her decision to study music is a consequence of her musical experiences in the guerrilla in which her companions had a crucial role in motivating her continuously. Her music is inspired by nature, the FARC ideals, and involved her closest people, even Manuel Marulanda. She is a singer, songwriter and producer. During the conflict, she learned music by herself and from professionals who supported musical productions in the guerrilla; she learned music, despite fearing her death in some difficult military circumstances. She recognises her contribution for the main FARC musical ensembles proudly. Her musical creativity and versatility emerged from
her contact with different musicians and musical genres in the zones of FARC influence; however, she opted to explore urban and commercial music, even producing music with software and applications nowadays. For her, a sincere and profound contact with her audience is fundamental, the emotional contact is her greatest reward making music.

Noelia often uses metaphors to explain her relationship with music, especially during the conflict, talking about creative experiences and describing her songwriting process. Similarly, to frame her music in cultural traditions she made jokes, and expressed ideas and feelings about her military experiences. On the other hand, Noelia's voice of *happiness and pride* appears, talking about her musical experiences during her childhood, her contact with the sounds of nature and her ways of writing songs. She sounds *proud*, talking about her military training, dedication to rehearsing, recognition among her companions, her trajectory with FARC's ensembles, and her close relationship with Marulanda. Her *trust and confident* voice emerges when she talks about new popular genres, the place of her music in FARC's musical tradition, how to write political lyrics using less explicit words and describing her experiences studying music. Her *sadness and nostalgic* voice are associated with her memories of musician companions, and when mentioning her difficulties writing songs in the city. Her *vehemence and authority* voice finds a place when remembering her leading role in musical productions and activities. Finally, her *anger and disappointment* voice expresses her concern about the current political situation.

Few hesitations appear; the family context motivates in her a relaxed attitude and frequent moments of non-verbal expression. The "I, one and we poem" reveals how the roots of Noelia's musical and political identities rely on her trajectory within the guerrilla. Her musical identities are narrated by describing her ways of composing by listening to natural sounds, her birthplace culture, her father's favorite music, and her indigenous
tradition. Her firm attitude and independent character are part of her making music. Her musical learning experiences occur in two places: the organisation during the conflict, and the music academy, after the Peace Agreement.

The poem reveals the diversity of her musical identities as a singer, songwriter, production manager, musical producer, sound engineer and music-video producer and director. Her musical and political identities connect when she explains FARC’s music traditions with authority. Although the ideology had a place, her political identities are motivated by emotional and personal events. Her musical identities emerged in everyday experiences inside the movement. A vivid expression of her political identity appears when describing her experiences with Marulanda, a profound link with the movement through emotional moments and the songs she dedicated to him. The poem illustrates her musical and political identities negotiations through the transformation of the conflict, especially writing reggaeton, changing its usual superficial lyrics for political and peace topics. Her new musical projects incorporating technologies are decisions about her music impacting her political activities that illustrate a simultaneous negotiation of her musical and political identities. Her experiences learning music after the Peace Agreement reveal contradictions between moments of enjoyment and discomfort, achievement and frustration but affirming herself as a musician. The conflict's transformation allows her to express new identities as a mother, music student and woman worker. The poems reveal her concern about connecting emotionally with her audiences.

Regarding her musical identity, in terms of “I”, she recognises some limitations but also her valuable contribution to the movement’s music. The poem illustrates diverse musical influences: pop, protest songs, reggaeton and rap; however, as a songwriter, she is looking for a new musical genre based on recent commercial music. Her musical identities in terms of “we” reveal three dimensions. First, her memories of “we” as
musicians in everyday life: we, as ensemble musicians, study music and enjoy some privileges. Second, "we" recall producing, singing, rehearsing and learning about different instruments, sound equipment, transportation in extreme conditions and organising cultural hours. Third, her intentions and initiatives concerning FARC’s music: “we” as FARC musicians who salvage Colombian traditions and FARC musicians evolving with current music.

Her political identities in terms of “I” appear emotionally underlining her personality, debating with commanders and finally ascending to be an assistant to the FARC’s highest leader. Her political identities found a particular expression in her sense of humour. Her narrative reveals two crucial personal moments in negotiating her political identities: first, thinking about whether or not to continue in the peace process and, later, discussing political debates on social networks. In terms of “we”, she expresses her political identities through memories of different activities and responsibilities in the movement. Her identity, narrated in terms of the transformation of the conflict, allows new images of herself: as a mother busy in her job, fighting for a dream, leaving many things behind and transforming herself as a new person.

The web of Noelia’s relationships with family and friends reveals their roles influencing her musical and political identities. The interactions underline her new identity as a mother raising a family and a reinforced bond with her mother after the accords. She remembered her absent father and her forcibly displaced family. Her friends are part of her political life in the movement, particularly some of them who she lost. Her relationship with the guerrilla and the political party comes across in her role with FARC’s most relevant musical ensembles. Similarly, it comes out when she recalls joking while making music, the support of her commanders and the companions who helped her with musical activities, even in high-risk situations. In the fourth level, her
broader relationships show new connections after the Peace Agreement, especially with her academy teachers, internet followers, and trolls.

The connections between musical genres and musicians reveal numerous influences. Her musical identities stated a political position defending Colombian musical traditions; however, this is in tension with her explorations of “our reggaeton”, as a new protest genre. The connections between cities and places provide an overview of musical experiences throughout the guerrilla assignation of political and military activities. After the accords, Bogotá is a stable place for her family, job and musical studies. The connections between the political party and the transformation of the conflict reveal increasing responsibilities during the conflict. The Peace Agreement has brought new relationships: the party's job, the FARC's artistic cooperative and the music academy. Broader cultural connections reveal a profound identity with the Kamëntsa and Inga communities.
3.4. Miguel Leal.

Interview Date: 22.10.2019. Place: Neiva.

Total interview time: 1:54:19

Miguel Leal, 53 years old, was a member of Los Comunes and an active, professional musician performing weekly in shows and parties in the Huila and Risaralda municipalities. He was an outstanding vallenato accordion player, producer and music teacher. Miguel lived in Neiva and Pereira as a professional musician; however, during the conflict, he taught, played and produced for FARC musicians in the camps, helping to keep guerrilla musicians updated in repertoire, techniques and other aspects of vallenato. Sadly, he passed away due to Covid-19 complications in 2020.

3.4.1. LGM First Reading.

In his plot, Miguel narrates his trajectory as a professional musician within and outside the guerrilla, using his real name confidently, a fundamental personal change before the Accords. Miguel remarks on the relevance of music during his childhood. His father, a guitar player, was inspirational; he encouraged him to be a professional accordion player, following the musical family tradition. Miguel talks about his father’s taste for classic vallenatos that Miguel has loved since he was a child. He did not have musical education because of his family’s poverty, but he has been "restless" learning music from other musicians and on his own.

When he was a child, he usually performed at local fairs, including the first song he wrote. Although the song was a local hit, he does not consider himself a songwriter; he is a professional vallenato accordion player who creates melodies and harmonies, not lyrics. Eventually, he played for FARC’s ensembles in shows and recordings as a bridging musician, updating and teaching guerrilla musicians. He remembers the difficulties in making music professionally while working both within and outside the guerrilla camps, connecting FARC musicians in the campsites with the musical context
based on his professional experiences. His political connection with FARC was based on his teaching and music production activities; he felt it was a commitment to making excellent music for the movement.

Constantly, he learns new songs, especially about love, adding them to his repertoire. As a professional musician, he carefully listens to music hits but criticises new vallenato styles. After the peace agreement, he performed with ex-combatant musician friends in two big concerts and numerous small gigs. He describes the differences between audiences in the cities, demanding and critical, and in the countryside, comprehensive and spontaneous. He would like to create a musical project with a close friend to recover traditional vallenato, perhaps using social networks because the conventional ways to earn some money as a musician are limited nowadays.

Miguel’s emotional voices reveal his jovial way of looking at his professional, political and personal life. His voices express his confidence based on a long trajectory as a professional musician.
Miguel takes an optimistic view, based on a personal coherence between his childhood aspirations and his everyday life as an adult, narrated through *happiness, pride, trust,* and *confidence.* He feels he is in a problematic situation as a professional musician, expressed in his *anger and disappointment* voice; however, it is marginal compared with enjoying being a vallenato accordion player. *Vehemence and authority* is the voice that comes through when recalling his memories as a “bridging musician”, learning outside and teaching inside the guerrilla during the conflict. He uses his voice of *sadness and nostalgia* to describe himself as a brilliant child accordion player and vallenato festival winner many years ago.

Hesitations are frequent in Miguel’s narrative. They are connected with emotional moments, but they are mainly his ways of communicating ideas using few words and
simple expressions – he is not talkative. The hesitation average reveals frequent moments of hesitations:

He admits he composes melodies and harmonies, although he is not a songwriter. Trying to describe how he creates melodies “connecting [his accordion melodies] there, over the lyrics”.

• (28/264) 40:29/41:28

He talks about giving fundamental pieces of advice to his students.

• (22/179) 1:26:09

He talks about his plans with music.

• (18/175) 1:42:45

Table 37. Moments of Greatest Hesitation in Miguel’s Narrative.

The hesitation average shows moments of low hesitation framed in a straightforward narrative:

He talks about his first song and childhood musical experiences.


He describes his role teaching and connecting FARC musicians with the musical scene outside the camps.

• (26/342) 1:08:58

Table 38. Moments of Least Hesitation in Miguel’s Narrative.

Miguel’s frank and colloquial narrative grows out of a relaxed attitude with few visible body movements. He uses *exclamations* (17), mainly talking about the success with his first song, his father and his musician relatives. His *exclamations* are audible, specifically remembering his learning and teaching experiences. Miguel uses *emphasis* (16) when recalling his decision to be a musician, his father’s efforts to procure an accordion, his first vallenato lessons, his first successful song and the audiences. Similarly, when he explains how he creates, teaches music, and elevates morale with his songs. Miguel *laughs* (6) at remembering gigs during his childhood, his father’s company, the success of his first song, describing new *vallenato*, talking about how he
won the *Vallenato* Festivals, being a *cachaco* (from the Andean region), and especially on recalling Marulanda´s parties. Finally, he *changed the tone of his voice* (2) just two times, correcting himself to give his actual name and explaining how he taught music in the camps.

### 3.4.2. LGM Second Reading.

The “I, one and we” poem shows how his musical and political identities change throughout the process of transformation of the conflict. Every aspect of his identity has been based on his activities as a professional musician since starting to play the accordion as a child, teaching FARC musicians in the camps, and looking for gigs and shows, as any other musician, nowadays. The poem allows us to identify the relevance of his musician father in his musical identities. Although he passed away when Miguel was ten years old, his motivation and efforts to turn Miguel into an accordion player are inspiring and decisive.

**“I, one and we poem” excerpts**

| 20:23 | I am from Florencia, Caquetá, from a ... a little town called Solito. |
| 21:56 | I sang and also played at school; I played *guacharaca* and a little drum because my dad is... he is... he was... he... had a fixed idea: I should be a musician, but I should be an accordion player. To achieve that I had to work [...] he insisted, I had to be a musician, but an accordion player; So, I sang at school and... yes, music inspired me, you know. |
| 22:35 | ...because my father was from Tolima and... he was an excellent guitarist [emphasis] ...my brothers... at the fairs we... he took us, we were little children... to play at those fairs... |
| 23:40 | I was learning my music, *vallenato*... I was... *vallenato* and me; I mean, I had to learn, and I was very, very restless about it [emphasis]... |
| 25:01 | [His father] He was the first person who helped me, he supported me my first months experimenting... with the accordion and that... and later I began to... to watch other [professional] groups... |
| 36:08 | Yes, of course, my music comes from my family; it comes from a part of my family... I know many musicians, relatives... |

Table 39. I, one, we Poem Excerpts about how Miguel’s Father’s Influenced his Musical Identity.

The poem shows that his musical identities are rooted in the beginning of his professional career, reinforced by his later continuous experiences as a professional musician.
Table 40. I, one, we Poem Excerpts about Miguel’s Musical Identity Based on his Affirmation of Being a Professional Musician.

“I, one and we poem” excerpts

29:04 Yeah right! I remember the first song of mine... a song... you can dance to it, people like to dance to it; one plays it, and everyone starts to dance; it is called *El Yatecito* [Little Yacht]. It is an upbeat song and was a hit back then...

29:28 I saw that everyone liked it [his song] [...] and since then I started... taking little steps...

29:42 When I started [alone] with the accordion, I was eeh... twelve years old.

32:27 And of course, I, I was motivated when I saw that... that they put some money into my pockets, it was ... That was great! I would say that it inspired me more [emphasis] to be motivated and to pursue music. If you understand me?

32:55 Of course! Some *pesos* fell into my pocket, but the sad thing was that my father took all the money after a while, leaving me with nothing...Come here, kid! [laughs] but, well, I ... for me the important thing was music, what really mattered to me was music. That filled me more with energy, more desire because I was a person... a child... I was very active, and I like things – the things I like [emphasis] ...so I... that inspired me. The people... Of course! Those people... they encouraged me to go out into the “ring” [...] They shouted, “*El Yatecito* – sing *El Yatecito*!” People danced, applauded me, everything. That fills your heart, gives you energy and hope to go on...

1:22:41 ...but, well, there are many songs that sometimes... love songs, others that are special for one, to dedicate to... there is no lack of beautiful songs in my repertoire...

1:22:55 One is hired to play in a party with a combo; one has to go with a repertoire, songs that people listen to...

1:25:30 ...in all my performances I go out there... I've had a great time, happy... happy...

1:25:40 ...I don't regret any of them... or [I've never had] a situation in which they [the audience] have had to kick me out, no, no... being whistled at or criticised because of the group, something like that... no, no, no, none... So far, thank goodness, I haven't been through that in my life.
The poem singles out his musical identity as an accordion player but not a songwriter. He is particularly proud of his creativity in making music for pre-prepared lyrics; naturally, he identifies the style and suggests melodies and harmonies.

Table 41. I, one, we Poem Excerpts about Miguel’s Musical Identities as an Accordion Player.

The poem represents a straightforward narrative of his musical identities, rooted in the vallenato tradition, mainly because of the recognition and respect garnered as a three-time Vallenato Festival winner.

Table 42. I, one, we Poem Excerpts about how Miguel’s Musical Identity Overlaps with the Vallenato Tradition.
The poem reveals a profound emotional connection with his musical identity as a music teacher. He experiences teaching music as an opportunity to expand his students’ perspective of life and creativity.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“I, one and we poem” excerpts</th>
<th>1:26:00 Yes, yes, I teach, of course... I teach accordion – percussion too...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1:26:09 Ah, for me, it is very... very... something that... fills my heart with joy, when I’m teaching... another person what I know, what I learned, what God gave me... the gift He gave me, you know. I am... passing it on to another person because one [it]... isn’t tied to me only... and... the youth are important, especially now, so many bad things happen to them... vices, many problems. So, the most beautiful thing... I... the advice I give them is: Go for it! Make art and music [...] I say to my students, &quot;Look, you are starting out with this art, it is very beautiful, but visit an artist first... learn about how other things are created, you know. The Lord gave me this... and I... teach it happily with love, with... to provide them with what I feel... the energy of music.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 43. I, one, we Poem Excerpts about Miguel’s Musical Identity as a Music Teacher.

His political identities are expressed through his role as a “bridging musician”, between the musical scene and FARC’s ensembles at campsites during the conflict. His political identity was based on his “musical functions for the organisation, keeping everyone updated and teaching techniques for musical performance and production.
Table 44. I, one, we Poem Excerpts about Miguel’s Musical and Political Identities as a “Bridging Musician”.

Regarding the transformation of the conflict, Miguel’s poem reveals his concern for the situation of professional musicians – their unpaid gigs, and the adverse conditions that made it difficult for him to earn enough money for him and his family.

Table 45. I, one, we Poem Excerpts about Miguel’s Concerns Arising from the Transformation of the Conflict.
3.4.3. LGM Third Reading.

Miguel’s interpersonal relationships reveal different levels of contact and interaction focused on his musical profession. His identity as a professional musician is evident on every level, including when he expresses his political identities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Musical identity “I”</th>
<th>Transformation of “I”</th>
<th>the conflict</th>
<th>We (musical artists)</th>
<th>Ex-combatants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Miguel (being someone in life as an accordion player)</td>
<td>Miguel (making a transition)</td>
<td>Miguel (soccer with professional experience)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miguel (small and skinny)</td>
<td>Miguel (at 12 writing and playing “El Yarecho”)</td>
<td>Miguel (paying rent)</td>
<td>We (entertaining, not shooting in the mountains)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miguel (composing introductions and accompaniment to songs)</td>
<td>Miguel (analyzing themes in Alvaro’s music)</td>
<td>Miguel (paying for the bus)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miguel playing at huge concerts</td>
<td>Miguel (hard-working and humble)</td>
<td>Miguel (feeling happy)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miguel (feeling satisfied by applause)</td>
<td>Miguel (playing a popular song)</td>
<td>Miguel (connecting with everything outside)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miguel (winning three Valenato Festivals)</td>
<td>Miguel (learning from his professional experience)</td>
<td>Miguel (standing firm against other musicians)</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 19. Miguel Leal. Level 1. Self and Interpersonal Relationships (Self).

The first level illustrates emotional motivations in terms of “I” that encourage him to be someone in life, specifically as an accordion player. He remembers that he was short and skinny that he sang at school and was inspired by the accordion. He defines himself as a professional, playing at fairs and making hit songs that audiences love. He portrays himself as a creative composer of instrumental lines, a professional that
analyses themes and lyrics to create melodies and harmonies, who works hard, is humble, and who plays passionately. Proudly, he recognised his achievements as a winner of three Vallenato Festivals, and his performances in huge concerts make him feel full of applauses [proud]. The most important links with the movement were his experiences teaching accordion and percussion with the FARC ensembles at the campsites, constantly playing and teaching updated repertoire. In terms of “we”, when expressing his musical identities, he underlines the quality of his musical performances, “standing firm against other musicians” and being creative, while respecting the genre’s tradition. His political identities in terms of “I” and “we” rely on activities for the guerrilla musicians at the campsites: connecting them with everything outside, teaching updated repertoire, supporting and inspiring them to make progress while he was “learning [a real meaning of] friendship and respect”. The process of transformation of the conflict allows him to be recognised as an ex-combatant musician “making a transition” but with professional experience. He is a “musical artist” experiencing the difficulties of everyday life, but “entertaining, not shooting in the mountains” makes him feel good and optimistic.

Figure 20. Miguel Leal. Level 2. Self and Interpersonal Relationships (Family and Friends).
The second level reveals a small circle of friends and relatives, essential, closest people. His father, a guitarist and singer, was a key relationship, although he passed away when Miguel was a child. His father’s efforts at finding an accordion in a dump, repairing it, learning to play it by himself, and teaching him, were actions that were of deep significance for Miguel. On the other hand, Álvaro, a songwriter and musical companion before and after the Peace Agreement, is his closest friend, musical partner and colleague. He describes his family during his childhood as very musical and very poor; his present family is not mentioned. Finally, his experiences teaching his companions ground this essential expression of his musical identities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commanders</th>
<th>Ensembles and companions</th>
<th>FARC Musicians and artists</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Old Man (Marulanda)</td>
<td>Marulanda (loving dancing)</td>
<td>We (playing for Marulanda)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marulanda (loving Huila’s music)</td>
<td>The musicians (Marulanda was kind to us)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 21. Miguel Leal. Level 3. Self and Interpersonal Relationships (Political Party and Guerrilla).

His relationships with the movement and the political party are few, and all linked with his musical activities. The most important emerges in emotive memories of gigs and dance parties for guerrilla companions organised by Marulanda. Noteworthy, too, is that this contains the only significant mention of Lucas Iguarán, one of FARC’s most important *vallenato* songwriters.
The fourth level shows memories to recall strong links with the audiences, particularly reactions to his performances and emotional moments. His relationships with vallenato culture and musicians are central; the love for the musical genre stirs up a constant effort of self-musical identity construction.

3.4.4. LGM Fourth Reading.

The final reading illustrates the connections around Miguel’s musical and political identities. The results allow us to observe a few close relationships related to his professional musical activities and political commitments, based on his particular bridging task within and outside the guerrilla during the conflict. The connections arising from the genre of his music, display a profound link with vallenato musical traditions. Miguel’s references to traditional vallenato songwriters confirm his preference for “classic” vallenato, unlike new-wave vallenato. His connections with Andean music, especially from the Tolima and Huila regions, are emotionally tied to his memories about his father musician and, later, with Marulanda. Additionally, these
connections provoked reflections about his professional musical activities: repertoire, gigs, and the current challenging economic situation.

The connections growing out of cities and places show a few sites and routes associated with his musical and political experiences: initially, Solito (Caquetá), his birthplace, where he started learning music motivated by his father; and Pajuiles, Florencia and Milán, where he performed his first shows and learned from popular vallenato musicians. His professional career has taken him to Neiva, Madrid (Cundinamarca), Ibagué, Bogotá and some other municipalities in Cundinamarca, Huila and Tolima. His clandestine musical activities with FARC’s musicians happened in different places, but he remarks on Cartagena del Chairá and San Vicente del Caguán. The absence of traditional vallenato territories (in the north of the country) is notable.

His social connections are related to his musical activities and his gratitude to God in some of his reflections about his musical career. He criticises commercial radio's role and remembers a complicated experience on a TV show because of his clandestine musical activities with the “organisation”. The “People” are a category with different meanings, but always mentioned affectionately: talking about his companions, his audiences and Colombians in general. He feels the audiences divide into “the people of the cities (demanding and critical)” and “the people of the countryside (kind and jovial)”; he observed critically that some of his audiences felt like a “new generation”, but disconnected from real vallenato. The music in the guerrilla reveals places with significant emotional links – the countryside, the guerrilla camps and the parrandas (parties). Similarly, the cultural categories have emotional bonds: the fairs, the Vallenato Festivals, and his idea about popular music and artists. The connections framing his political identities, the political party, and conflict transformation are always rooted in his music: the peace process (changing his personal and musical life), the
FARC and the guerrilla (a place of friendship, and musical and political experiences), and the clandestine radio (remembering how his music was broadcasted in order to connect people politically).

3.4.5. Miguel Leal. LGM Reading General Perspective.

Miguel’s plot portrays a singular experience as a musician bridging his professional career in the musical scene and supporting the guerrilla’s musical activities clandestinely through years. His profound connection with his early musical experiences and his father figure defined his musical identity profoundly. His political identity is never explicit; his connection with FARC was based on his role as music teacher, producer and vallenato accordionist. The transformation of the conflict is not a major problem for him; his narrative expresses confidence and optimism based on his long trajectory as professional musician. Although some personal photographs show him with guns and wearing a military uniform he never mentioned military or combat experiences.

Miguel’s voice of trust and confidence displays a friendly and relaxed attitude about his musician relatives, how he learned vallenato and his experiences teaching music. His enthusiasm is based on his long professional career and knowledge of the musical scene. His happiness and pride voice come through when remembering his performances, his success as a winner of three Vallenato Festivals being a cachaco, teaching music and recalling his performances for Marulanda. Miguel’s voice of anger and disappointment emerges talking about the underpaid musical jobs nowadays. His vehemence and authority voice emerge when remembering teaching guerrilla musicians. His voice of sadness and nostalgia is relevant when he remembers his father and his family. On the other hand, hesitations are frequent, mainly because he is not talkative. Miguel’s colloquial narrative shows few visible body movements, primarily about his decision to be a musician, the success with his first song, his father’s efforts
to procure an accordion for him, and remembering his learning and teaching experiences.

The "I, one and we" poem shows how his identity is rooted on his activities as a professional musician: starting to play the accordion as a child, teaching FARC musicians in the camps, and looking for gigs and shows as any other musician nowadays. His father's motivation and efforts were inspiring and decisive for Miguel's musical identity from the beginning of his career and reinforced by his later experiences within and outside the guerrilla. The poem represents a narrative of his musical identities embedded in the vallenato tradition. His musical identity as a music teacher has profound emotional meaning for him. His political identity is expressed through his role as a "bridging musician" for FARC assuming musical activities for the organisation. Regarding the transformation of the conflict, Miguel's poem reveals his concern for the difficulties of earning enough making music.

In the first level of his interpersonal relationships, in terms of "I", he portrays himself as a creative composer of instrumental lines, who works hard, is humble, and plays passionately. The most important links with the movement were his experiences teaching and playing. In terms of "we", when expressing his musical identities, he underlines how he teaches about the attitude necessary to play as a professional ensemble. His political identities in terms of "I" and "we" rely on his musical activities for FARC's musician companions. In the process of transformation of the conflict, he identifies himself as an ex-combatant musician with a long professional experience. The second level reveals close friends and relatives, his father especially. His present family is not mentioned: building new family relationships is difficult for some ex-combatants. The most important relationships emerge in emotive memories of gigs and dance parties for guerrilla companions. The fourth level shows a profound influence of recognised vallenato musicians and traditional songwriters; the love for the musical
genre stirs up a constant effort of self-musical identity construction. His connections with Andean music are emotionally tied to his memories of his musician father and Marulanda.

The connections growing out of cities and places show his professional career and clandestine musical activities associated with his musical and political experiences. Notably, he has never visited vallenato regions in the Colombian Caribbean. His social connections are related to his musical activities and gratitude to God. He criticises commercial radio's disinterest in traditional vallenato songwriters and audiences. People have two meanings; the audience or close communities, musicians or companions; “the people” as ideological term is not used. His political identities in the conflict transformation rooted on his music professional activities: the peace process changed his personal life and professional activities in the musical scene.
3.5. Álvaro Merchán.

Interview Date: 22.10.2019. Place: Neiva.

Total interview time: 1:54:19

Álvaro Merchán, 34 years old, is a member of Los Comunes. He is a professional musician, but his income performing gigs and making recordings is too low for his and his family's expenses. Therefore, he works on an agricultural project and as a bodyguard as well. Álvaro is a vallenato and tropical music singer, songwriter and producer. He directed vallenato ensembles and orchestras during the conflict, mainly Manuel Marulanda’s Orchestra and Rebeldes del Sur.

3.5.1. LGM First Reading.

In his plot, Álvaro expressed his ideas with authority and a sense of humour. Although he remembers singing rancheras and carrilera songs in his birthplace, he decided to be a musician in the guerrilla. He learned from FARC’s vallenato songwriters; for him, making songs is a "gift" coming from an inexplicable desire to write songs. His songs come from concrete people's situations and his everyday life experiences. Álvaro affirms that he became a songwriter into a “revolutionary process” as he calls his political and military experiences in the guerrilla.

He loves teaching to write songs underlining attention to the musicality of words and the genre features. Álvaro considers himself a traditional vallenato musician even though he was not born in the Caribbean. For him, he and other FARC’s songwriters had found audiences because they sang about people’s reality, although he made music for propaganda, always they made it with quality. During the conflict, he had lost many songs, some with aggressive contents, irrelevant nowadays for him. He values the effort and risk in distributing FARC’s music during the conflict, particularly, the clandestine radio station. The political content distinguishes the FARC's vallenato particularly; although some traditional vallenato songs have revolutionary lyrics, based
on people’s ordinary experiences, Álvaro would like to follow this simple way to express his political ideas.

His definitions of FARC’s music is rooted in the guerrilla military and political dimension; it is a “powerful and fundamental weapon” and “songs sound louder than bullets”. His definitions of FARC´s music reveal how important it was politically: during some difficult military events, FARC´s music was evidence that the movement continued fighting. Álvaro explains how FARC´s usually increased musical activities and radio broadcasting to respond to successful Colombian army operations, particularly, in 2010, when the army killed Jorge Briceño, a relevant guerrilla commander. Álvaro also explains how the guerrilla´s commanders gave them support, particularly Marulanda. For them music had political relevance and effect on combatants’ morale. He expressed his concern about his job situation; the ex-combatants’ musical initiatives have place in a professional musical scene unknown for them; the contact with the audience is difficult. YouTube is the only concrete option mentioned. He is planning a music project to recover the roots of peasant vallenato. He hopes that audiences can accept them as musicians who love making songs for the people. Although his lyrics have new concepts and ideas after the Accords, he always had been writing about love. He is committed to the peace process; however, the transformation of the conflict is an unprecedented situation for him, looking for ways to earn money for his family and finance a musical career as professional musician.

Álvaro employs frequent metaphors to create a vivid narrative and explain in greater depth his explanations and perspectives. Poetically, he describes a revolutionary song as “a love song for the people” and peasant songwriters as “people writing in the mountains”. In his conflictive relationship with paid musical gigs, he defines money and payments as “capital”, and his disinterest in money as “capital not inspiring us”. Álvaro uses metaphors to underline his ideas about the vallenato tradition, describing great
musicians as “the guys who moved this land” and remarkable vallenato lyrics as “true poetry”. Some metaphors clarify his narrative on the distribution and circulation of FARC´s songs, e.g. broadcasting on a clandestine radio station as “the way our music and message touched the people”. Notably, he defined the role of music in an armed conflict as “a powerful weapon, a fundamental tool” and “one of our more lethal weapons”.

The emotional hotspot shows in Álvaro´s voices an enthusiastic character. His feelings are equally intense when talking about music or politics; his voices disclose intense, emotional musical and political moments.

Álvaro´s happiness and pride voice narrates his way of forming himself, following a “vision” as a vallenato singer and songwriter committed to FARC´s cause. He describes writing, arranging, producing, singing and performing music as times of self-
satisfaction, based on knowledge and authority about the musical genre and revolutionary music. His voice of *vehemence and authority* emerges narrating his teaching experiences. His voice of trust and confidence has a place in telling of the ways he trusts in himself, sharing with his companions ways of singing and producing lyrics and rhymes. Recounting how he and Miguel perform for hours to earn just a few pesos, his voice of *anger and disappointment* manifests his deep concern for the possibility of making music in the future. Remembering Manuel Marulanda with his musician companions, his voice of *sadness and nostalgia* has a place; this voice is interwoven with the happiness of being with his family, an inevitable conflict between past camaraderie during the conflict and family life after the Peace Agreement.

Álvaro´s narrative is predominantly confident and fluent. Occasional hesitations occur because of an expressive and enthusiastic way of describing and explaining his ideas. The presence of his family during the interview at his home helps his frank and casual attitude. The hesitation average shows certain moments of relatively frequent hesitations:

- He talks about his birthplace.  
  *(8/65) 20:05/20:43*
- He talks about the relevance of music in his life.  
  *(29/235) 47:07/33:54*
- He reflects on the presence of the concept of peace in his songs.  
  *(37/336) 1:35:39*
- He remembers musical parties with Manuel Marulanda.  
  *(49/337) 1:44:16/1:44:38/1:46:16*

Table 46. Moments of Greatest Hesitation in Álvaro´s Narrative.

The hesitation average reveals that the moments of least hesitation occur when his narrative is fluid and relaxed:
Álvaro displayed moderate expressions with his body throughout his narrative. He trusts in his discourse; his body was calm and relaxed, even at enthusiastic moments. His exclamations (65) are the most important physical manifestation, especially when describing the vallenato tradition and explaining how he writes his songs. Laughing (32) is recurrent, in particular remembering his first musical experiences in the guerrilla, his insistence that he be given a chance to perform for the first time during the cultural hour, and when recalling the song that led a local ensemble from his hometown to be sent to jail. He uses emphasis (16) to underline his love for vallenato music and to make the point that songs “sound louder than bullets”. Some less frequent body expressions have a place alongside a “change in his tone of voice” (5), when referring to his lyrics before and after the Peace Agreement. He sang (4) four tunes: the first, a song by his friend Miguel, *El Yatecito*, and a Diomedes Díaz song, *El Indio*, to illustrate the political content of traditional vallenato. He also sang the song that landed *Los Caucanitos* in prison, and a Julián Conrado number to contrast its poetic lyrics about sharing music freely with the complex reality of professional musicians.

3.5.2. LGM Second Reading.

In the “I, one and we poem” his musical identities are shown to express a solid self-affirmation as a songwriter, a culturally explicit reference to being a vallenato singer, and a FARC musician proudly belonging to FARC’s musical tradition.
The poem reveals how his musical identities were influenced by experiences with popular music; however, there is no mention of local musicians from his hometown or his family context having exerted any particular sway. Although he was born in Cauca, an Andean-Pacific region, his musical identities as a vallenato songwriter were the result of a conscious decision that found a favourable environment in the guerrilla.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“I, one and we poem” excerpts</th>
<th>26:46 ...that was within the guerrilla movement... practically, there I found... detected ... identified that... gift...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26:57 So far, I hadn't brought it up. So, I think it was... in the guerrilla movement.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>27:40 It was for a Christmas in the guerrilla [laughs]. I wanted to sing a song... in a play, there was drama... and dance...</td>
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<td>28:12 I said [to the play director], “Well, I want to sing a little song, I... I have a song written, I... I want to sing it” [emphasis]. He replied, “Don’t mess around with that song; there are no good songwriters here! No, don’t mess around with that! You’ll only make a fool of yourself [laughs],” but I insisted... “Let me sing my little song!” [laughs]...</td>
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<td></td>
<td>28:42 I insisted so much... [laughs] so much that he said, “Well then! Sing it well; let’s hear the song!” ...I sang the song, they [companions] liked it a lot, and since then, they started paying attention to me [laughs].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30:11 I said: I can compose because I felt something that I said... when I was a boy, I said: I can write a song! I said, but I never... really tried then.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>33:54 I had... something in me, inside, like a gift; I could write a song. I never had [...] a chance, right? To meet someone who... who said to me, “Let’s do it!”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>34:05 ...when I joined... the guerrilla I listened to maestro Julián Conrado... eeh... Lucas Iguarán, he was less well-known then, but we also listened to Lucas Iguarán’s music... then, to me... they caught my attention, both... those composers caught my attention, and I started!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1:33:43 Yes, at that time, I think that... that when it happened... they [commanders] realised that something good could be done with music, well, I believe that... they helped with logistics and time...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1:34:02 Anyway, I come up with compositions. I told you that I had made a huge pile of songs. They were lost, the army took them, they’re bound to have burned them.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 48. I, one, we Poem Excerpts about the Role his Early Period in the Guerrilla Played in his Musical Identity.

His musical identities as a songwriter emerge in his description of how he creates lyrics and pieces, with Miguel performing melodies and harmonies based on traditional vallenato styles.
Table 49. I, one, we Poem Excerpts about Álvaro’s Way of Writing Vallenato Songs.

His musical identities emerge in his resolve and affirmation as a vallenato songwriter.

Table 50. I, one, we Poem Excerpts about Álvaro’s Musical Identities as a Vallenato Songwriter.
The poem reveals an early link between his musical and political identities, narrated through the anecdote of a song that evidenced his political ideas at a very young age.

Table 51. I, one, we Poem Excerpts about Álvaro’s Early Experiences that Formed his Musical and Political Identities.

His memories as a producer and his experiences sharing the stage with remarkable musicians are valuable for him. His enjoyment playing with different artists expresses a facet of his musical identity throughout his career.

Table 52. I, one, we Poem Excerpts about Miguel’s Emotional and Musical Experience of the Transformation of the Conflict.

Regarding his political identity, the poem shows a relationship with “the people”, as his audience and as the main political focus of his musical creativity.
Table 53. I, one, we Poem Excerpts about Álvaro’s Concept of the People as his Motivation and Audience.

The poem identifies bonds between musical and political identities, notably narrating when and why he decided to be a songwriter as part of a revolutionary process.

Table 54. I, one, we Poem Excerpts about Miguel’s Political Identities through the Prism of his Music as Part of a Revolutionary Process.

3.5.3. LGM Third Reading.

Álvaro’s web of relationships shows decisions and consistent experiences in building his identity as a FARC vallenato songwriter. His trajectory is noteworthy because he grew as a songwriter within the movement.
The first level reveals the transformation of the conflict as a crucial moment in his musical and political identities. It allowed Álvaro to recognise his adaptability at "making..."
music according to situations”. It also enabled him to accept the difficulties with his new professional activities as an ex-combatant musician: “we” (as any other musicians on their own), “we” (as ex-combatant musicians starting again), “we” (thinking how to distribute his music), “we” (dealing with technology) and “we” (looking for strategies). Despite his conviction that money is not essential, the economic situation is a concern for him: “I” (learning to manage money), “we” (reflecting on singing for money) and “one” (earning money for one’s [his] family). Similarly, he feels a change in his songs’ political content, refusing to make explicit political songs nowadays, singing about the things of everyday life and the new reality he feels inside himself; and, clearly, “we” (do not sing about the war anymore) and “we” (only singing about peace). The transformation of the conflict reveals expressions of how he negotiates his political identities based on the trust in “what the party leaders did and approved”.

Nevertheless, Álvaro experienced the uncertainty of the process: “we” (cannot now sing about peace in the same way), “we” (not feeling secure about anything).

Furthermore, he has conviction: “we” (no going back in history) and “we” (living through important things that are happening now).

His musical identities in terms of “I” emerge consistently in three dimensions – as a songwriter, a vallenato singer and a FARC musician. His musical identity as a songwriter opens up emotional moments in his narrative: discovering, as a boy, that he could write songs, writing his first song in the movement, realising his voice was a “gift”, insisting on singing his own music, and (ironically) recording his first vallenato song as a bachata. His musical identity as a vallenato singer is explicit: writing vallenatos although he is not from the Caribbean, feeling vallenato run through his veins, learning to sing and to write traditional vallenato. However, he still encounters stumbling blocks when teaching people to compose and to sing at the same time, and when asking flexibility of his students, because teaching them to write requires spirit and it is very different to teach them to sing. In his identities as a FARC musician, emotional
expressions of his convictions have a place: starting out in the guerrilla and making music alone, losing many notebooks with songs during the conflict, always playing music when feeling happy, feeling joy when playing with good musicians and, crucially, defining himself as a singer who always sings for “the people”. His musical identity in terms of “we” is connected with his experiences making music collectively: his feelings participating in musical projects and writing songs for guerrilla ensembles. Similarly, he reflects on lessons from the conflict as FARC musicians, and remarks on the diversity of musical traditions and artistic practices. However, he also laments that: “we” (did not understand the relevance of music lessons during the conflict), “we” (could be more professional) and “we” (could have been great musicians).

Expressions of his political identity in terms of “I” always refers to his music with a clear political position – moved by FARC’s composers, politically and emotionally inspired by everyday events, “touched” in his “soul” by social injustice. Similarly, when he contributed with his music to the movement during the conflict, it raised their morale. He made political points through his songs, and music for his companions and Manuel Marulanda. In terms of “we,” his political identity takes on an ideological expression: “we” (singing and composing a revolutionary song), “we” (stating FARC continues), “we” (not inspired by “capital”) and “we” (heard by the people).
The second level, the family and friends-focused web of relationships, shows a few yet intense relationships with close musicians, especially Miguel. His family is fundamental, particularly his relationships with his son and daughter. Some other friends are connected with his musical activities and moments of his musical trajectory and teaching experiences.

Álvaro’s third level relationship web manifests links to the guerrilla and the political party based more on personal and emotional experiences than on structured duties, positions or ideological discourses. His bonds with FARC before the Peace Agreement are expressed through anecdotes with his companions such as troops, militia, and units enjoying or supporting his music. Similarly, his memories about his companions are vivid, sharing friendship and solidarity. His relationships with FARC’s ensembles emerge when remembering the role of the radio station, his teaching experiences, and the Caribbean musicians that took part in his productions and who admired his singing style.
The chart shows the web of background relationships. The audiences that loved Álvaro´s songs, within and outside the guerrilla, are remembered emotionally; while his vivid anecdotes about the militia's role distributing FARC´s music CD and the listeners of FARC´s clandestine radio, even Colombian army´s soldiers, are memorable for him. Similarly, contextual relationships with young songwriters of protest music, vallenato and other musical genres reinforce his roles as a music teacher and vallenato singer. The people are relevant, not as an ordinary audience but as the focus and inspiration of his music, especially those who suffer injustices.

3.5.4. LGM Fourth Reading.

The final reading allows for observation of connections between his musical and political identities, as manifested in specific perspectives about vallenato, music and political contexts before and after the Peace Agreement.

The connections with musical genres show proficient knowledge of the vallenato tradition, and his expectations for his musical activities following the Peace Agreement.
The influence of popular music during his childhood – ranchera, bolero and corrido singers – seems anecdotal; he attributes his versatility in some musical genres to his experiences with different musicians within the guerrilla. On the other hand, the connection with the vallenato musical culture is key, especially when talking about “classical” songwriters and the styles of vallenato: puya, merengue, son and paseo. Critically, he finds new wave vallenato contrary to tradition, the music that “inspires this land” and has “poetry”. His connection with political vallenato songwriters motivates him visibly. His relations with other musical genres are linked with experiences of musical creativity, writing and producing cumbias, salsa and eastern plains music. For him, conflict transformation opens up possibilities to enjoy making music with recognised musicians; however, he needs to make money from his music as well. The music business is a “messy world” for him, a conflicting combination of making music for the people, promoting traditional vallenato, producing commercial songs and being underpaid for gigs.

The connections with social categories are relevant to his music’s political role. The people are a crucial connection in terms of his audience and inspiration for his lyrics, described in specific passages as “the peasants”. Social networks are a new way of connecting with the audience, but it is difficult to take advantage of these without a “strategy”. The media, the private commercial radio and TV are described as a pay for play business. Some Colombian private media were mentioned in a strictly political sense as an instrument for concealing reality. Some references to historical Colombian ex-presidents and high-level clergy framed anecdotes about the political content of his music. “Capital”, his word for money and business, is a conflictive category. In the guerrilla, money was not an aim or motivation in making music; but, in “civil society”, payment for gigs is crucial. Organisations that support cultural projects or the political party are mentioned as an alternative to ordinary professional musical activities. “Love”, “friendship” and “God” are categories that emerge when he remembers the joy of
making music with his colleagues and imagining the future perspectives of his professional musical career since the Peace Agreement.

The contextual connections bring out his memories of making music in the guerrilla, and underline its straightforward political content. He defines FARC’s music as something more than protest songs alone: it is “revolutionary music”. He admits that it had a propaganda role; it was a “tool” and a “weapon”, but FARC’s music essentially expressed social and political conditions. The connections with FARC’s clandestine radio station, their support and efforts to acquire instruments, and the “little parties” (parranditas), leave a profound emotional effect on his sense of belonging to the movement. A few but noteworthy categories have a place in his narrative about the conflict, usually named “the war”. Initially, “marginalised people” appears in opposition to explicit types: police, the Colombian army, paramilitaries and drug traffickers. Cities and places make relatively few appearances when Álvaro describes his birthplace, when Russia and Germany are examples of places where music was used for military purposes; the Caribbean Coast as the “cradle of vallenato”; and Neiva and Bogotá, where his first shows as an ex-combatant musician took place.

He describes his connections with the guerrilla and political party as two “processes”: the guerrilla as a movement in a “revolutionary process” and the political party undertaking a “peace process”. He engages in the new reality of FARC, as a political party, emotionally, based on his memories and recent experiences, like his performance at the launch concert for the political party. Connections with his audiences allow him to describe his motivations, remembering playing for peasant communities, victims of the conflict, and ex-combatants’ children. Some minor cultural categories emerge in anecdotes about everyday life; however, his biography is structured around a decision about his musical identity: being a vallenato songwriter,
3.5.5 Álvaro Merchán. LGM Reading General Perspective.

Álvaro’s plot describes his life story as musician inseparable from his experience in the guerrilla. Although, he had some previous musical experiences, he became vallenato singer and songwriter inspired by the FARC vallenato tradition. Becoming part of the guerrilla and being a vallenato musician were conscious decisions that shape his political and musical identities simultaneously. The transformation of the conflict implies a profound change in his political identity; he experiences the transformation as affirming his identity as a vallenato musician rooted in its peasant tradition. He feels concern because of the peace process’s lack of total implementation, but also because of his musical initiative being based on a style that is not commercially viable and the poorly paid activities in the musical scene nowadays.

Álvaro's voice of happiness and pride explains why he wrote and produced songs for the movement and the people, enjoying playing with other professional musicians, for his companions and Marulanda. His trust and confident voice emerges when remembering his first song in the guerrilla, his musical childhood experiences and his motivations for teaching songwriting. Álvaro's voice of vehemence and authority underlines the relevance of music made for the people and criticises the new vallenato and private media. Similarly, it appears when he remarks on the significance of FARC’s music, the role of music in preserving the conflict's memory and insisting on his commitment to the Peace Agreement. The anger and disappointed voice describe obstacles to forging a professional musical career. His voice of sadness and nostalgia describes the clandestine methods for distributing and broadcasting FARC’s music. Álvaro employs frequent metaphors to explain his perspectives; although his narrative
is confident and fluent, occasional hesitations occur. The presence of his family during the interview at his home helps his casual attitude.

In the "I, one and we poem", his musical identities show a solid self-affirmation as a songwriter, a vallenato singer, and a FARC musician proudly belonging to FARC's musical tradition. His musical identity as a songwriter is expressed with confidence and high self-esteem, without references to early family influences or musical education. His musical identity as a traditional vallenato songwriter has been a conscious decision that found support in the guerrilla. His memories as a music teacher, producer and his experiences sharing the stage with remarkable musicians reinforced his musical identities emotionally. Regarding his political identity, the poem shows a bond with “the people” and his audience, the political focus of his musical creativity. His musical and political identities were built as part of a “revolutionary process”.

Álvaro's web of relationships reveals his trajectory as a FARC vallenato songwriter. He grew as such within the movement while carrying out his political and military activities. The first level reveals the transformation of the conflict as an adaptation, making music according to political situations; his negotiations of his musical and political identities are intertwined. The difficulties with his new professional activities as an ex-combatant musician are evident. Despite his conviction that money is not essential, the economic situation is decisive anyway. The transformation of the conflict reveals how he negotiates his political identity by trusting in the party leaders. Álvaro believes in the Accords despite the uncertainty of the process. His musical identity in terms of "we" is connected to his experiences in making music collectively and politically. He remarks on the diversity of FARC's musical traditions and artistic practices. Expressions of his political identity in terms of "I" refer to his musical activities. In terms of "we," his political identity takes on an ideological expression: “we” (singing and composing a
revolutionary song), “we” (stating FARC continues), “we” (not inspired by "capital") and “we” (heard by the people).

His family is fundamental, particularly his son and daughter. His friends are part of his musical trajectory and teaching experiences. The links with the guerrilla and the political party are based more on personal and emotional experiences than on structured duties, positions or ideological discourses. His bonds with FARC before the Peace Agreement are expressed through vivid anecdotes of his companions, teaching, learning music, broadcasting on the radio, and sharing friendship and solidarity. The background relationships reveal audiences within and outside the guerrilla that admire Álvaro's songs; the militia's role in distributing FARC's music, the listeners of FARC's clandestine radio, and even the Colombian army's soldiers who listen to his music, all are emotionally significant for him. Similarly, contextual relationships with young songwriters of protest music, vallenato and other musical genres underline his role as a music teacher. The people are relevant, not as an ordinary audience but as an inspiration for his music. The connections with musical genres show expert knowledge of the vallenato tradition and his expectations for new musical initiatives. He attributes his versatility in diverse musical genres to his experiences with different musicians within the guerrilla. His connection with FARC's vallenato songwriters and belonging to FARC's vallenato tradition motivate him visibly. His relations with other musical genres, cumbia, salsa, chucu-chucu and eastern plains music, rely on his experiences as producer and musical director. The music business is a "messy world" of intentions and situations: making music for the people, promoting traditional vallenato, producing commercial songs and dealing with unfair pay for gigs.

The connections with social categories reveal the political roles of his music. The people are the reason to write songs for him. Social networks are a new way of connecting people, but it is challenging to take advantage of these without a "strategy".
For him, private radio and TV are just a pay-for-play business. "Capital", his word for money and business, is a conflictive category. Organisations supporting cultural projects or the political party are mentioned as an alternative to professional musical activities. "Love", "friendship", and "God" are categories that emerge when he remembers the joy of making music. The contextual connections bring out his memories of making music in the guerrilla with political content. He defines FARC's songs as a "revolutionary music" denouncing the socio-political reality despite its clear propaganda role. Belonging to the movement has an emotional dimension for him; he remembers the risks and effort of the entire movement promoting music: the clandestine radio station, buying instruments, and making parties even in difficult moments. "The people" are opposed to explicit categories: the police, the Colombian army, paramilitaries and drug traffickers. Cities and places make relatively few appearances. His connections with the guerrilla and political party reveal his belonging to two processes: the guerrilla as a movement that involved him in a revolutionary process and the political party motivating him to a peace process. He emotionally engages in the new reality of FARC as a political party based on his memories and recent experiences. Connections with his audiences, the people, allow him to describe his motivations, remembering playing for peasant communities, victims of the conflict, and ex-combatants' children. His biography is structured around a decision about his musical identity: being a vallenato songwriter who was born in the Andes, writing songs following the movement political ideas and raising his family as a professional musician.
Chapter Four.

FARC’s Musical and Political Identities as Revealed through their Songs-as-narratives: FARC’s Musical and Political Identities as Revealed through Their Songs.

This chapter analyses the songs of four ex-combatant songwriters applying the Listening Guide Method (LGM). The music video is a pertinent material for the LGM analysis adding to the sound and music elements, visual, performance, symbolic and embodied dimensions necessary for the study of the songs conceived as narratives (Negus, 1996, 1999, 2012) and also defined as a cultural phenomenon that is socially constructed (Frith, 1999, 2001, 2004, 2007, 2014; Davidson, 2004; Marshall & Laing, 2014). Although the music video and the songs are collective works usually combining creative proposals from different members of a production team or a musical ensemble, they are also expressions of personal creativity and identity. As Kenny (2014) observed in his study about jazz practices individual creativity is firmly rooted within socio-cultural contexts where practices are situated and collective, the works emerge through an active interaction of leadership and collaboration, individual creativity and cooperation; other popular music practices have the same dynamic. Additionally, this research asked the interviewees about what song is particularly important in their experiences, and with which song they feel especially identified; based on that, the material for the analysis was chosen. The chapter describes the readings analysis of each musician and presents a comprehensive final section “FARC Musicians’ Songs-as-narratives: LGM General Perspective” to summarise the findings.

Relevant sound features and formal elements of the songs written, sung, and performed by Camila Aguirre, Clemente Blasco, Noelia Rosales, and Álvaro Merchán will be included in the analyses complementary to the four LGM readings. This analysis includes only songwriters; the lyrics provide irreplaceable information for the study (McKinlay & McVittie, 2017). Because Miguel Leal was a professional backing
musician, not a singer-songwriter, he was excluded at this stage. The study identified elements observed and described in a screenplay. This section proves that LGM provides relevant results for the research questions allowing the analysis of songs-as-narratives, including musical features, musical genre characteristics, lyrics, and visual, performative and symbolic elements, necessary to obtain a profound understanding of the political and musical identities as personally and socially constructed.

Author: Camila Aguirre and Horizonte Fariano

Title: *Venimos de la Patria Proletaria* (Video-clip)

Date: 2008

Production Location: Catatumbo, Norte de Santander, Colombia.

Prominent participants: Camila Aguirre (singer) and Jesús Ferrer (guitarist / musical and choreography director).

Total time: 04’23’’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Images</th>
<th>Technical features</th>
<th>Music elements</th>
<th>Characteristics</th>
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</thead>
</table>
| 00:00  | ![Start](image1) Start. Very long shot camera. Stage. FARC military personnel. | (Alfonso Cano talking) Tenemos como principios | **Plot:** Military parade.  
**Emotional hotspot:** Strength (a solid command)  
**Body gestures and expressions:** Military postures  
**Protagonist:** FARC military personnel  
**Contextual connections:** Colombia (balloon colours), the people (People’s Army banner), FARC ideological principles. |
| 00:03  | ![Cross fade](image2) Cross fade. Very long shot camera. FARC parade. | todos aquellos ideales | **Plot:** Military parade.  
**Emotional hotspot:** Discipline and order  
**Body gestures and expressions:** Military postures  
**Protagonist:** FARC combatants  
**Contextual connections:** Colombia (flag), the socialism (flag), FARC ideological ideals. |
| 00:04  | ![Cross fade](image3) Cross fade. Medium close-up shot camera. Simón Bolívar portrait. | que movieron la vida, la lucha y los logros de El Libertador, Simón Bolívar. | **Plot:** Bolívar as a Colombian independence figure  
**Emotional hotspot:** Freedom  
**Body gestures and expressions:** Nineteenth-century portrait posture.  
**Protagonist:** Simón Bolívar “The Liberator”  
**Contextual connections:** Colombian history. |
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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Type of Shot</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Plot</th>
<th>Emotional Hotspot</th>
<th>Body Gestures and Expressions</th>
<th>Protagonist</th>
<th>Contextual Connections</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>00:12</td>
<td>Cross fade.</td>
<td>Close-up shot camera of Alfonso Cano, Chief of FARC’s military personnel.</td>
<td>We defend his commitment, the coherence between his words and his deeds.</td>
<td>PLOT: Cano as a FARC ideological leader</td>
<td>Gravity</td>
<td>Protagonist: Alfonso Cano</td>
<td>FARC ideology, sounds of nature.</td>
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<tr>
<td>00:50</td>
<td>Hard cut.</td>
<td>Picture within a picture. Medium-long shot camera. Mixed-sex dancers are sharing a drink of water.</td>
<td>Verse 1 Camila singing Instruments: Guitars, clave, guasaítas and tambora Chords: E/B/B7 Como guerrillera luchó por mi pueblo As a guerrilla woman I fight for my people</td>
<td>PLOT: Peasant labour / Camila and ensemble’s performance Emotional hotspot: Love, solidarity / happiness, unity (with the peasants).</td>
<td></td>
<td>Protagonist: Camila as a female guerrilla who fights for her people, peasant couples (mixed-sex dancers) / Horizonte Fariano</td>
<td>Camila and ensemble using the same t-shirts, FARC (logo on women’s t-shirt), Colombian Andean peasant culture</td>
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<tr>
<td>01:01</td>
<td>Hard cut.</td>
<td>Medium-long shot camera. Mixed-sex dancers. Women sowing seeds in the soil.</td>
<td>Chords: B7/B/E y siembro en el campo que me vio nacer and I sow the fields where I was born</td>
<td>PLOT: Peasant labour Emotional hotspot: Caring for life and food</td>
<td></td>
<td>Protagonist: Camila as a peasant woman sowing the soil, peasant couples (mixed-sex dancers)</td>
<td>Manuel Marulanda, FARC, Colombian Andean peasant culture</td>
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<td>Time</td>
<td>Scene Details</td>
<td>Musical Details</td>
<td>Plot</td>
<td>Emotional Hotspot</td>
<td>Body Gestures and Expressions</td>
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<td>01:08</td>
<td>Hard cut. Dissolve effect Mid shot camera: Female dancers spinning. Long-shot camera: ensemble playing</td>
<td>(Instrumental) Chords: E/B/E</td>
<td>Plot: Peasant labour / Camila and ensemble’s performance Emotional hotspot: Joy / happiness Body gestures and expressions: Spinning with open arms (women) / Musical performance Protagonist: Peasant women (dancers) / Horizonte Fariano Contextual connections: Manuel Marulanda, FARC, Colombian Andean peasant culture, the socialism (ensemble’s red t-shirts)</td>
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<td>01:36</td>
<td>Mid shot camera. Mixed-sex dancers. Traditional dance moves.</td>
<td>Chords: B7/E/B/E que trazó Bolivar allá en Boyacá that Bolívar forged out there, in Boyacá</td>
<td>Plot: Andean peasant traditional dance and variation Emotional hotspot: Happiness and joy Body gestures and expressions: Traditional dance moves, except a backwards fall movement. Protagonist: Peasant couples (mixed-sex dancers), Bolivar. Contextual connections: FARC, Colombian Andean peasant culture, Boyacá (the place where full Colombian independence from the Spanish empire was secured), Colombian history.</td>
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<td>Time</td>
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<td>Chords:</td>
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<td>01:54</td>
<td>Wipe transition. Long shot camera. Mixed-sex dancers. Women marching and spinning. Men on their knees, shooting as though they were in combat.</td>
<td>E/B/B7/B/E/B/E Mis ansias guerreras de enfrentar al yanqui mantienen ardiente con alta moral</td>
<td>Female guerrilla marching with guns. Male guerrilla shooting in combat.</td>
<td>Discipline, pride, morale.</td>
<td>Military march, moves with a traditional spinning and shooting dance position.</td>
<td>Peasant guerrilla, Camila as a guerrilla woman facing the Yankees, Manuela Beltrán (Colombian nineteenth-century independentism figure), the Yankee.</td>
<td>Manuel Marulanda, Colombian history, United States imperialism.</td>
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<tr>
<td>02:15</td>
<td>Hard cut. Medium-long shot camera. Women dancers spinning.</td>
<td>E/A/E/B/E/B/E Como soy fariana vivo en el ejemplo que ayer me heredara Manuela Beltrán</td>
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<td>As I am fariana [women in the FARC] I live in the example that Manuela Beltrán bequeathed yesterday [in times past]</td>
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<td>Time</td>
<td>Action</td>
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<td>Emotions</td>
<td>Gesture and Expressions</td>
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<td>02:31</td>
<td>Hard cut. Mid shot camera. Male dancer’s gesture (listening). Female dancer on her knees, shooting as if in combat.</td>
<td>Chords: E/B7 que escuchan mi canto Who listen to my song Protagonist: Peasant guerrilla, women and men. -That listen to this song. -Invited to join guerrilla -Called to fight. -Called to take up arms.</td>
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<td>02:37</td>
<td>Mid shot camera. Male dancer’s gesture (beckoning). Woman dancer on her knees, shooting as though in combat.</td>
<td>Chords: B7/B vengan con nosotros Come with us Protagonist: Peasant guerrilla, women and men. -That listen to this song. -Invited to join guerrilla -Called to fight. -Called to take up arms.</td>
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<td>02:40</td>
<td>Mid shot camera. Male dancer’s gesture (fighting). Woman dancer on her knees, shooting towards the horizon.</td>
<td>Chords: B7/B/A/B/E vamos a luchar Let’s fight Contextual connections: Manuel Marulanda, the audience. Protagonist: Peasant guerrilla, women and men. -That listen to this song. -Invited to join guerrilla -Called to fight. -Called to take up arms.</td>
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<td>02:46</td>
<td>Mid shot camera. Male dancer’s gesture (picking up a weapon). Female dancer on her knees, as if she were shooting in combat.</td>
<td>Chorus 4 Oswaldo and Ferrer singing Chords: E/A Empuñen fusiles Wield your rifles Protagonist: Peasant guerrilla, women and men. -That listen to this song. -Invited to join guerrilla -Called to fight. -Called to take up arms.</td>
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<td>Time</td>
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<td>Body gestures and expressions</td>
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<td>02:48</td>
<td>Medium-long shot camera. Mixed-sex dancers dancing traditional moves and spinning.</td>
<td>Chords: A/E/B/E que el gringo bandido sigue pisoteando nuestra dignidad because those gringo bandits keep trampling on our dignity</td>
<td>Plot: Andean traditional dance, with guns</td>
<td>Enthusiasm and feelings of dignity</td>
<td>Traditional dance moves, with guns.</td>
<td>Peasant guerrilla</td>
<td>Manuel Marulanda, the bandit gringo, the audience.</td>
</tr>
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<td>02:56</td>
<td>Hard cut. Medium close-up: Jesús Ferrer playing the guitar.</td>
<td>Solo (Guitar) Ferrer playing Instruments: Guitars, clave, güiro, guasaítas and tambora Chords: E/A/E/ ¡Uy!</td>
<td>Plot: Ferrer playing the guitar.</td>
<td>Concentration and feeling the music</td>
<td>Ferrer’s performance</td>
<td>Ferrer</td>
<td>FARC (Ferrer’s t-shirt logo), socialism.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

We come from the Proletarian Homeland, the same one that Bolívar liberated, where everyone’s duty is to build socialism and endless peace, as The Liberator dreamed.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Chords</th>
<th>Instruments</th>
<th>Lyrics</th>
<th>Emotions</th>
<th>Body Gestures and Expressions</th>
<th>Protagonist</th>
<th>Contextual Connections</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>03:35</td>
<td>Hard cut. Mid shot camera. Mixed-sex dancers. Traditional spinning dance move.</td>
<td>Verse 6</td>
<td>E/B/B7/E/A/E/B/B7/E</td>
<td>Oswaldo and Ferrer singing <em>Sabemos que empuñando nuestras armas</em>&lt;br&gt;Camila and Carolina singing <em>llevaremos al pueblo hasta el poder</em>&lt;br&gt;Camila, Carolina, Oswaldo and Ferrer singing <em>liberando a los pobres de la opresión echando a andar la revolución</em>&lt;br&gt;We know that by wielding our weapons we will bring the people to power, liberating the poor from oppression, starting the revolution.</td>
<td>Emotional hotspot: Enthusiasm&lt;br&gt;Body gestures and expressions: Traditional dance moves, without guns.</td>
<td>Protagonist: Peasant guerrilla, poor people free from oppression.</td>
<td>Contextual connections: Manuel Marulanda, FARC, the people, the revolution.</td>
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</table>
4.1.1. Sound and Musical Elements

Venimos de la Patria Proletaria (We come from the Proletarian Fatherland) is a merengue campesino song, a popular music and dance from agricultural territories of Boyacá and Santander in the eastern Andean region of Colombia; the area was strategic for FARC's mobility between Eastern, Central Andean and Llanera regions.

The tune is identical in form, harmony, and rhythm to traditional merengues, widely known in Colombia as carranguera music. The song's texture is a vocal melody with instrumental accompaniment. Regarding the form, it has two alternative parts, verse and chorus, with an intermediate guitar solo section and an instrumental introduction.

The harmony I-V-IV-V7-III, in the key of E (E/B/A/B7/F#m), is a conventional harmonic progression in the genre. The song is played in a 6/8-time signature. The melodic profile employs consecutive intervals and frequent major and minor third jumps; the melodic range is moderate, a ninth. The lyrics have ten octosyllabic verses, as usual in the genre. The instrumental ensemble, traditionally based on string instruments – guitar, tiple, requinto and guacharaca – was adapted for two guitars and percussion (guasaítas, güiro, tambora and claves). The video clip was produced before the Peace
Agreement with basic but practical resources. The narrative is based on a choreography representing peasant life and the guerrilla's fight for their rights. Military uniforms, emblems and symbols accompanied Horizonte Fariano’s performance.

Additional voices are added throughout sections, suggesting a metaphor of a progressive sum of men and women's voices for a revolutionary change.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verse 1</th>
<th>Chorus 1</th>
<th>Verse 2</th>
<th>Chorus 2</th>
<th>Verse 3</th>
<th>Chorus 3</th>
<th>Verse 4</th>
<th>Chorus 4</th>
<th>Verse 5</th>
<th>Verse 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Camila</td>
<td>• Camila • Carolina</td>
<td>Oswaldo</td>
<td>• Oswaldo • Jesús</td>
<td>Camila</td>
<td>• Camila • Carolina</td>
<td>Jesús</td>
<td>• Jesús • Oswaldo</td>
<td>Oswaldo</td>
<td>• Oswaldo • Jesús • Camila • Carolina</td>
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Figure 28. Parts of the song and voices’ participation

The song starts with two guitars and the clave. Later, in verse one; Camila's voice appears with the *guasaítas*, a little pair of shakers self-made by FARC's musicians. The *guasaítas* sound loud intentionally; the percussion at high volume is a characteristic of some sound mixing for Colombian dance music. The chorus one has two voices, but Carolina’s voice is soft, almost inaudible; according to Camila this was not a mixing problem — Paula has a timid attitude to recording. In verse two, the *güiro* appears, adding a percussive effect reinforcing the song’s rhythmical emphasis. Suddenly and loud, the *guasaítas* and the *güiro* emerge in crucial sentences about political identities: when Camila said: “As a guerrilla woman, I fight for my people”; and when Oswaldo sang: “I am a communist and I am making my way along the route that Bolivar forges”. Since verse three, all the instruments continue until the tune's end; the song's diversity relies on alternating vocal solos, duets and quartets. The guitar solo is a melody in parallel thirds, as usual in numerous forms of popular music. The voice quartet also has a political affirmation in the third person (we): “where everyone's duty is to build
socialism and endless peace”; at this point, it is clear that the solos represent the individuals, the duets, men and women, and the quartets the people. In verse six, the last one, the güiro performs a fill just after the quartet sings: “…liberating the poor from oppression, starting the revolution”; immediately, the singers use an ostensible vibrato: “we will fulfil Manuel's dream”; both effects add a dramatic effect when the lyrics mention the revolution and the leader. The musical elements, instrumentation, textures and structure are carefully associated with the lyrics’ political content.

4.1.2. First reading.

The song’s plot starts with images of a military parade and Simón Bolívar. At the same time, Alfonso Cano, FARC leader, explains FARC ideology in light of Bolívar's ideals. The music begins with a choreography representing peasant labour; Camila and the ensemble appear in an overlapping image. The choreography is based on traditional Andean peasant dance with some variations.

The plot continues with the first appearance of the entire Horizonte Fariano ensemble. Later, the choreography is shown again, but the dancer has guns and a complete guerrilla uniform. The movements represent female guerrillas marching with their guns and male guerrillas shooting in combat. The dancers’ movements change, representing women guerrilla shooting in action and men guerrilla dancing traditional merengue campesino moves with their weapons. Later, the choreography unifies women and men in conventional dance movements but still carrying their guns. Finally, the video clip shows additional images of Horizonte Fariano’s director and the ensemble, alternating with traditional dance movements without the guns. The plot finishes with a static image of a cultural event in a military parade.

The emotional hotspot illustrates the predominant emotions emerging from the sound, lyrics, choreography gestures and visual elements in compositions of shots. Although
singers may adopt personas or represent characters when performing a song, Camila´s life story confirms the emotional significance of the song at personal level. Camila, and the ex-combatant musician interviewed, freely selected for the analysis their most significant song.

![Figure 29. Emotional Hotspot Displaying Camila´s Voices in “Venimos de la Patria Proletaria”.](image)

The song communicates positive attitudes based on solid moral principles. The voice of *happiness and pride* appears in the peasant representations of unity and enjoyment through gestures of fruitful but hard work. The ensemble expresses this voice by sharing the emotional moment in some shots; *love and solidarity* has a place representing affection, respect and care for the land. *Pride* emerges in gestures of conviction and moral integrity in the choreography section with guerrilla uniforms. The *voice of trust and confidence* is evident in the military parades, the choreography´s guerrilla characters and some gestures representing the peasants´ effort. The *vehemence and authority* voice is unmistakable in FARC’s ideological discourse and the shots of its military discipline.
The *body gestures and expressions* combine military attitudes and *merengue campesino* popular dance; the music video is based on an elaborated choreography.

The *musical performances* showing Camila and *Horizonte Fariano* are relatively few (7) but *traditional dance movements* (17) are frequent, although certain non-traditional movements, such as *spinning* (2) and *falling back* (1) add some variations. Shots of *peasants at work* (4) are prominent in the first part of the video clip: Planting a crop, looking at the horizon, feeling the effort in the fields (men), providing water (women) and sowing seeds in the soil (women). Traditional dance movements with guns and guerrilla uniforms are crucial in the second part of the choreography, especially representations of military actions such as *marching* (2) and *shooting* (7). Specific *hand signals* (4) reinforce the lyrics' message: *paying attention, inviting, calling people to fight,* and *taking up arms.*

### 4.1.3. Second reading.

The “I, one and we poem” applied to Camila’s song and performance expresses solid musical and political identities. The Alfonso Cano speech underlines the movement’s political identity based on the figure of Simón Bolívar.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“I, one and we poem” excerpts</th>
<th>Time (00:00)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>We have as principles...</em></td>
<td>00:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>We vindicate his [Bolivar’s] commitment, the coherence between his words and deeds.</em></td>
<td>00:12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. “I, one, we poem” Excerpts about the Movement’s Ideals in Camila’s Song.

Camila’s voice and lyrics affirm her political identity explicitly as a female guerrilla and as a peasant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“I, one and we poem” excerpts</th>
<th>Time (00:50)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>As a guerrilla woman. I fight for my people.</em></td>
<td>00:50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>And I sow in the field that saw me born.</em></td>
<td>01:01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. “I, one, we poem” Excerpts from Camila’s Song about her Identities as a Female Peasant and Guerrilla.
Camila performs percussion while Oswaldo, a musician companion, sings an additional, explicit statement of political identity. Her peasant origin emerges as poetic images.

“I, one and we poem” excerpts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01:23</td>
<td>I am communist, and I go along the route that Bolivar forge out there in Boyacá.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>01:46</td>
<td>I harvest smiles that life gives me, and I throw them to the wind of freedom.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. “I, one, we poem” Excerpts from Camila’s Song about her Political Identities.

Camila sings about her political identity – a crucial point – while, simultaneously, choreography by the guerrilla is shown. The guerrilla identity involves warrior anxieties and high morale, inspired by Manuela Beltrán – like as Simón Bolívar, an essential reference-point in nineteenth-century Colombian independence for FARC’s political identities.

“I, one and we poem” excerpts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01:54</td>
<td>As I am a ‘fariana’, I live out the example that yesterday Manuela Beltrán passed on to me.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02:15</td>
<td>My warrior anxieties to face the Yankee keep me burning with a high morale.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. “I, one, we poem” Excerpts from Camila’s Song about the Conviction she Feels for her Political Identities.

Intentionally, the song calls out to the audience. Jesús sings:

“I, one and we poem” excerpts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>02:28</td>
<td>Women and men who listen to my song.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02:37</td>
<td>Come with us – let’s fight!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5. “I, one, we poem” Excerpts from Camila’s Song about Political Calls to the Audience.

The male voices of the ensemble sing a line with explicit ideological content, reinforced later by female voices as a response.

“I, one and we poem” excerpts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Excerpt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>03:10</td>
<td>We come from the proletarian homeland, the same one that Bolivar liberated, where everyone must build socialism and endless peace as the Liberator dreamed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03:35</td>
<td>We know that by wielding our weapons, we will bring the people to power, liberating the poor from oppression, starting the revolution...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6. “I, one, we poem” Excerpts from Camila’s Song with Explicit Ideological Statements.
Camila adds her voice to the rest to finish a crucial political statement based firmly on FARC’s ideological principles and Manuel Marulanda’s leadership.

Table 7. “I, one, we poem” Excerpts from Camila’s Song about Manuel Marulanda’s Ideological Principles.

4.1.4. Third reading.

The relationships reveal collective interactions for lyrical elaboration and technical musical production. The relationships are concrete expressions of shared musical and political identities showing Camila’s knowledge of the musical genre and confirming her connection with the lyrics. The relationships show her involved in a performance rehearsed intensively. The lyrics, the performance and visual elements allow us to identify Camila’s relationships at the four levels applied previously: self, family/friends, guerrilla/political party and background.

Figure 30. Camilas’s Song. Level 1: Self and Interpersonal Relationships (Self).
Her musical identity in terms of “I” appears in visible actions: playing, singing and reciting a poem; the same actions involve the term “we” because of her inseparable interaction with the ensemble. Her political identities emerge in clear statements that she sings: a female guerrilla who fights for the people, anxious to face the Yankees, following Beltrán’s example, and a peasant woman sowing crops in the soil. Her political identities in terms of “we”, express herself individually and on behalf of FARC collectively: “we” (coming from the proletarian homeland), “we” (wielding weapons), “we” (bringing the people to power) and “we” (fulfilling Manuel’s dream).

The second level shows the relationship web with her family and friends, as expressed in lyrics and performance. There is a focus on her references to the ensemble playing and dancing, especially with her musician friends: Oswaldo, Carolina and Jesús. The relationship with the dancers is crucial in the video-clip narrative. However, due to the editing of video images, dancers and ensemble do not feature in direct interaction in a shot in the exact same location. The choreography based on women and men’s movements provides different moments in the relationship between Camila and the ensemble.
Level three shows the place of FARC in lyrics and visual content: the FARC commanders’ visual elements include such things as banners and pictures in Camila and the ensemble’s performance. FARC, as a guerrilla, emerges in badges, emblems and images of military staff, camps and combatants. The FARC’s ideals are symbolised in metaphors: communist peasant walking in Bolivar’s footsteps, a peasant guerrilla following Manuel Marulanda’s dreams, men like Manuel Marulanda who never die. At this point, Horizonte Fariano has a specific function representing the guerrilla: “Come with us, let’s fight!”
The final level illustrates the background relationships. The representations of the countryside and peasantry are central to the choreography, lyrics and video-clip narrative. *The audience* is called to listen, join in, fight, and take up arms at a specific moment. Personalities of Colombian independence appear aligned with FARC ideals. Some FARC aims are expressed: to “free people from oppression” and accept the duty to “build socialism and never-ending peace”. *The enemies* appear as the *Yankees*, a symbolic figure.

### 4.1.5. Fourth reading.

The final reading allows for broader relationships that frame Camila’s self in her lyrics and performance to be identified. *Ideology* framed the content communicated through the lyrics and the visual narrative of the video clip. The peasant culture has a place as a kind of political policy. The people are the main social category being called to action. The relationship with Colombian history shows FARC as the continuer of nineteenth century independence figures. Nature has a place as an audible and visual
background. The FARC’s ideals are specifically included: *peace*, *revolution*, Bolívar’s *ideals* and Marulanda’s *dreams*. Few places are mentioned, for example Boyacá and the utopic “*proletarian homeland*”. The *conflict* appears as US imperialism.
### 4.2. Clemente Blasco: LGM Songs-as-narratives Analysis.

**Author:** Clemente Blasco

**Title:** Versos contentos (Video-clip)

**Date:** 2019

**Production Location:** Río Duda, Las Escaleras and La Uribe (Meta), Colombia.

**Prominent participants:** Clemente Blasco (singer, songwriter and producer)

**Total time:** 02' 55''

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Images</th>
<th>Technical features</th>
<th>Content</th>
<th>Characteristics and features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 00:00      | ![Image of Duda River](image1.png)                                      | Start. Medium-long shot. Duda River.                                               | (Music starts) Instrumental introduction Instruments: Harp, cuatro, capachos and electric bass Chords: E                                | Plot: River  
**Emotional hotspot:** Tranquility  
**Body gestures and expressions:** None  
**Protagonist:** A river  
**Contextual connections:** Nature                                                                 |
| 00:03      | ![Image of Clemente walking](image2.png)                               | Cross-fade. Mid shot. Clemente walks carrying his cuatro.                           | (Instrumental) Chords: G#m/C#m                                                                                                           | Plot: A musician from the eastern Plains carrying a cuatro on his shoulders  
**Emotional hotspot:** Nostalgia  
**Body gestures and expressions:** Walking and looking at the horizon  
**Protagonist:** Clemente [as a musician from the eastern Plains].  
**Contextual connections:** Nature, the culture of the eastern Plains.                                                                 |
| 00:09      | ![Image of girls walking](image3.png)                                   | Cross-fade. Long shot. Girls going/walking down some steps.                         | (Instrumental) Chords: B/G#/C#m/C#m/G#m/A/B/E                                                                                          | Plot: Peasant girls going down a ladder (some steps).  
**Emotional hotspot:** Happiness and joy  
**Body gestures and expressions:** Laughing, playing, running.  
**Protagonist:** Peasant girls  
**Contextual connections:** Nature, peasantry.                                                                 |
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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Camera Description</th>
<th>Music Description</th>
<th>Scene Description</th>
<th>Mood</th>
<th>Protagonist</th>
<th>Contextual Connections</th>
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<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Scene Description</td>
<td>Chords</td>
<td>Plot</td>
<td>Emotional hotspot</td>
<td>Body gestures and expressions</td>
<td>Protagonist</td>
<td>Contextual connections</td>
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<td>Spoiled…</td>
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<td>You captivated me with the light of your smile. You made a rebel fall in love…</td>
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<td>with your caresses…</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Chords: G#/C#m</td>
<td>En lo profundo de un lago…</td>
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<td>Deep in a lake…</td>
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<td>My feelings were getting lost…</td>
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<td>Their strength…</td>
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<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Scene Description</td>
<td>Chords</td>
<td>Music Notes</td>
<td>Plot</td>
<td>Emotional Hotspot</td>
<td>Body Gestures and Expressions</td>
<td>Contextual Connections</td>
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<tr>
<td>00:58</td>
<td>Hard cut. Medium-long shot. Boy running to help girl.</td>
<td>F#m/E</td>
<td>El tiempo De aquel…</td>
<td>Plot: Peasant boy responding to call  &lt;br&gt; <strong>Emotional hotspot:</strong> Resolution, braveness  &lt;br&gt; <strong>Body gestures and expressions:</strong> Running  &lt;br&gt; <strong>Protagonist:</strong> Peasant boy  &lt;br&gt; <strong>Contextual connections:</strong> Nature, peasantry, guerrilla (military green and red), peace (white hat)</td>
<td><strong>Over time From that…</strong></td>
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<td>01:00</td>
<td>Hard-cut. Mid shot. Boy kneeling and helping girl.</td>
<td>E/A</td>
<td>Remanso…</td>
<td>Plot: Peasant boy rescuing her  &lt;br&gt; <strong>Emotional hotspot:</strong> Resolution, braveness  &lt;br&gt; <strong>Body gestures and expressions:</strong> Kneeling, helping movements but not a natural pose  &lt;br&gt; <strong>Protagonist:</strong> Peasant boy  &lt;br&gt; <strong>Contextual connections:</strong> Nature, peasantry, a backwater, guerrilla (military green and red), peace (white hat)</td>
<td>Backwater (an small paradise)</td>
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<tr>
<td>01:01</td>
<td>Hard cut. Mid shot. Boy taking girl’s hand.</td>
<td>A/G#m</td>
<td>Tomé tus manos…</td>
<td>Plot: Peasant boy rescuing her  &lt;br&gt; <strong>Emotional hotspot:</strong> Hope  &lt;br&gt; <strong>Body gestures and expressions:</strong> Taking hands  &lt;br&gt; <strong>Protagonist:</strong> Peasant boy and girl  &lt;br&gt; <strong>Contextual connections:</strong> Nature, peasantry</td>
<td>I took your hands…</td>
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<tr>
<td>01:03</td>
<td>Hard-cut. Medium-long shot. Slow-motion. Boy laying girl on the riverbank.</td>
<td>G#m/F#m/B7</td>
<td>Y me elevaron contigo…</td>
<td>Plot: Peasant boy rescuing her  &lt;br&gt; <strong>Emotional hotspot:</strong> Hope  &lt;br&gt; <strong>Body gestures and expressions:</strong> Kneeling, laying her on the riverbank but not a natural pose  &lt;br&gt; <strong>Protagonist:</strong> Peasant boy and girl, Clemente lifted her out  &lt;br&gt; <strong>Contextual connections:</strong> Nature, peasantry, guerrilla (military green and red), peace (white hat)</td>
<td>And they lifted me out with you…</td>
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<tr>
<td>01:07</td>
<td>Hard-cut. Mid shot. Clemente singing.</td>
<td>B/B7/A</td>
<td>Al viento. Rompió…</td>
<td>Plot: Eastern plain musician singing on a riverbank  &lt;br&gt; <strong>Emotional hotspot:</strong> Love and nostalgia  &lt;br&gt; <strong>Body gestures and expressions:</strong> Expressive movements  &lt;br&gt; <strong>Protagonist:</strong> Clemente (as a singer)  &lt;br&gt; <strong>Contextual connections:</strong> Nature, eastern plains culture, Duda River, the wind</td>
<td>To the wind. [The spell] was broken…</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>01:09</td>
<td>Hard-cut. Medium-long shot. Slow-motion. Girl waking up and smiling at the boy.</td>
<td>Chorus 1</td>
<td>Clemente singing  &lt;br&gt; Chords: A/G#m/F#m/B7</td>
<td>Plot: Peasant boy rescuing the girl  &lt;br&gt; <strong>Emotional hotspot:</strong> Hope  &lt;br&gt; <strong>Body gestures and expressions:</strong> Kneeling and helping her, girl waking up and smiling  &lt;br&gt; <strong>Protagonist:</strong> Peasant boy and girl, Clemente singing  &lt;br&gt; <strong>Contextual connections:</strong> Nature, peasantry, guerrilla (military green and red), peace (white hat)</td>
<td>El encanto porqué te amo. Y ahora canto versos…  &lt;br&gt; <em>Because I love you.</em>  &lt;br&gt; <em>And, now I sing…</em></td>
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<td>Time</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| 01:18 | Hard-cut.  
Medium-long shot  
Clemente singing.  
Chords: E  
*Contentos…*  
*Happy poems…*  
Plot: Musicians from eastern Plains singing on a riverbank  
Emotional hotspot: Love and nostalgia  
Body gestures and expressions: Expressive movements  
Protagonist: Clemente (as a singer)  
Contextual connections: Nature, the culture of the eastern Plains, Duda River |
| 01:22 | Hard cut.  
Mid-shot.  
Slow-motion.  
Clemente walks, playing his cuatro.  
Solo (Easter plains harp)  
Instruments: Harp, cuatro, capachos and electric bass  
Chords: E/A#m/A/E/G#7/C#m  
Plot: musician from the eastern Plains walking and playing his cuatro.  
Emotional hotspot: Nostalgia  
Body gestures and expressions: Walking and looking at the horizon  
Protagonist: Clemente (as a musician from the eastern Plains).  
| 01:29 | Hard cut.  
Long shot.  
Slow-motion.  
The girls and the boy talking and laughing.  
(Instrumental)  
Chords: C#/m/G#m/A/F#/B/E  
Plot: Girls and the boy sharing on a riverbank  
Emotional hotspot: Happiness  
Body gestures and expressions: Laughing, relaxing  
Protagonist: Peasant girls and boy.  
Contextual connections: Nature, peasantry, guerrilla (military green and red), peace (white hat) |
| 01:36 | Hard cut.  
Medium-long shot.  
Clemente adjusts his hat and looks at the camera.  
(Instrumental)  
Chords: E/A/G#m/C#7/F#m  
Plot: A musician from the eastern Plains singing on a riverbank  
Emotional hotspot: Love and nostalgia  
Body gestures and expressions: Expressive movements  
Protagonist: Clemente (adjusting his white hat)  
Contextual connections: Nature, the culture of the eastern Plains, Duda River |
| 01:44 | Hard cut.  
Long shot.  
Drone.  
Truck L-R.  
High angle.  
Clemente standing in the Duda River.  
(Instrumental)  
Chords: F#m/B7/E  
Plot: a musician from the eastern Plains enjoying the river  
Emotional hotspot: Happiness  
Body gestures and expressions: Smiling, enjoying water  
Protagonist: Clemente (as a singer enjoying the river)  
Contextual connections: Nature, the culture of the eastern Plains, Duda River. |
| 01:48 | Hard cut.  
Medium-long shot.  
Duda River.  
(Instrumental)  
(Harp solo ends)  
Chords: E  
*Mi sol…*  
*My sun (I)…*  
Plot: Duda River  
Emotional hotspot: Tranquillity  
Body gestures and expressions: None  
Protagonist: Duda River  
Contextual connections: Nature |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Scene Description</th>
<th>Musical Details</th>
<th>Plot</th>
<th>Emotional Hotspot</th>
<th>Body Gestures and Expressions</th>
<th>Protagonist</th>
<th>Contextual Connections</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 01:52 | Hard cut. Medium-long shot. Clemente singing to the camera. | **Verse 2**  
Clemente singing  
Chords: E/G♭m/A  
Dormía y cuando te vio despertó. Junto a la paz vi que...  
Was sleeping/asleep, and when he/I saw you, he/I woke up. Along with peace, I saw that... | a musician from the eastern Plains singing on a riverbank | Love and nostalgia | Expressive movements | Clemente (as a singer) | Nature, the culture of the eastern Plains, Duda River, his sun sleeping (conflict), peace. |
Nuestro amor llegó. Con tu alegría la tristeza se alejó...  
Our love arrived. With your joy, the sadness went away/disappeared... | Musician from the eastern Plains musician singing on a riverbank | Love and nostalgia | Expressive movements | Clemente (as a singer) | Nature, the culture of the eastern Plains, Duda River, the arrival of love, sadness leaving. |
| 02:03 | Hard cut. Long shot. Slow-motion. Girl and boy walking on the riverbank. | Chords: G♭m/A/B  
Cual cimarrones la libertad nos...  
Like runaway slaves, freedom... | Girl and boy walking on the riverbank | Love and happiness. | Walking, laughing | Peasant girl and boy, runaway slaves | Nature, peasantry, guerrilla (military green and red), peace (white hat), the 223imarron struggle, freedom. |
| 02:08 | Hard cut. Mid shot. Girl and boy walking and holding hands. | **Pre chorus 2**  
(Bridge)  
Clemente singing (vibrato)  
Chords: E/G♭7/C♭m/G♭m/A/F♭m/E  
Unió... Quiero ser tu trinchera en los tiempos de Guerra. Ser agua fresca y jardín de primavera...  
United us... I want to be your trench in times of war. To be fresh water and a spring garden... | Girl and boy walking on the riverbank | Love and happiness. | Walking, holding hands | Peasant girl and boy (holding hands), Clemente (as a trench in war times), Clemente (as fresh water and a spring garden) | Nature, peasantry, guerrilla (military green and red), peace (white hat), war. |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Hard Cut/Shot/Effect</th>
<th>Chords/Text</th>
<th>Plot</th>
<th>Emotional Hotspot</th>
<th>Body Gestures and Expressions</th>
<th>Protagonist</th>
<th>Contextual Connections</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>02:25</td>
<td>Hard cut. Mid shot. Clemente singing to the camera.</td>
<td>Chords: B7/Bm7 <em>Por lo que siento...</em> for what I feel...</td>
<td>Plot: a musician from the eastern Plain singing on a riverbank Emotional hotspot: Love and nostalgia Body gestures and expressions: Expressive movements Protagonist: Clemente (as a singer) Contextual connections: Nature, the culture of the eastern Plains, Duda River.</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Hard Cut.</td>
<td>Chords: B/E</td>
<td>Plot: a musician from the eastern Plains enjoying the river.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Drone.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Body gestures and expressions: Smiling, enjoying the water.</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Truck R-L.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Protagonist: Clemente (as a singer enjoying the river).</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High angle.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Contextual connections: Nature, the culture of the eastern Plains, Duda River.</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>02:36</td>
<td>Clemente standing in the Duda River.</td>
<td>Happy poems…</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Hard Cut.</th>
<th>Chords: E</th>
<th>Plot: a musician from the eastern Plains enjoying the river.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Drone.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Body gestures and expressions: Smiling, enjoying water, freedom.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zenith angle.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Protagonist: Clemente (singer expressing freedom).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02:40</td>
<td>Clemente standing in the Duda River.</td>
<td>Happy poems…</td>
<td>Contextual connections: Nature, the culture of the eastern Plains, Duda River.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Very Long shot.</th>
<th>(Ending)</th>
<th>Plot: a musician from the eastern Plains enjoying the river.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zenith angle.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Body gestures and expressions: Smiling, enjoying the water, freedom.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02:45</td>
<td>Clemente standing in the Duda River.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Protagonist: Clemente.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Contextual connections: Nature, the culture of the eastern Plains, Duda River.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Cross-fade.</th>
<th>(Silence)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Credits. Ends.</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4.2.1 Sound and Musical Elements

Versos contentos (Happy poems) is a pasaje, a style typical of music from the eastern plains, cultural expression shared on both sides of the extended Colombian-Venezuelan border. In the nineteenth century, Bolívar organised the Independence Army against Spanish colonialism in the region. FARC had been active there since 1966. In 1987, the guerrilla grouped and expanded the existing structures to form the so-called Bloque Oriental (Eastern Bloc), during the nineties, its bigger operational faction. The Eastern plains have been a territory of peasantry resistance through centuries, building a rich tradition of social, political and revolutionary songs. Usually
written in a ¾ time signature, pasajes have a conventional (I-IV-V) progression; however, this song adds active variations based on harmonic inversions and chords substitutions (I-IIIIm-VIIm-IV-IIIm-V7-II-III7-Vm7-IV#m-VI7-IIIm), in the key of E(E/G#m/C#m/B/G#/A/F#m/B7/F#/G#7/Bm7/A#m/C#7/Fm). The song’s texture is a vocal melody with instrumental accompaniment. The song has an instrumental introduction and two verses separated by an instrumental part following the traditional structure; however, the chord diversity suggests two verses with a relatively long bridge or pre-chorus before a concise chorus. The melodic profile focuses on consecutive intervals, major and minor third jumps, configured from arpeggios using the harmonic degrees. In general, pasajes avoid large interval jumps, but this song, like other contemporary pasajes, includes them occasionally. Clemente’s voice sings alone during the entire song in an intimate tone, except at two key moments: the beginning of both choruses is indicated through voice harmonisations; he sings two chords, A-G#m, anticipating the lyrics’ sentence containing the song’s title: And, now I sing... happy poems. His voice is breathy and employs effective vibratos to add natural and spontaneous emotional expressions. The instrumental ensemble is traditional: harp, cuatro, capachos and electric bass, playing tutti. The video clip was produced after the Peace Agreement, there is no explicit political content. Although it tells a simple story, it uses metaphorical elements, has convincing actor performances, and outstanding quality in direction, production, photography, and technical resources. The video clip’s visual narrative and lyrics are synchronised following the song structure.

4.2.2. First reading.

The plot begins with an image of the Duda River, drawing attention to the beauty of the natural environment. Clemente, a musician from the eastern Plains, carrying a cuatro on his shoulders, is introduced as a protagonist. The plot continues, showing two peasant girls going down a ladder, laughing and enjoying the moment, alternating with images of Clemente enjoying the river and starting to sing on the riverbank. The plot
introduces a new character, a peasant boy going down the ladder; the girls see the boy and laugh; the alternation of scenes continues, with Clemente singing on the riverbank. A turning point occurs: one of the girls falls into the river, and her friend tries to rescue her but asks the boy for help. The boy responds to the call and rescues her. Clemente sings on the riverbank, walking and playing his *cuatro*; later, the girls and boy, sitting on the riverbank, talk and laugh. The plot continues with some insert shots of the Duda River. The rescued girl and the boy appear walking on the riverbank holding hands; interspaced, Clemente sings and enjoys the river with a happy but nostalgic attitude.

The song and video narrative remarks on love and nostalgia. The emotional hotspot illustrates the predominant emotions, revealing both additional and less explicit emotional voices.

Clemente’s voice of *happiness and pride* is linked to remembering, represented in the girls’ and the boy’s roles. His *sadness and nostalgia* voice has a place in singing on the riverbank; the nostalgic attitude suggests that the children's events are a reminiscence.
from his past. The *vehemence and authority* voice comes through in a concrete moment of resolution and braveness, when the boy character rescues the girl, a narrative event with symbolic meaning. The *anger and disappointment* voice is audible in the fear at the accident, a dramatic turning point also adding symbolic elements. Finally, the *trust and confidence* voices are concrete expressions of tranquillity, e.g. the river, the natural context, and the children’s narrative of hope and love.

There are constant and diverse *body gestures and expressions*. Clemente’s *expressive movements* (10) when he sings are frequent, intercalated with lively scenes in which *looking at the horizon* (2), *enjoying* (10), *laughing* (6) and *smiling* (7) are recurrent attitudes. *Walking* (6) is a body gesture visible in moments of reflection, always shown in slow motion. A diverse group of body gestures accompanies the story’s dramatic action: *running* (4), *seeing the girls* (2), *falling into the water* (1), *helping movements* (3), *calling for help* (1), *kneeling* (4) and *taking and holding hands* (2). Uncommon but significant is the *open arms* (2) movement, a reference to the idea of freedom.

**4.2.3. Second reading.**

The “I, one and we poem” reveals expressions of musical identity based on actions, not explicitly on lyrics. Clemente’s performance in the video clip draws attention to his musical identity especially in the instrumental section that introduces and separates the song’s verses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“I, one and we poem” excerpts</th>
<th>Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I, as an eastern Plains musician remembering</td>
<td>00:03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I, as a singer enjoying the river</td>
<td>00:19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I singing</td>
<td>00:31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I, as an eastern Plains musician playing and remembering</td>
<td>01:22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I, as an eastern Plains musician, adjust his hat</td>
<td>01:36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I, as a singer enjoying the river</td>
<td>01:44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I singing</td>
<td>01:52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8. “I, one, we poem” Excerpts from Clemente’s Song about his Musical Identities
The poem appears to use metaphors to describe the beginning of a love story: “You captivated me with the light of your smile” However, the presence of war is insinuated: “You made a rebel fall in love” and its consequences “Deep in a lake, my feelings were losing... their strength”. Despite that, love persists: “From that backwater, I took your hands, and they lifted me with you […] Now, I sing poems... happy poems”. The lyrics tells a love story before and after the conflict.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“I, one and we poem” excerpts</th>
<th>00:34 My life, my soul...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>00:41 You captivated me with the light of your smile. You made a rebel fall in love with your caresses...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00:50 Deep in a lake, my feelings were losing their strength over time.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>01:00 From that... backwater, I took your hands, and they lifted me with you...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>01:07 The wind set the magic free because I love you. And, now I sing poems... happy poems.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9. “I, one, we poem” Excerpts of Conflict Metaphors in Clemente’s Song.

The poem again uses metaphors describing the conflict: “My sun was sleeping” and the wishing for peace and unity “…and when he saw you, he woke up. Along with the peace, I saw that... Our love has arrived. With your joy, the sadness went away”. A profound metaphor drawing on the cimarrón struggle –the African slave resistance in Colombia during the Spanish colonial period – helps to make peace and freedom equivalent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“I, one and we poem” excerpts</th>
<th>01:52 My sun was sleeping, and when he saw you, he woke up. Along with peace, I saw that our love had arrived. With your joy, the sadness went away...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>02:03 Like runaway slaves, freedom joins us. I want to be your trench in times of war. To be fresh water and a spring garden [for you].</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02:21 Today my voice sings... for what I feel...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02:27 My soul’s love, no strings attached [us]. For you... I sing... Happy poems...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10. “I, one, we poem” Excerpts with Metaphors for the Transformation of the Conflict in Clemente’s Song.
4.2.4. Third reading.

The interpersonal connections illustrate Clemente’s web of relationships with the lyrics and video performance protagonists. The song is intimate, and the self’s relationship web is rich. However, the family-friends level is minimal, with only two protagonists; other levels do not display the presence of the protagonist.

Figure 35. Clemente’s song, Level 1: Self and Interpersonal Relationships (Self).

The figure reveals musical and political identities’ roles in terms of “I”. The personal pronoun “we” does not have a central place. Clemente’s musical identities in terms of “I” are divided between the present and the past – the narrative times of the video-clip. The present shows Clemente as a singer and a musician from the eastern Plains; the past shows images of Clemente remembering himself as a peasant boy, sharing with his childhood girlfriend and as a peasant boy in love. His political identities draw on poetic images and metaphors, expressing freedom by opening his arms, as “a rebel in love” and “a trench in war times”. The family and friends level is straightforward, based only on a narrative of memories; just two protagonists have a place – two peasant girls – and with one of them, a love story emerges after a dramatic event. The song does
not explicitly mention the guerrilla and the political party. Constant Duda River scenes dominate the background relationships.

4.2.5. Fourth reading.

The fourth reading reveals broader relationships, identified in words, images, symbols or performances. The song and the video clip allow diverse connections within the social, historical, cultural, and political contexts to be observed. Nature is a dominant connection, with abundant visual elements throughout the video clip. The transformation of the conflict has a central but subtle reference. Clemente uses red trousers, a white shirt and a hat, which initially means nothing, but as the narrative unfolds, the colours of the clothes acquire symbolic meanings. The boy, representing Clemente’s childhood and past, appears wearing red trousers and the same white hat. Red connects with the guerrilla’s historic emblems, heraldic and symbology. The white hat helps identify the child and the adult as the same person in a simple and practical fashion. But also, the object is significant as a symbol of peace, used for figures of historical peace processes in Colombia.

Similarly, the military green used by the boy, combined with his red trousers, highlights meaningful colours of traditional guerrilla symbology. The boy’s military green shirt and the white one used by Clemente as an adult effectively communicate the transformation of the conflict on a symbolic level. The colours' symbolic meanings are fundamental for reading the song and the video clip beyond their face value. We recall Clemente’s opinion about how his love songs have a socio-political content: the colours, and also the narrative events – the boy rescuing the peasant girl and the love that is born between them – suggest an ideal relationship between the movement and the peasantry. Regarding social categories, the peasantry and the culture of the eastern Plains are central; the conflict appears metaphorically at two moments: “as a deep lake and as my sun sleeping”.

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Author: Noelia Rosales and Horizonte Fariano.

Title: *La Catatumbera* (Video-clip)

Date: 2015.

Production Location: Catatumbo, Norte de Santander, Colombia.

Prominent participants: Noelia and Samuel (singers, songwriters and producers)

Total time: 05’01’’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Images</th>
<th>Technical features</th>
<th>Content</th>
<th>Characteristics and features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>00:00</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Start FARC emblem" /></td>
<td>Start, FARC emblem.</td>
<td>(Silence)</td>
<td>Plot: FARC emblem. Emotional hotspot: None.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Start FARC emblem" /></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Body gestures and expressions: None.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Start FARC emblem" /></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Protagonist: FARC, Horizonte Fariano.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Start FARC emblem" /></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Contextual connections: FARC, Colombia (flag).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Crossfade, mid-shot camera, people protesting" /></td>
<td></td>
<td>Reclamamos nuestros derechos. Reclamamos nuestras vidas.</td>
<td>Emotional hotspot: Anger, frustration.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Crossfade, mid-shot camera, people protesting" /></td>
<td></td>
<td>No somos guerrilleros, ni somos terroristas, somos campesinos...</td>
<td>Body gestures and expressions: Raising hands, marching, protesting.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Crossfade, mid-shot camera, people protesting" /></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Protagonist: Peasant woman, protesters.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Crossfade, mid-shot camera, people protesting" /></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Contextual connections: Catatumbo, peace (white handkerchief) rights, no-guerrilla, no-terror.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Crossfade, mid-shot camera, people protesting" /></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Crossfade effect. Long shot camera of Noelia singing; Noelia and Sami dancing (rapper’s style).</td>
<td>Music begins Chorus 1 Noelia singing (Reggaeton base loop) Chords: C#m/G#m/A/B Catatumbera…</td>
<td>Plot: Horizonte Fariano’s performance in military uniform <strong>Emotional hotspot:</strong> Pride, authority. <strong>Body gestures and expressions:</strong> singing and dancing in rap style. <strong>Protagonist:</strong> Noelia, Sami, Guerrilla, Horizonte Fariano. Catatumbera. <strong>Contextual connections:</strong> Nature, FARC, guerrilla, reggaeton, Catatumbo, Colombia.</td>
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<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<td>00:23</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>00:28</td>
<td>Hard-cut. Long shot camera. Noelia singing Noelia and Sami dancing. Background Mid shot camera (press material)</td>
<td>Catatumbera tu nombre se hace…</td>
<td><strong>Plot:</strong> Horizonte Fariano’s performance in military uniform. <strong>Women protesting at a burial.</strong> <strong>Emotional hotspot:</strong> Pride, authority, sadness, frustration, mourning. <strong>Body gestures and expressions:</strong> singing, dancing, marching. <strong>Protagonist:</strong> Noelia, Sami, Guerrilla, Horizonte Fariano, women protesting. Catatumbera. <strong>Contextual connections:</strong> FARC, guerrilla, reggaeton, violence, Colombia, the border.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00:32</td>
<td>Hard-cut. Long shot camera. Noelia singing. Noelia and Sami dancing.</td>
<td>Más grande allá en la frontera. Catatumbera…</td>
<td><strong>Plot:</strong> Horizonte Fariano’s performance in military uniform. <strong>Emotional hotspot:</strong> Pride, authority. <strong>Body gestures and expressions:</strong> singing and dancing with the rapper’s style. <strong>Protagonist:</strong> Noelia, Sami, Guerrilla, Horizonte Fariano. Catatumbera. <strong>Contextual connections:</strong> Nature, FARC, guerrilla, reggaeton, Colombia, the border.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Scene Description</td>
<td>Textual Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>00:47</td>
<td>Crossfade. Medium-long shot camera. Low angle. Noelia singing and dancing.</td>
<td>Verse 1 Noelia singing Tu pueblo y tú se han puesto en pie. El campo existe y habita mucha gente en él... You and your people have stood up (risen up?). The countryside exists, and many people live in it... Plot: Noelia's performance Emotional hotspot: Pride, authority, vehemence Body gestures and expressions: Singing, dancing Protagonist: Noelia, Guerrilla, Horizonte Fariano. Catatumbar, Catatumbar people, countryside people Contextual connections: Nature, guerrilla, Colombia, the people, the countryside, peasantry.</td>
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<tr>
<td>00:56</td>
<td>Crossfade effect. Mid shot camera. Noelia singing dancing. Background Medium long shot camera (Press material)</td>
<td>Del monte van en masa a la... From the mountains, they go out in massive to the... Plot: Noelia performance with casual clothes Emotional hotspot: Pride, authority, vehemence Body gestures and expressions: Singing, dancing Protagonist: Noelia, Horizonte Fariano, peasant family protesting (otherwise it sounds like a family that is protesting again peasants!). Contextual connections: Rap, Che Guevara, Olla Comunitaria (communal meal), the mountains.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Action</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Via pública.</td>
<td>Reclaman del poder...</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Streets.</td>
<td>They claim power...</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plot:</td>
<td>Noelia performs in casual clothes</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Emotional hotspot:</td>
<td>Pride, authority, vehemence</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Body gestures and expressions:</td>
<td>Singing, dancing</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Protagonist:</td>
<td>Noelia, Horizonte Fariano, massive protesting march, political power.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Contextual connections:</td>
<td>Rap, Che Guevara, Asociación Campesina del Sur de Córdoba (Ascucor), Vereda Caño Azul Bajo, the streets, power.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Que no los irrespeten. Poseen...</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Don’t disrespect them. They have...</td>
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<tr>
<td>01:09</td>
<td>Crossfade effect.</td>
<td>Mid shot camera. Noelia singing and dancing.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Con orgullo un trabajo y un saber que ha de valer igual al otro en la república...</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Proudly, they have a job and knowledge that must be worth the same as any other in the republic...</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plot: Noelia’s performance</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Emotional hotspot:</td>
<td>Pride, authority, vehemence</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Body gestures and expressions:</td>
<td>Singing, dancing</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Protagonist:</td>
<td>Noelia, Sami, Guerrilla, Horizonte Fariano.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Contextual connections:</td>
<td>Nature, FARC, guerrilla, reggaeton, Colombia.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Verse 2</td>
<td>Sami rapping</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>En la aduana y el cuatro sonó tu voz enardecida...</td>
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<td></td>
<td>At customs the cuatro and your angry voice sounded...</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plot:</td>
<td>Horizonte Fariano’s performance in military uniform</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Emotional hotspot:</td>
<td>Pride, authority, vehemence</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Body gestures and expressions:</td>
<td>Singing, dancing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Protagonist:</td>
<td>Noelia, Sami, Guerrilla, Horizonte Fariano.</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Contextual connections:</td>
<td>Nature, guerrilla, the customs, Colombia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Action</td>
<td>Details</td>
<td>Analysis</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Emotional hotspot: Pride, authority, vehemence  
Body gestures and expressions: Singing, dancing  
Protagonist: Noelia, Sami, Guerrilla, Horizonte Fariano, ESMAD (riot police), soldiers.  
Contextual connections: Nature, guerrilla, the customs, Colombia |
Emotional hotspot: Pride, authority, vehemence  
Body gestures and expressions: Singing, dancing  
Protagonist: Noelia, Sami, Guerrilla, Horizonte Fariano, wounded protester, the people  
Contextual connections: Nature, guerrilla, the customs, Colombia, the regime |
| 01:43 | Crossfade. Medium-long shot camera. Low angle. Sami rapping. Noelia and Sami dancing. | Como vives en el norte, te tratan de coquera; y, ahora, último, también, perverse ilegal minera; en vez de abrir lugar al gran señor con palma… | Plot: Horizonte Fariano’s performance in military uniform  
Emotional hotspot: Pride, authority, vehemence  
Body gestures and expressions: Singing, dancing  
Protagonist: Noelia, Sami, Guerrilla, Horizonte Fariano. Coca planter, illegal miner, great lord with palms.  
Contextual connections: Nature, guerrilla, the customs, Colombia, extensive palm cultivation, North Catatumbo. |
| 01:52 | Hard cut.  
Long shot camera.  
Noelia singing.  
Noelia and Sami dancing. | Y al capital de la corporación extranjera, carburantes sucios que abundan bajo tierra. Qué claro fue, mujer, porqué razón se fue la calma… |
| 02:01 | Crossfade effect  
Medium long shot camera  
Noelia singing.  
Noelia and Sami dancing | Verse 3  
Noelia singing  
La calma…  
El nombre de Tibú se escuchó por todo el orbe… |
| 02:10 | Hard-cut.  
Long shot camera (press material). | El pueblo llegó unido y la autoridad gritó: ¡Desorden!… |
| 02:15 | Hard-cut.  
Medium-long shot camera (press material). | Verse 4  
Sami rapping  
Convención, Ocaña, Barras, Sardinata; y también, Acaí.  
Mujeres…  
Convención, Ocaña, Barras, Sardinata; and, also, Acaí.  
Women… |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Plot</th>
<th>Emotional hotspot</th>
<th>Body gestures and expressions</th>
<th>Protagonist</th>
<th>Contextual connections</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>02:19</td>
<td>Crossfade effect. Mid shot camera. Sami rapping. Background large close up (press material).</td>
<td>Viejos y ancianas…</td>
<td>Pride</td>
<td>Singing, dancing</td>
<td>Older men and women…</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02:20</td>
<td>Hard-cut. Mid shot camera. Sami rapping. Background mid shot camera (press material).</td>
<td>Jóvenes y niños que oyen…</td>
<td>Pride</td>
<td>Singing, dancing</td>
<td>Young people and children who hear/are listening…</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02:23</td>
<td>Hard-cut. Mid shot camera. Sami rapping. Background close up (press material).</td>
<td>Amenazas del gobierno, furiosas poses de orden…</td>
<td>Pride, disgusting</td>
<td>Singing, dancing</td>
<td>Threats from the government, furious poses of order…</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02:27</td>
<td>Hard-cut. Mid shot camera. Sami rapping. Background mid shot camera (press material).</td>
<td>No tiemblan con la saña. No nos movemos de aquí ¡Oye!…</td>
<td>Repression</td>
<td>Singing, dancing</td>
<td>They do not tremble with fury. We’re not moving from here. Hey!…</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plot: Sami rapping in casual clothes. A young peasant. 
Emotional hotspot: Pride. 
Body gestures and expressions: Singing, dancing. 
Protagonist: Sami, a young peasant. Older men and women. 
Contextual connections: Ché Guevara, the peasantry. 

Plot: Sami rapping in casual clothes. Peasant group. 
Emotional hotspot: Pride. 
Body gestures and expressions: Singing, dancing. 
Protagonist: Sami, a group of peasants playing board games. Youth and children. 
Contextual connections: Ché Guevara, peasantry. 

Emotional hotspot: Pride, disgusting. 
Body gestures and expressions: Singing, dancing. 
Protagonist: Sami, Ministry of Defence. 
Contextual connections: Ché Guevara, Colombian Government. 

Plot: Sami rapping in casual clothes. Police operation. 
Emotional hotspot: Repression. 
Body gestures and expressions: Singing, dancing. 
Protagonist: Sami, a police officer, a civilian. 
Contextual connections: Ché Guevara, the police, ordinary people.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Chorus 2</th>
<th>Plot</th>
<th>Emotional hotspot</th>
<th>Body gestures and expressions</th>
<th>Protagonist</th>
<th>Contextual connections</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>02:30</td>
<td>Crossfade.</td>
<td>Noelia singing</td>
<td>Horizonte Fariano’s performance in military uniform</td>
<td>Pride, authority, vehemence</td>
<td>Singing, dancing</td>
<td>Noelia, Sami, guerrilla, Horizonte Fariano</td>
<td>Nature, guerrilla, Colombia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Noelia singing, Noelia and Sami dancing.</td>
<td>Catatumbera, catatumbera, in your homeland, Colombia, you are the first heroine…</td>
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<tr>
<td>02:42</td>
<td>Hard-cut. Close up. Low angle. Noelia singing.</td>
<td>Catatumbera, catatumbera, tu ejemplo crece como invade al suelo y el sol…</td>
<td>Noelia’s performance</td>
<td>Pride, authority, vehemence</td>
<td>Singing, dancing</td>
<td>Noelia, Guerrilla, Horizonte Fariano</td>
<td>Catatumbera as an example</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Catatumbera, catatumbera, your example grows as it invades the soil and the sun…</td>
<td>Emotional hotspot:</td>
<td>Body gestures and expressions:</td>
<td>Protagonist: Noelia, Guerrilla, Horizonte Fariano</td>
<td>Catatumbera as an example</td>
<td>Contextual connections: Nature, guerrilla, the land.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02:56</td>
<td>Close-up. Low angle. Noelia singing and falling back.</td>
<td>La tierra…</td>
<td>Noelia’s performance</td>
<td>Pride, authority, vehemence</td>
<td>Singing, dancing</td>
<td>Noelia, guerrilla, Horizonte Fariano</td>
<td>Catatumbera as an example</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The land…</td>
<td>Emotional hotspot:</td>
<td>Body gestures and expressions:</td>
<td>Protagonist: Noelia, guerrilla, Horizonte Fariano</td>
<td>Catatumbera as an example</td>
<td>Contextual connections: Nature, guerrilla, the land, Colombia (bracelet).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Vendrán más marchas, vendrán más paros a granel. Por más que intenten la lucha por la fuerza contener: la gente sabe que llegó para siempre…</td>
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<tr>
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<td>More marches will come; there will be more massive strikes will come. As much as they try to contain the struggle by force: people know that it came forever…</td>
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<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Action</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Plot</td>
<td>Emotional hotspot</td>
<td>Body gestures and expressions</td>
<td>Protagonist</td>
<td>Contextual connections</td>
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<td>The hour of peace, which will not come…</td>
<td>Emotional hotspot:</td>
<td>Seriousness, hope</td>
<td>Body gestures and expressions:</td>
<td>Seriousness</td>
<td>Protagonist: Juan Manuel Santos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>03:05</td>
<td>Hard cut. Multiple pictures. Close-up (press material). Background long shot camera (press material).</td>
<td>de Santos y la voluntad de alguno en el poder. Las armas que alzó el pueblo en su defensa una vez…</td>
<td>The peace process. Juan Manuel Santos former president.</td>
<td>Seriousness, hope</td>
<td>Marching, protesting</td>
<td>Juan Manuel Santos</td>
<td>Peace process, the Colombian government, someone in power, the people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The same ones who talk today [are those] ordering others to kill. To Catatumbo…</td>
<td>Emotional hotspot:</td>
<td>Seriousness, hope</td>
<td>Body gestures and expressions:</td>
<td>Seriousness, hope</td>
<td>Protagonist: Humberto de la Calle (Main/Lead Commissioner) and Government Dialogue Commission, Sami.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
03:18

Hard-cut. Medium-long shot camera. Sami singing and Noelia is pointing to the ground.

Anegaron en la sangre popular. Sus proyectos...

They drowned in popular blood. Their projects...

Plot: Horizonte Fariano performance

Emotional hotspot: Pride, authority.

Body gestures and expressions: singing, dancing

Protagonist: Noelia, Sami, guerrilla, Horizonte Fariano

Contextual connections: Nature, FARC, guerrilla, reggaeton, Colombia

03:21


Desde entonces son igual a los de ahora, fumigar con alas y armas...

since then, have been the same as now, spraying with wings and weapons...

Plot: A crop dusting plane

Emotional hotspot: None

Body gestures and expressions: None

Protagonist: None

Contextual connections: Government operations against coca crops spraying glyphosate.

02:26


Engatusar con palabras, arrinconar a la lucha mientras crece el capital...

To persuade with words, to corner the fight while capital grows...

Plot: Riot police shooting tear gas grenades

Emotional hotspot: Fear, repression

Body gestures and expressions: Shooting, protesting

Protagonist: Policemen, protesters.

Contextual connections: ESMAD (Riot Police), popular struggle, capital

03:30

Hard-cut. Long shot camera. People protesting

Pero esta gente, señora le marcó por fin su hora... su hora...

But for these people, ma’am, their time has finnaly come... their time...

Plot: People protesting

Emotional hotspot: Dissatisfaction, frustration, anger

Body gestures and expressions: Protesting

Protagonist: People protesting

Contextual connections: Catatumbo

03:35


Chorus 3

Noelia singing

Catatumbera...

Catatumbera...

Plot: Noelia performance

Emotional hotspot: Pride, authority, vehemence

Body gestures and expressions: Singing, dancing

Protagonist: Noelia, Guerrilla, Horizonte Fariano. Catatumbera

Contextual connections: Nature, guerrilla
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Plot</th>
<th>Emotional hotspot</th>
<th>Body gestures and expressions</th>
<th>Protagonist</th>
<th>Contextual connections</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Catatumbera…</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Catatumbera, how the masters tremble when they hear your firm, sincere voice. Catatumbera…</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Catatumbera… They are damaged (The harm they caused) when death made a cruel nest in your land! Catatumbera…</td>
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<td>Catatumbera… The same ones that now demand good manners from you. Catatumbera…</td>
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<tr>
<td>04:12</td>
<td>Hard-cut. Close-up, Low angle. Noelia singing.</td>
<td>Catatumbera… Mujer honrada, madre, tía, hija, hermana o abuela…</td>
<td>Pride, authority, vehemence</td>
<td></td>
<td>Noelia, guerrilla, Horizonte Fariano, Catatumbera as an honest woman, mother, aunt, daughter, sister or grandmother</td>
<td>Nature, guerrilla, the land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Catatumbera… An honest woman, mother, aunt, daughter, sister or grandmother…</td>
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</table>

Catatumbera, how the masters tremble when they hear your firm, sincere voice. Catatumbera…
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Scene Description</th>
<th>Camera Description</th>
<th>Plot</th>
<th>Emotional hotspot</th>
<th>Body gestures and expressions</th>
<th>Protagonist</th>
<th>Contextual connections</th>
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</table>
4.3.1. Sound and Musical Elements

*La Catatumbera* (Catatumbo woman) is a *reggaeton* song, a popular musical genre resulting from mixing *dancehall*, *hip-hop* and some contemporary Latin American dance music. Initially in Puerto Rico, but later in the Caribbean countries and the United States, the genre has quickly had broader commercial success. Usually, *reggaeton* lyrics are banal and exalt sexism, consumerism and the drug-trafficking way of life, with few exceptions. It is made with digital samples, tracks and editing software and applications; it is never performed by instrumental musicians. FARC had a tradition of urban music; the urban militia, groups for political and military actions in the cities, had cultural activities focused on the marginal neighbourhoods in the main cities. FARC's urban music consists of different musical genres; rap was critical among them. *Reggaeton* is new in FARC's urban music background, mainly because of its lyrics and commercial nature. It is remarkable a FARC's *reggaeton* song, an urban musical genre, written to exalt women peasant leaders. In her life story, Noelia describes the transitional moment of *Horizonte Fariano* under her musical direction towards upbeat and contemporary styles, but additionally the song represents broader new realities of the Colombian peasantry, currently accessing information, culture, goods and services from the cities. This song is based on a *drum and bass* loop with a constant chord progression (C#m/Gm3/A/B/G#) in the key of C#m, (I-V-Vlb-VIIb-V) harmony, in a conventional 4/4-time signature. The song opens with a peasant protest with a background chord D5 suggesting an IIm7b5 harmony degree adding seriousness and drama; however, this chord never appears again. Later, the chorus begins with a fast
The chorus adds a sung-rapped verse by Noelia, followed by a rap section by Sami; both alternate, finishing with an extended chorus and a fade-out to a protest claim image. The choruses can be identified only by the lyrics' mention of the song's title: *Catatumbera*; there is no significant differences between the chorus and the verses sung by Noelia. The melodic profile is never higher than a fifth, mainly using consecutive intervals. Samuel's rap has an impressive repertoire of rhythms motifs: triplets, 16th notes and syncopations. The video clip was made during the negotiation period between FARC and the Colombian government; the narrative refers directly to the peasant resistance in the Catatumbo, where some women had leading roles. The visual narrative alternates the musicians' performance with press material about protests, police repression and other images to reinforce the lyrics' content.

**4.3.2. First reading.**

The plot of Noelia’s song begins with the FARC emblem and the Colombian flag over a green background. Later, from press material, the video shows a peasant woman leading a protest march. Contradictorily, the woman claims: “We are not terrorists! We are not guerrilla! We are peasants!” The song starts with Noelia and Samuel (*Horizonte Fariano*, at that point) singing and dancing as *rappers* in military uniform, then the background changes to show women protesting during a burial. Noelia and Sami’s performance continues, but a shot change shows them in a tree; the low angle suggests an audience point of view. The shot changes again, and Noelia appears with loose hair, a less formal attitude. The plot then moves on again, with Noelia appearing as a rapper in an *El Che* t-shirt and a baseball cap. In the background, an *olla comunitaria* is portrayed, a meal prepared for protesters collaboratively. Noelia continues her singing-rap performance, the background switches to peasant protest. The performance sees Noelia and Samuel in military uniform but, rapidly, the shot changes to Noelia in civilian clothing against a white background.
At this point, Samuel starts rapping. The baseball cap they used does not belong to a military uniform. It has a slogan calling for the freedom of a FARC leader, “Simón Trinidad. Presente”; it is tough to read. Horizonte Fariano’s “duo” performs while the background shows scenes of riot police actions. The background is a visual element to support “evidence” about the lyrics' content and to “involve” Noelia and Sami in the events. Noelia and Samuel continue performing in military uniform; at this point, the lyrics mention the Catatumbo woman carrying out illegal mining activities, which is unexpected because, unlike coca cultivation, illegal mining is not connected with popular resistance practices. They continue performing, but the shot changes again, showing them in profile, intentionally highlighting their FARC bracelets. The plot advances by presenting press material about popular protests and riot police actions. Later, Sami appears as a rapper, wearing a Ché Guevara t-shirt; the image of the Ministry of Defence during the Uribe Vélez administration, Juan Carlos Pinzón, represents the government’s threats.

The plot continues with a close-up and a falling-back movement of Noelia, performing a dramatic moment. Press material show the former Colombian president, Juan Manuel Santos, in a composite image with other people supporting the peace process; however, the lyrics point out that peace is only possible because of people’s will. Again, press material shows images of a spraying plane, pointing out the controversial approach to coca crop control by using glyphosate. Other images show popular protest and police repression. Noelia appears again as a rapper with an unexpected background of blue wood. Later, the plot shows a short but significant moment, mixing images of peasant women from Catatumbo and finishing by alternating visuals of the duet performance and popular protest. In the last shot, Noelia stops performing before the cut; it is an unexpected “editing mistake”, considering the quality of previous materials. The video clip ends with the FARC emblem.
The emotional hotspot allows predominant emotions emerging from rap and singing lyrics to be identified, as well as choreography gestures and abundant press material. **Vehemence and authority** are the major voices, owing to the ideological context of lyrics and visual content, and the dominant attitude characteristic of rap mentioned above. The **pride** voice communicates the belonging to the guerrilla and exalts the popular protest led by women. The **angry and disappointed** voice appears linked to the police repression and conflictive moments with the government. The voices of **fear** and **sadness** characterised specific moments of popular reactions featured in the press and used as a background.

The **body gestures and expressions** are mainly **singing and rapping** (31) and **dancing** (31), as is usual in reggaeton video clips. However, some actions and attitudes add most of the body gestures and expressions related to politics and ideology, **raising hands** (4), **marching** (5), **protesting** (4) and **shooting** (2). Finally, a few body gestures make specific points in the narrative, **falling back** (1) to create a dramatic moment and **stating** (1) to convey some distrust in the peace process at that moment.

**4.3.3. Second reading.**

The “I, one and we poem” has particular features. First, Noelia sings and constantly dances as a visible part of the video-clip narrative; “I sing” and “I dance” are fundamental, not spoken verbally but expressed in her performance. Second, Noelia wrote the lyrics using the second-person personal pronoun “you”. She sings to a Catatumbo woman, highlighting her bravery and denouncing government arbitrariness. Noelia does not write using “I” or “we”; she opts for a “witness” perspective. However, in the video-clip introduction, a protester woman makes claims in terms of “we” denying being part of the guerrilla.
At some point, the call to the people and the peasantry suggests a guerrilla presence. Similarly, the guerrilla, as “we”, appears metaphorically in the lyrics section about the peace process.

4.3.4. Third reading.

Noelia’s expressions about herself are performative. She declares herself a musician and a FARC musician; she thus acts during the entire visual narrative. “I” singing and rapping as a FARC guerrilla member is a direct and constant performance of her musical and political identities. Similarly, the second level of family and friends is not explicit, but is visible in her performance with Samuel, as Noelia remarks in her interview: “he was… my singing partner… my partner-in-arms too”. At the third level, the guerrilla and political party focuses on FARC as a peasant guerrilla, fighting side by side with popular protest.
The fourth level, the *background*, is diverse, expressing a clear intention in the lyrics and video-clip with regard to socio-politic problems. In fact, the eponymous *Catatumbera* constantly appears under different characters – as “a guerrilla woman”, “a heroine”, “an example”, “someone who challenges power with a sincere voice” and an “honest woman” leading “her people”. The *Catatumbera* appears rooted in a family “as a mother”, “aunt”, “daughter”, “sister” and “grandmother”. However, other references are radical, such as a “coca planter”, an activity with deep roots in forms of indigenous and peasant resistance, and, contradictorily, as an “illegal miner”, an activity with less of a clear connection to popular movements and mainly associated with drug-trafficking and organised crime. *Popular protest* is central in the relationship web, appearing by press material as background images. Similarly, *the peasantry* has a place, presenting as concrete people: a *woman*, a *family*, *youth*, *children* and *older men and women*. There are solid relationships associated with the *transformation of the conflict*: the
peace process connects people in a meeting and people marching for peace, a reference to popular participation. The former president, Juan Manuel Santos, appears with respect but suggesting that the process depends on people’s will. The Government Dialogue Commission image appears while the lyrics denounce a two-faced attitude. Enemies, mainly the riot police, are directly accused of violence.

4.3.5. Fourth reading.

Cities and places are crucial contextual connections: first defining Colombia according to FARC’s nationalistic principles, and second, detailing the Catatumbo region. On the transformation of the conflict, the song expresses distrust of a negotiation process in progress. It is an ambiguous situation. The protester woman’s claim in the video-clip introduction — "We are not guerrilla! We are peasants! — is a contradiction never clarified in the video-clip. Nature emerges again as the primary guerrilla environment. Under musical genres, reggaeton and rap are portrayed as new ways of writing and producing content. In the lyrics, social categories and conflict are expressed in opposing terms: the peasantry, people, land, and the popular struggle are sung in protest against the riot police, violence, landlords with palm cultivations, capital, foreign industries, the regime and glyphosate dispersion. Culture is a marginal connection; the popular image of El Ché and an image of a communitarian meal are the only references amid dense political content.
4.4. Álvaro Merchán: LGM Songs-as-narratives Analysis.

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<th>Technical features</th>
<th>Content</th>
<th>Characteristics and features</th>
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<td>Time</td>
<td>Scene Description</td>
<td>Chords</td>
<td>Plot</td>
<td>Emotional hotspot</td>
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<tr>
<td>00:07</td>
<td>Hard cut. Medium close-up. Claudia Arcila and her son.</td>
<td>D/C [Dedication]</td>
<td>Family</td>
<td>Happiness, joy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00:08</td>
<td>Hard cut. Medium close-up. Álvaro singing.</td>
<td>C/G [Dedication]</td>
<td>Vallenato singer</td>
<td>Joy, trust, affection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00:11</td>
<td>Hard cut. Medium close-up. Luisa – accordion player.</td>
<td>G/C con cariño de Álvaro… With love from Álvaro…</td>
<td>Woman/Female accordion player</td>
<td>Joy, trust, happiness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00:12</td>
<td>Hard cut. Medium close-up. Álvaro singing</td>
<td>C Merchán… ¡Ay! Merchán… Hey!</td>
<td>Vallenato singer</td>
<td>Joy, trust, affection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00:14</td>
<td>Hard cut. Long shot camera. Slow motion. Woman (main character) talking with Álvaro.</td>
<td>(Instrumental) C/G/Em/Am</td>
<td>Alvaro walking with a woman</td>
<td>Trust, friendship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00:19</td>
<td>Hard cut. Medium close-up. Luisa – accordion player.</td>
<td>(Instrumental) Am/D</td>
<td>Female accordion player</td>
<td>Joy, trust, happiness</td>
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<tr>
<td>Time</td>
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<tr>
<td>00:34</td>
<td>Hard cut. Mid shot camera. Álvaro singing. Verse 1 Álvaro singing Chords: E Y comprendido que la vida es pasajera… I have understood that life is temporary… Emotional hotspot: Nostalgia, trust Body gestures and expressions: Singing Protagonist: Álvaro as a vallenato singer Contextual connections: Countryside, vallenato culture, how time passes</td>
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<td>00:38</td>
<td>Hard cut. Medium-long shot camera. Woman walking towards the camera. Chords: E Y que una vida es muy corta para decirle… And life is too short to tell… Emotional hotspot: Sadness, nostalgia Body gestures and expressions: Walking Protagonist: Woman (main character) Contextual connections: Countryside, life is short</td>
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<td>00:43</td>
<td>Hard cut. Mid Shot camera. Álvaro singing. Chords: D/D7 A una madre lo más lindo que ha sido… One’s mother, how beautiful she has been (how much she matters?)… Emotional hotspot: Nostalgia, trust Body gestures and expressions: Singing Protagonist: Álvaro as a vallenato singer, a mother Contextual connections: Countryside, vallenato culture, motherhood</td>
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<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Chords</td>
<td>Lyrics</td>
<td>Plot</td>
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<td>00:50</td>
<td>Hard cut. Medium-long shot camera. Álvaro singing and Luisa playing.</td>
<td>Pre-chorus 1&lt;br&gt;Chorus:&lt;br&gt;G/C/Em/Am&lt;br&gt;Sobran, pero nunca alcanzan, cuando lo que hay que decir…&lt;br&gt;excessive but never enough, when what needs to be said…</td>
<td><strong>Pre-chorus 1</strong>&lt;br&gt;Chorus:&lt;br&gt;G/C/Em/Am&lt;br&gt;Sobran, pero nunca alcanzan, cuando lo que hay que decir…&lt;br&gt;excessive but never enough, when what needs to be said…</td>
<td>Plot: Traditional vallenato duet.&lt;br&gt;<strong>Emotional hotspots:</strong> Nostalgia, happiness, Body gestures and expressions: singing, playing an instrument&lt;br&gt;<strong>Protagonist:</strong> Álvaro and Luisa as a vallenato duo&lt;br&gt;<strong>Contextual connections:</strong> Countryside, vallenato culture, the soul, country house, expensive car.</td>
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<tr>
<td>00:58</td>
<td>Hard cut. Mid shot camera. A woman remembering.</td>
<td>Chords: Am/D7/G/C/Bm&lt;br&gt;Desborda el alma… Las palabras nunca sobran, pero nunca alcanzan…&lt;br&gt;flows your soul… Words are never excessive, but never enough…</td>
<td><strong>Chords:</strong>&lt;br&gt;Am/D7/G/C/Bm&lt;br&gt;Desborda el alma… Las palabras nunca sobran, pero nunca alcanzan…&lt;br&gt;flows your soul… Words are never excessive, but never enough…</td>
<td><strong>Plot:</strong> Woman picking fruit&lt;br&gt;<strong>Emotional hotspots:</strong> Sadness, nostalgia&lt;br&gt;<strong>Body gestures and expressions:</strong> Picking fruit&lt;br&gt;<strong>Protagonist:</strong> Woman (main character)&lt;br&gt;<strong>Contextual connections:</strong> Countryside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>01:07</td>
<td>Fade to white. Medium-long shot camera. Sepia tone. Woman and her mother picking fruits.</td>
<td>Chords: Em/Am/D7/G/C&lt;br&gt;cualo lo que hay que decir desborda el alma.&lt;br&gt;Y cuántas cosas pudiera haberle…&lt;br&gt;when what needs to be said overflows your soul. And how many things could I have…</td>
<td><strong>Chords:</strong>&lt;br&gt;Em/Am/D7/G/C&lt;br&gt;cualo lo que hay que decir desborda el alma.&lt;br&gt;Y cuántas cosas pudiera haberle…&lt;br&gt;when what needs to be said overflows your soul. And how many things could I have…</td>
<td><strong>Plot:</strong> Woman with her mother (memory)&lt;br&gt;<strong>Emotional hotspots:</strong> Happiness, joy, trust&lt;br&gt;<strong>Body gestures and expressions:</strong> Picking fruits, talking and sharing&lt;br&gt;<strong>Protagonist:</strong> Woman (main character), her mother&lt;br&gt;<strong>Contextual connections:</strong> Countryside, the soul, motherhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>01:16</td>
<td>Hard cut. Medium-long shot camera. Álvaro singing and Luisa playing.</td>
<td>Chorus 1&lt;br&gt;Chords: C/G&lt;br&gt;dicho a mi madre antes que al cielo se fuera; hoy es muy tarde…&lt;br&gt;said to my mother before she went to heaven; now, it is too late…</td>
<td><strong>Chorus 1</strong>&lt;br&gt;Chords: C/G&lt;br&gt;dicho a mi madre antes que al cielo se fuera; hoy es muy tarde…&lt;br&gt;said to my mother before she went to heaven; now, it is too late…</td>
<td><strong>Plot:</strong> Traditional vallenato duet (duo).&lt;br&gt;<strong>Emotional hotspots:</strong> Nostalgia, happiness, Body gestures and expressions: singing, playing&lt;br&gt;<strong>Protagonist:</strong> Álvaro and Luisa as vallenato duo, a mother&lt;br&gt;<strong>Contextual connections:</strong> Countryside, vallenato culture, motherhood, country house, expensive car.</td>
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<td>Time</td>
<td>Cut</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<td>Y cuántas cosas pudiera haberle dicho a mi madre…</td>
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<td>And how many things could I have told my mother…</td>
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<td>antes que al cielo se fuera; hoy es muy tarde ……</td>
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<td>before she went to heaven; now, it is too late…</td>
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<tr>
<td>1:33</td>
<td>Fade to white.</td>
<td>Long shot camera. Sepia tone. The woman and her mother are walking with their dog.</td>
<td>G/C/G</td>
<td>Plot: Woman with her mother (memory)</td>
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<td>Cómo me duele pensarlé y no tenerle…</td>
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<td>How it hurts me to think about her and not have her…</td>
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<td>Cómo me duele soñarlé y estar…</td>
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<td>How it hurts me to dream about her and be…</td>
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<td>Ausente. Cómo me duele pensarlé…</td>
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<td>Absent. How it hurts me to think about her…</td>
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<td>1:48</td>
<td>Crossfade.</td>
<td>Mid shot camera. Sepia tone. The woman and her mother walking.</td>
<td>C/G/Am</td>
<td>Plot: Woman with her mother (remember)</td>
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<td>y, no tenerle. Cómo me duele soñarlé…</td>
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<td>and not have her. How it hurts me to dream about her…</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**
- **Chords:** G/C, G/Em/A/D7/G, C/G/Am, C/G/Am.
- **Emotional Hotspot:** Nostalgia, trust, Sadness, nostalgia, Happiness, joy, trust.
- **Body Gestures and Expressions:** Singing, Remembering, Talking, sharing, walking, smiling.
- **Protagonist:** Álvaro as a vallenato singer, Woman (main character), her mother, the family dog.
- **Contextual Connections:** Countryside, vallenato culture, motherhood.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Chords</th>
<th>Plot</th>
<th>Emotional hotspot</th>
<th>Body gestures and expressions</th>
<th>Protagonist</th>
<th>Contextual connections</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01:53</td>
<td>Hard cut. Mid shot camera. Álvaro singing.</td>
<td>Chords: D/C/G/C Y estar ausente. Hoy, tan solo sus detalles...</td>
<td>Plot: Álvaro singing inside a country house</td>
<td>Nostalgia, trust</td>
<td>Singing</td>
<td>Álvaro as a vallenato singer</td>
<td>Countryside, vallenato culture</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>And be absent. Now, small things...</td>
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<td>02:00</td>
<td>Hard cut. Mid shot camera. Woman remembering</td>
<td>Chords: Bm/Em/Am En mi memoria suscitan el recuerdo de mi madre...</td>
<td>Plot: Woman coming out of a country house</td>
<td>Sadness, nostalgia</td>
<td>Remembering</td>
<td>Woman (main character), a mother</td>
<td>Countryside, motherhood</td>
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<td></td>
<td>And so many beautiful things. Now, her details (small things)...</td>
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<tr>
<td>02:06</td>
<td>Hard cut. Medium-long shot camera. Álvaro singing and Luisa playing</td>
<td>Chords: Am/D/G/C Y tantas cosas bonitas. Hoy tan solo sus detalles...</td>
<td>Plot: Traditional vallenato duo.</td>
<td>Nostalgia, happiness,</td>
<td>singing, playing</td>
<td>Álvaro and Luisa as a vallenato duet</td>
<td>Countryside, vallenato culture, country house, expensive car</td>
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<td>And so many beautiful things. Now, her details (small things)...</td>
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<td>02:10</td>
<td>Hard cut. Medium close-up. Sepia tone. The woman being combed by her mother</td>
<td>Chords: C/Bm/Em En mi memoria suscitan el recuerdo...</td>
<td>Plot: Woman with her mother (memory)</td>
<td>Happiness, joy, trust</td>
<td>combing, sharing, smiling</td>
<td>Woman (main character), her mother, the family dog</td>
<td>Countryside, motherhood</td>
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<td>In my memory trigger recollections...</td>
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<td>02:15</td>
<td>Hard cut. Medium long shot camera. Álvaro singing and Luisa playing.</td>
<td>Chords: Em/Am/D/G de mi madre y tantas cosas bonitas.</td>
<td>Plot: Traditional vallenato duo.</td>
<td>Nostalgia, happiness,</td>
<td>singing, playing</td>
<td>Álvaro and Luisa as a vallenato duet</td>
<td>Countryside, vallenato culture, country house, expensive car</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>of my mother and so many beautiful things.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Scene Description</td>
<td>Musical Notes</td>
<td>Plot</td>
<td>Emotional Hotspot</td>
<td>Body Gestures and Expressions</td>
<td>Protagonist</td>
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<td>02:20</td>
<td>Hard cut. Medium close-up. Woman remembering. Álvaro talking to her.</td>
<td>Bridge Chords: G/Bm/ G/D/C/Em Cacica, escucha bien. Nuestras madres nos seguirán cuidando desde la eternidad.</td>
<td>Álvaro talking with a woman</td>
<td>Trust, friendship, nostalgia, sadness</td>
<td>Talking, hearing</td>
<td>Woman (main character), Álvaro as the woman’s friend, our mothers</td>
<td>Countryside, the eternity, indigenous culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02:32</td>
<td>Hard cut. Mid shot camera. Álvaro singing and Luisa playing.</td>
<td>Solo (Accordion) Chords: G/D/Am [Dedication]</td>
<td>Traditional duo.</td>
<td>Nostalgia, happiness, singing, playing</td>
<td>Singing, playing</td>
<td>Álvaro and Luisa as a vallenato duo, José Orlando Velasco</td>
<td>Countryside, vallenato culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02:38</td>
<td>Hard cut. Medium close-up. Sepia tone. The woman and her mother water the plants.</td>
<td>Chords: C/G/D C/G/D/C/G</td>
<td>Woman with her mother (memory)</td>
<td>Happiness, joy, trust</td>
<td>Watering plants, combing (hair?), sharing, smiling</td>
<td>Woman (main character), her mother</td>
<td>Countryside, motherhood</td>
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<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Plot</td>
<td>Musical Details</td>
<td>Emotional Hotspot</td>
<td>Body Gestures and Expressions</td>
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<td>Chords: G/D/C</td>
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<td>Countryside</td>
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<td>02:54</td>
<td>Hard cut. Medium close-up. Sepia tone. The woman</td>
<td>Plot: Woman with her</td>
<td>(Instrumental) Chords:</td>
<td>Emotional hotspot: None</td>
<td>Body gestures and expressions: watering plants,</td>
<td>Contextual connections:</td>
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<td>and her mother water the plants.</td>
<td>her mother</td>
<td>G/D/C</td>
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<td>combing hair, sharing, smiling</td>
<td>Countryside, motherhood.</td>
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<td>inside a country house</td>
<td>Es lo que pienso, son las obras de una madre parecidas a las obras de un artista...</td>
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<td>Protagonist: Álvaro as a vallenato singer, a mother, an artist</td>
<td>Countryside, vallenato culture, motherhood, art</td>
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<td>03:08</td>
<td>Hard cut. Insert shot camera: a chandelier</td>
<td>Plot: A chandelier</td>
<td>Chords: D/G</td>
<td>Emotional hotspot: None</td>
<td>Body gestures and expressions: None</td>
<td>Contextual connections:</td>
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<td>Se valora, se venera, se aprecian cuando ya no existe...</td>
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<td>“Art”</td>
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<td>03:13</td>
<td>Hard cut. Medium close-up. Sepia tone. The woman</td>
<td>Plot: Woman with her</td>
<td>Chorus 2 Chords: G/C/</td>
<td>Emotional hotspot: Happiness, joy, trust</td>
<td>Body gestures and expressions: combing hair, sharing, smiling</td>
<td>Contextual connections:</td>
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<td>and her mother's hair being combed by her mother.</td>
<td>her mother</td>
<td>Bm/Em/Am</td>
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<td>Protagonist: Woman (main character), her mother, the family dog</td>
<td>Countryside, motherhood</td>
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<td>Sólo quedan los recuerdos y el dolor profundo: y decirle cosas bonitas...</td>
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<td>Only memories and deep pain remain, and to say beautiful things to her...</td>
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<td>03:30</td>
<td>Hard cut. Medium close-up. Sepia tone. Woman’s hair being combed by her mother.</td>
<td>Chords: Em/Am/D/G</td>
<td>Y decirle cosas bonitas desde este mundo.</td>
<td>And to say beautiful things to her from this world…</td>
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<tr>
<td>03:38</td>
<td>Hard-cut Mid shot camera Álvaro singing and Luisa playing</td>
<td>Chords: G/C/G/Em</td>
<td>Misericordia y verdad es lo que enseña una madre y si aprendí a valorar…</td>
<td>Mercy and truth are what a mother teaches; I learned to value…</td>
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<td>03:51</td>
<td>Hard cut. Medium close-up. Sepia tone. The woman’s hair being combed by her mother.</td>
<td>Chords: G/C/G/ Bm/A#/A</td>
<td>Es lo que enseña una madre y si aprendí a valorar… It is what a mother teaches – [things] I learned to value…</td>
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<td>Time</td>
<td>Scene Description</td>
<td>Chords</td>
<td>Lyrics</td>
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<td>Emotional Hotspot</td>
<td>Body Gestures and Expressions</td>
<td>Protagonists</td>
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<td>04:03</td>
<td>Hard cut. Mid shot camera. A woman remembering.</td>
<td>C/G/Am/D</td>
<td>Tenerle. Cómo me duele soñarlo y estar…</td>
<td>Have her around. How it hurts me to dream about her and be…</td>
<td>Sadness, nostalgia.</td>
<td>Remembering</td>
<td>Protagonist: Woman (main character), Sacred Heart of Jesus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04:10</td>
<td>Hard cut. Mid shot camera. Álvaro singing and Luisa playing.</td>
<td>D/G/ C/G</td>
<td>Ausente. Cómo me duele pensarlo y no tenerlo…</td>
<td>Absent. How it hurts me to think about her and not have her around…</td>
<td>Nostalgia, happiness,</td>
<td>singing, playing an instrument</td>
<td>Protagonists: Álvaro and Luisa as a vallenato duo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04:28</td>
<td>Hard cut. Mid shot camera. Álvaro singing.</td>
<td>C/Bm/ Em/Am/D</td>
<td>El recuerdo de mi madre y tantas cosas bonitas…</td>
<td>The remembrance of my mother and so many beautiful things…</td>
<td>Nostalgia, happiness,</td>
<td>singing, playing an instrument</td>
<td>Protagonists: Álvaro and Luisa as a vallenato duo</td>
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<td>Time</td>
<td>Scenario</td>
<td>Camera Shot</td>
<td>Chords</td>
<td>Plot</td>
<td>Emotional Hotspot</td>
<td>Body Gestures and Expressions</td>
<td>Protagonist</td>
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<td>04:34</td>
<td>Hard cut. Medium-long shot camera. Woman looking at a picture of her mother.</td>
<td>Chords: G/C/Bm/Em Hoy, tan sólo sus detalles en mi memoria suscitan el recuerdo de mi madre…</td>
<td>Plot: Woman remembering in her bedroom</td>
<td>Emotional hotspot: Sadness, nostalgia</td>
<td>Body gestures and expressions: Remembering</td>
<td>Protagonist: Woman (main character), Sacred Heart of Jesus, her mother</td>
<td>Contextual connections: Countryside, motherhood, Catholicism</td>
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<tr>
<td>05:00</td>
<td>Hard cut. Insert shot camera: picture frame.</td>
<td>(Instrumental) Chords: G</td>
<td>Plot: Woman remembering in her bedroom</td>
<td>Emotional hotspot: Sadness, nostalgia</td>
<td>Body gestures and expressions: Remembering</td>
<td>Protagonist: Woman (main character), her mother</td>
<td>Contextual connections: Countryside, motherhood</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.4.1 Sound and Musical Elements

*Recuerdo a mi madre* (Remembering my Mother) is written in the traditional style of *Vallenato Guajiro*, a peasant tradition from the extreme north of Colombia. Since 1982, FARC has had a presence in the Colombian Caribbean region; the guerrilla began actions with some units in the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, a high mountain (5700 m), separate from the Andes, just 42 km away from the Caribbean coast. In the nineties, the guerrilla grew in number locating its operations in La Guajira and Cesar departments and north Colombia-Venezuela border. The FARC’s political and military actions in the region, the cradle of *vallenato*, prompted the enrolment of capable musicians and songwriters who significantly influenced FARC’s culture. Renowned names of FARC’s *vallenato* tradition came from the region: Lucas Iguarán, Julián Conrado and Christian Pérez. However, this song was written for an ex-combatant who grew up as a *vallenato* songwriter in the south Colombian Andes, far from the Caribbean coast. In general, the *vallenato* had an extraordinary diffusion through the eighties and nineties promoted by the radio and national musical industry in the entire national territory. Additionally, the love of Álvaro´s father for the musical genre allowed him to take a vital musical identity decision. The song is a *son*, slow and poetic *vallenato* style using conventional vallenato instrumentation: voice, diatonic button accordion, *caja*, *guacharaca* and electric bass. The singer and accordionist have leading roles, as is usual. The song uses a conventional harmony (I-IV-VIIm-IIIIm-V7-IIIIm-IIIIm), a chord progression (G/C/D/Em/Am/D7/B/Bm/A/A#) in a key of G and a 2/4-time signature. The structure is conventional; the song has an introduction with a
dedication – vallenato singers usually dedicate the song at the introduction and the musical bridge sections. Later, the song has a long first verse, pre-chorus and chorus sections. The musical bridge section includes the accordion solo highlighting the accordionist’s virtuosity. Next, the song has a short second verse and chorus that ends the song. The melodic profile employs frequent consecutive thirds and perfects intervals to obtain a simple but fine vocal melody. Álvaro’s voice is natural and breathy, including some short falsetto and throat effects; he gives a colorful vocal performance. The vallenato songs usually employ an alternating rhyme scheme ABAB; however, the son style allows free verse constructions as in this case. The song alternates between verses and chorus. The accordionist, Luisa Contreras, Álvaro’s colleague and collaborator, gives an outstanding performance, confirming the growing participation of women as vallenato singers and accordionists. This song, and the son style in general, demands of the accordionist a proficient technique in the left hand, especially playing the low-register keys (los bajos), to follow the syncopation accurately. The video clip, produced after the Peace Agreement, has two simple narratives: a woman (the main character) remembering her mother and, second, the singer and accordionist who perform the song.

4.4.2. First reading.

The plot begins with an insert shot of a high-quality accordion, a clear connection with vallenato music. Álvaro, the singer, appears, giving a dedication to some friends. The accordion re-appears and they were shown shortly. A close-up of Álvaro follows; a strong accent from the La Guajira region is evident. The next image is a close-up of an accordionist – Luisa Contreras, not her actual name, an outstanding instrumentalist who played with Bacanes del Sur and other musicians and ensembles. The plot then shows Álvaro again wearing a white shirt, common among traditional vallenato singers and perhaps symbolising the peace process. Later, Álvaro appears with a woman walking in a rural setting. Luisa’s image follows; there are few women vallenato
professionals, and Álvaro´s decision to play with her is notable. The plot then continues with Álvaro and the anonymous woman walking outside a country house. The re-appearance of the accordion insert shot confirms the instrument as a vallenato “icon”.

Following on from this, Álvaro starts to sing with gestures from traditional vallenato; he is inside a country house sitting in an easy chair. The woman who previously talked with Álvaro appears to be walking alone in the location, the slow motion suggesting a parallel narrative based on her memories. Álvaro continues singing; at this point, it is clear it is a song that honours mothers. The woman proceeds to pick fruit from a tree, with the lyrics suggestive of her remembering some situation. Álvaro and Luisa then appear as a traditional vallenato duo. The parallel narrative continues, and the woman looks up to the sky, rounding off a nostalgic moment. This is a straightforward narrative of remembrance, with a sepia texture added to the woman's shots with her mother, a common resource useful for creating visual narratives “from the past”. The simplicity but beauty of the verse is outstanding.

Later, Álvaro sings from a balcony. The shot shows an Andean landscape, quite different from the Caribbean vallenato region, illustrating his identity as a vallenato musician from the mountain region. The following image shows the woman looking up to the sky; the video’s countryside scenes differ from current vallenato video productions set in urban contexts. Later, the woman with her mother (a recollection) appears in a sepia-toned image. The following images intercalate Álvaro´s performance and the woman's nostalgic attitude. Some shots see locations and clothes change, to avoid excessive repetition. The images of the duet with an Andean country house in the background create a contrast with the typical vallenato video scenes. The woman and her mother then appear in a sepia-toned recollection, the latter combing
the hair of the former, thus recreating a “childhood” memory. Thereafter, Álvaro stops to sing and say how the love of a mother reaches her children even “from eternity”; this kind of sung interruption is a formality in traditional *vallenato*. Álvaro talks to her, although she looks to the horizon gloomily. Next, Luisa and Álvaro appear in a closer shot, remarking on musical performance. Luisa starts the accordion solo, accompanied by intercalated images of her performing and the woman's memories. Álvaro, sat in the easy chair, continues singing; he reflects on how the work of an artist and a mother are similar, both being valued when they are gone. The image of a chandelier here does not seem pertinent. The video continues alternating shots of the duet and the woman's memories; some variations are used to avoid repetitions. Finally, the woman appears in her bedroom, the place is decorated with a big Sacred Heart of Jesus picture; the image expresses a traditional popular devotion. The video clip ends by showing the woman sitting down, looking at the portrait of her mother.

The emotional hotspot identifies Álvaro's emotions during his performance, as expressed in his lyrics and attitudes.

Figure 37. An Emotional Hotspot Displaying Álvaro's Voices in "Recuerdo a mi Madre".
The happiness and pride and sadness and nostalgia voices are fundamental in similar proportions. The happiness and pride voice characterises the duet images, predominantly expressed in Luisa’s playing. Sadness and nostalgia are a voice linked with remembering and a nostalgic narrative about the love of an absent mother. The trust and confidence voice appears throughout Álvaro’s performance, evident in his attitude and proficiency as a vallenato singer.

Singing (21) and playing (19) are frequent body gestures and expressions. As usual in vallenato video clips, the singer and the accordion player are the essential figures, mainly occupying the visual narrative. Álvaro’s singing is in a traditional guajiro style, including accents and subtle nuances; to his singing are added expressive movements with his hands and arms. The accordion player’s performance is always linked with Álvaro’s performance. Álvaro’s singing and the duo’s playing involve subtle dancing movements, a frequent occurrence in vallenato performances. Other movements express actions relating to the main character’s (the woman) narrative: sharing with her mother (9), smiling (8), remembering (7), walking (7), combing hair (6) and picking fruit (4).

4.4.3. Second reading.

The “I, one and we poem” of Álvaro’s song is focused in terms of “I”, based on intimate lyrics lamenting the absence of his mother. Álvaro recognises life is very short to express all the love for a mother. The song sounds simple, although it has relevant but inexplicit references to his past in the conflict: “I have understood that life is temporary”. Perhaps it is commonplace, but it acquires profound meaning coming from an ex-combatant.
Álvaro’s lyrics suggest a dramatic situation, a separation, and the death of his mother while he was away. It is possible to understand the difficulties in contacting his mother during the conflict.

Table 13. “I, one, we poem” Excerpts from Álvaro’s Song about an Unspecified Personal Event from During the Conflict.

Álvaro’s lyrics suggest a dramatic situation, a separation, and the death of his mother while he was away. It is possible to understand the difficulties in contacting his mother during the conflict.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“I, one and we poem” excerpts</th>
<th>00:34 I have understood that life is temporary...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>00:38 And life is too short of telling her a mother the most beautiful thing that has ever been to her son</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13. “I, one, we poem” Excerpts from Álvaro’s Song about an Unspecified Personal Event from During the Conflict.

The “I, one and we poem” reveals a present moment of nostalgia. Álvaro uses the simple words “cosas bonitas” (beautiful things); they are a reference to a recognised vallenato ensemble El Binomio de Oro (Binomial Gold) and his song Cosas bonitas, recorded in 1976.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“I, one and we poem” excerpts</th>
<th>01:33 How it hurts me to think about her and not have her...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>01:07 And how many things could I have told my mother before she went to heaven; now, it is too late...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>01:39 How it hurts me to dream about her and that she is... absent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>03:38 Mercy and truth are what a mother teaches, and, yes, I learned to value them... but it’s too late.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 14. “I, one, we poem” Excerpts about an Inexplicit, Dramatic Situation in Álvaro’s Song.

The “I, one and we poem” reveals a present moment of nostalgia. Álvaro uses the simple words “cosas bonitas” (beautiful things); they are a reference to a recognised vallenato ensemble El Binomio de Oro (Binomial Gold) and his song Cosas bonitas, recorded in 1976.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“I, one and we poem” excerpts</th>
<th>01:33 Now, small things in my memory make me remember my mother and so many beautiful things...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Table 15. “I, one, we poem” Excerpt from Álvaro’s Song Referencing a Historic Vallenato Piece.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The poem only contains one moment in terms of “we”, in which the lyrics suggest the comfort of an appeal to religious faith.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“I, one and we poem” excerpts</th>
<th>02:20 Darling, listen carefully. Our mothers will continue to take care of us from eternity.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Table 16. “I, one, we poem” Excerpt About an Inexplicit Reference to Religion in Álvaro’s Song.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.4.4. Third reading.

The song is an intimate narrative of reminiscence, Álvaro’s expressions to himself focus on his musical identities in terms of “I”. It intentionally excludes “we”, which appears only when he stops to sing and explain to her how her mother cares for her from eternity. The links to his political identities are omitted; the song is not a statement or declaration about politics. The narrative about distance and separation between a son and his mother is accessible to anyone. However, it was motivated by a decision to take up arms in his case, but this is unknown to the audience. His musical identities are remarked in every expression to himself using his artistic name, as a vallenato singer and even as a friend to a woman (the main character).

Figure 38. Álvaro´s Song, Level 2: Self and Interpersonal Relationships (Family and Friends).

The family and friends web of relationships shows the relevance of the woman’s friendship with Álvaro. On the other hand, Álvaro refers to his mother in lyrics with the same nostalgic feelings. This video clip, like many others, intercalates a dramatic
narrative with images of singers or musicians. In this case, Luisa stands out, performing with Álvaro proficiently. The names of some close people, to whom he dedicated the song, appear at the beginning and in the middle of the song, as usual in vallenato. There is no reference to level three, the guerrilla and political party relationship web; it is clear that the purpose is to reach audiences without making any explicit political points. Finally, the background level is limited to references to vallenato musical traditions, and to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, a popular image of Catholic devotion in Colombia.

4.4.5. Fourth reading.

Usually, the video-clip location is the production director’s decision; however, the relevance of the countryside in Álvaro’s personal experiences is undeniable, suggestive of his influence on the production design. The musical genre connections focus only on guajiro vallenato tradition and some expressions of indigenous culture. The transformation of the conflict prompts contradictory relationships: first, his present narrative about a distant life from his mother, due to his own decisions nowadays; second, current friends to whom he dedicated the song; and third, an unexpected expensive car as part of the set, imitating present-day vallenato video clips. These connections reveal tensions and conflicting perspectives that he elaborates on creatively. The connection with religion is prominent in the lyrics and visual narratives. In general, the song appears disconnected from social categories. Finally, the dedication to people who live in Popayán, a south-western Colombian city in the Andes, is unexpected; innumerable vallenato songs are dedicated to people living in the cities along the Caribbean.
4.5. FARC Musicians’ Songs-as-narratives: LGM General Perspective.

4.5.1 LGM First Reading

Regarding their political identity, the plot of songs and video written and produced before the Peace Agreement (the music videos of Camila and Noelia) includes military figures, elements and actions. In these materials, the images of prominent figures of Colombia’s independence struggle and some FARC commanders communicate FARC ideology and principles. Some objects such as flags, bracelets, uniforms and emblems are explicit about the musicians’ belonging to FARC, but mainly about how they sing on behalf of the movement. On the contrary, in the songs and videos from after the Peace Agreement (the music videos of Clemente and Álvaro), these historical references are non-existent. There are only subtle references to the colours of clothes and some metaphors in the lyrics – non-explicit communicative elements of the political discourse. Although the videos and music were carefully produced, a few contradictory elements found their way in, particularly some press material, the mention of illegal mining, an expensive car in one scene and sometimes an exaggerated stylisation in dance movements.

Colombian people are protagonists, using visual elements portraying customs, religion, and traditions. The people also emerge protesting and fighting for their rights. However, the peasantry is an even more concrete reference, an essential political identity. All the songs appeal to peasant culture, albeit with different resources: stylised choreographaphical movements, background images, productions set in nature or countryside contexts, musical instruments and styles. The songs written before the accords mention the peasants explicitly; the songs written after the Peace Agreement are evocative of peasant context and culture. In all the pieces, the peasantry emerges in one of two registers belonging to or exalting peasant culture. The songs written before the agreement include the FARC’s enemies, explicit antagonists. They are
mentioned in lyrics and background images. On the other hand, the songs from after the agreement are based on human emotions and feelings; there is no adversary.

Regarding musical identity, most of the songs analysed rely on traditional Colombian music: *merengue campesino*, *vallenato* and *pasaje*, deeply rooted in popular music and mainly from peasant musical culture. However, one song performed is *reggaeton*, an urban commercial musical genre; the plot shows how tradition is mobilised through a clear intention to connect with new audiences. One song is performed by an ensemble, two more as duets and just one by a solo singer; this represents a rich diversity of musical formats. On the other hand, video-clip productions use visual effects and resources to effectively communicate the songs’ messages. The recurrent images of the musicians singing and performing in different shots and from different angles appear in all cases. Such treatment of images is standard in conventional image editing and the visual aesthetics of popular music video clips, usually based on the interleaving of two basic visual narratives: musicians performing, and a parallel dramatic story. The musicians adopted visual compositions and scenography elements of conventional video clips across each musical genre; it is a conscious decision to follow the conventions of the genre and thus to connect with their audience.

The emotional hotspot illustrates the predominant emotions emerging from the lyrics, choreographed gestures and visual elements in the composition of shots. The voice of *happiness* appears in the performances representing the peasantry, musicians and ensemble performances and evocative memories from the past. The voice of *vehemence and authority* emerges in gestures of conviction and moral integrity, communicating ideological content, showing military discipline, expressing the pride of being a member of the guerrilla alongside the people, and assuming a dominant attitude. In one case, it comes through in concrete moments of resolution and bravery, represented dramatically.
In the songs written before the Peace Agreement, the voice of trust and confidence is evident in some military actions, gestures, and choreographed movements and performances. This voice appears throughout the musicians' musical performances, evidencing a professional attitude and proficiency. However, the songs written after the agreement express solace and tranquillity. The love and solidarity voice has a place, representing the affection, respect and care for the peasants' land and beloved close people. The sad and nostalgic voice manifests in singing and re-living reminiscences from their past. The sad voice also characterises specific moments of popular reactions repressed violently. The anger and disappointment voice is audibly linked to popular protest and riot police repression, the conflict with the government and distrust.

The body gestures and expressions are based on the musical performances of an ensemble, the duos and solo musicians of the diverse musical genres involved. Each musical genre and style implies a role for the body, singing or playing an instrument, in characteristic movements and gestures. Traditional dance movements, rapping and dancing provide the merengue campesino and reggaeton/rap songs with their choreographic character. Traditional dance movements with real or represented guns and guerrilla uniforms reinforce the ideological lyrics that embody FARC's political identity as a guerrilla. In the songs written after the agreement, all references to weapons and military behaviour disappear. Various expressive movements when the musicians are singing remain constant in the songs written before the agreement, alluding to firm attitudes. In the others, the expressive movements are associated with enjoyment, laughing, smiling, nostalgia, and attitudes of reflection.

The body movements are a resource for communicating and expressing emotional states or ideas in the songs. The choreographic movements are, in one song, complex and carefully adapted in order to represent cultural traditions, military actions and
political ideas. The musicians perform dancing movements common to the chosen musical genre. In one song only, the body movements are part of a dramatic representation of history. The images of singing, even rapping in one case, are constantly present in all the music-video narratives studied.

4.5.2 LGM Second Reading.

The "I, one and we poems" express solid musical and political identities, especially on the part of the women singers, affirming their identity explicitly as a female guerrilla, as a peasant or a rapper in the songs written and produced before the Peace Agreement. These songs communicate political identity directly by exalting the people, denouncing government arbitrariness and mentioning the emerging peace process. Sometimes political identity is expressed metaphorically through gestures, choreographic movements, historical figures and FARC commanders as examples to follow.

In the songs written after the agreement, their musical identity is predominant; political identity is less evident as a message, displaced by a clear affirmation of musical identity. The musical genre, but also images, gestures, body movements, musical performance, and even historical references to specific musical styles, draw attention to their belonging to musical traditions. Metaphors, memories and poetic figures allow subtle references to the conflict but fundamentally connect to intimate human emotions and feelings.

4.5.3 LGM Third Reading.

The mosaic charts reveal fundamental expressions about the musicians. Their musical identity in terms of "I" appears in visible actions: playing, singing, reciting poems, remembering the past, rapping, and dancing. The term "we" is inseparable from the interaction between performing music and belonging to the movement, communicating musical and political identities. In the songs written before the Peace Agreement,
political identity emerges in terms of their belonging to FARC; however, in the songs written after that, their primary identity is as *vallenato* and eastern Plains’ musicians. Similarly, the musical and political identities in terms of "we" are explicit in the songs produced before the Peace Agreement; on the other hand, both identities (political and musical) in terms of "I" constantly appear in the songs written after that.

The second level shows the relationship web with family and friends, as expressed in lyrics and performance. The ensemble and duos’ singing, playing, and dancing performances manifest a vital link with their musician friends before and after the Peace Agreement. The relationship between dancers and actors is significant because they are friends, not professionals paid for their performances. In the songs written after the Peace Agreement, family relationships and friendships also emerge as an evocative memory of friends, girlfriends and mothers.

Level three reveals the relationships between the guerrilla and the political party. In the songs written before the Peace Agreement, a clear political identity is on display in lyrics and visual content: banners, flags, emblems, and pictures and images of commanders and military staff. FARC’s ideals are symbolised by a communist peasant guerrilla, following Bolívar, Beltrán and Marulanda’s principles, fighting side by side with popular protest. *Horizonte Fariano*, as an ensemble and later as a duo, performs the specific function of singing on behalf of the entire guerrilla movement. On the other hand, the songs written after the Peace Agreement do not mention the guerrilla and the political party explicitly; it is clear that the purpose is to reach audiences without making any explicit political statements.

The final level illustrates the musicians’ background relationships. The representations of the countryside and peasantry are central in all video-clip narratives. The peasantry appears in general and specific terms. In general terms, the audience is called to listen,
join in, fight and protest. Specifically, it is symbolised through characters such as women, children, daughters or mothers. Personalities associated with Colombian independence appear aligned with FARC ideals. The relationships associated with the transformation of the conflict are sometimes explicit, based on images and lyrics about the peace process or subtly represented through metaphors and symbols. In the songs written before the Peace Agreement, the enemies are mentioned explicitly, such as riot police or, symbolically, the Yankees. Nature, the cultural contexts of musical traditions, and popular expressions of faith and religion are essential elements of the songs written after the Peace Agreement.

4.5.4 LGM Fourth Reading.

The fourth reading reveals broader relationships, identified in words, images, symbols or performances. The songs convey diverse social, historical, cultural, and political connections. Regarding musical identities, the musical genres are pivotal in connecting songs and musicians with popular musical traditions and their cultural, historical and social contexts. Merengue campesino connects with the peasant world, Andean music and the FARC’s origins as a guerrilla in the Colombian southern Andes. The reggaeton-rap song manifests a creative use of modern urban popular genres, new to FARC’s musical tradition at that moment. The vallenato and pasaje were written with attention to the characteristics of their musical tradition, performed by an Andean ex-combatant songwriter. The pasaje has harmonious variations and arrangements only heard in new musical offerings from the eastern Plains.

Regarding political identities, ideology framed content communicated through the lyrics and the visual narrative of the video clips in the songs written before the Peace Agreement, especially through objects and clothes. The peasantry is relevant in all songs as a musical, cultural and political identity. The countryside is a contextual frame for the peasantry and indigenous identities through the productions’ location and the
lyrics. The *countryside* is a point of connection, expressing political positions, and affirms cultural roots in personal and collective terms. Nature has a place as an audio and visual background; but is central in the songs written after the Peace Agreement, acquiring a role beyond the set location through camera long shots, visual composition and other resources. Few places are mentioned. However, the symbolic presence of Colombia as manifested in flags, emblems or bracelets points to FARC’s nationalistic principles and, in one song in particular, the territory is fundamental to the narrative around a concrete character and situations. Through metaphors, some utopian places appear in the lyrics as a destination to reach in the future. The relationship with Colombian symbols and history underlines the nationalistic principles of FARC ideals in the songs written before the Peace Agreement.

The *conflict* appears in the form of United States imperialism, the riot police, the regime, governmental actions, landlords, capital, foreign capital industries, palm cultivations and the spraying of glyphosate. However, the role of government is portrayed ambiguously in a particular song written during the peace process, revealing a dynamic of *conflict transformation*. On the other hand, in the songs written after the Peace Agreement, the *transformation of the conflict* is central but subtly communicated through lyrics, metaphors, colours, actions and symbols. Sometimes contradictorily, *the transformation of the conflict* reveals hopes, tensions and uncertainty.
Chapter Five.

Conclusions and Discussion.

This chapter delves into the meaning and pertinence of the results obtained through the LGM analysis as applied to the ex-combatants' life stories and songs. The chapter evaluates the major findings, explaining their relationship with the research questions and the literature review, and establishing supporting arguments. The chapter has five sections: key findings, interpretations and implications, discussion, limitations and recommendations.
5.1. Key Findings

This research analyses the FARC musicians' musical identities, identifying the role of their music in constructing their political identities. FARC musicians find themselves negotiating their musical and political identities amid significant changes in their personal, social, political and cultural contexts, and while involved in a broader conflict transformation process (Lederach, 2003). As mentioned above, based on a phenomenological perspective and qualitative methods, this research applied an ethnographic approach and narrative analysis to focus on two forms of narratives: *life histories* and *songs*. Using in-depth, semi-structured interviews, the *life histories analysis* covered their musical biographies, the relationship between their music and the social movement, and the role of their music in conflict transformation. For this research, the songs are narratives (Negus, 1996, 1999, 2012); the *analysis* focused on their lyrics and music video material obtained during the fieldwork or from the musicians' archives.

This study aimed to resolve two fundamental research questions:

- *What are the musical identities of FARC musicians?*
- *What is the role of music in constructing FARC musicians' political identities?*

The LGM analysis is valuable and pertinent to answering both research questions. The analysis revealed how the negotiation of musical and political identities of ex-combatant musicians interact during the experience of conflict transformation. The life histories and song-as-narratives analysis provided evidence about the relationship between their Identities in Music (IIM) and their Music in Identities (MII) (MacDonald et al., 2002). IIM and MII are inseparable dimensions of the self in all the cases analysed. According to the readings analysed, their identities as songwriters, singers, instrumentalists, producers and music teachers are narrated from their belonging to a guerrilla and adhesion to a political movement. The latter emerges in ideological terms,
but mainly through emotional, subjective and intersubjective experiences. Additionally, their MII appears in their biographies and songs, expressing their belonging to the peasantry, indigenous and popular musical cultures. They use music to redefine their new social role as professional popular musicians and to effect their transition from guerrilla combatants to members of a political party.

For the ex-combatant musicians, the music works as an expediency, a resource (Yúdice, 2003) used to support the negotiation of both identities and reinforce their reincorporation processes as a whole. The study confirms that negotiating musical and political identities during the conflict transformation process is an intensive interaction, involving personal and collective changes for the ex-combatant musicians. The results indicate that music is a practicality, a resource based on a cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1985), developed by the ex-combatant musicians and the entire movement for decades. Their narratives reveal how the ex-combatant musicians employ their musical experiences to explore the possibilities of the moral imagination (Lederach, 2003). In their personal and collective processes of conflict transformation, they undertake actions to construct different social (political) and cultural (musical) realities.

Identifying the music as a resource establishes a relevant role of musical practices promoting identity dynamics. As was defined before, music is a social construction; the transformation of relationships necessary for the musical experiences, contents, ways of production and circulation makes viable changes in multiple interactions. This research also observed that music is also a catalyst promoting in-depth identity negotiations, in this case, political, during the transformation of the conflict. The social and cultural perspective of the psychology of music field has established a close interaction between musical identities and other identities; however, this research analysed how this interaction happens and how this interaction connects with political identities throughout a political role of musical experiences beyond the discourse or the
ideology, paying attention to the emotional dimension involved in that interaction. This finding is relevant to orienting emphasis and perspectives of demobilisation processes and social reintegration initiatives. Usually, those initiatives are based on productive projects observing the economic horizon of the ex-combatants; this research opens relevant aspects for comprehensive reintegration processes considering cultural and emotional components during the conflict transformation experiences and the political identity negotiation from combatants to ex-combatant, supporting the web of relationships and creative initiatives supporting the identity negotiation during the unstable and complex post-conflict period.
5.2. Interpretations and implications

The narrative analysis reveals a close relationship between musical and political identity negotiation among the ex-combatant musicians, rooted in personal and collective ramifications of the FARC political culture, which significantly affected their everyday life during the conflict. The results indicate how the cultura fariana (FARC’s culture) was a social space where FARC musicians’ political, cultural, and musical identities were promoted, providing a background of shared meanings, as Ritter also found in the Peruvian context (2002, 2006, 2009).

The hora cultural (cultural hour) emerges in the narratives as a concrete space for their musical learning, teaching, producing and performing. The cultural hour is remembered emotionally, but it was also an instrument of FARC’s culture – a cultural policy, promoting expressions of musical and political identity in everyday life, and providing distinctive experiences, and moments of expression as musicians and FARC members. The narratives illustrate how remembering their music-making in the cultural hour was more than just telling a story. They recall valued personal moments shared with their companions in joyful, sad, relaxed or dangerous times, building their musical and political identities emotionally.

The study confirms how the ex-combatants’ narratives have an embodied dimension, evident through their gestures when talking about music and their movements while performing it. This embodied dimension is based to a large extent on the relevance of dance music in their musical experiences since childhood. Most of their music is for dancing. They explain how writing dance and upbeat songs drives their musical creativity. Before starting this research, it was evident that FARC songs were mostly dance music; however, dance is revealed here, thanks to the LGM readings, as a performance of their musical and political identity. Explicitly or subtly, they include political content in their songs to dance to, following their musical influences and
traditions. Their dances express their musical identities in a performative way, connecting them with the musical genre and cultural traditions, but also with their political identities, when they perform peasant- and popular dances, even using FARC’s military uniforms and real weapons.

The study reveals how their musical experiences work as a resource for self-affirmation of their musical and political identities in the uncertain and unpredictable context of the transformation of the conflict. Their musical identities work in two ways: affirming they belong to certain musical traditions, even defending the most traditional expressions of the musical genre; and, at the same time, openly exploring new musical genres, even commercial ones.

The analysis results display the performative expression of their musical identities through singing, playing and dancing. In addition, they distinguish sound and visual elements that reinforce their musical identities: features of the musical genre, meaningful cultural objects, musical instruments, and the clothes that help to evoke relevant figures of musical traditions by expressing musical identity symbolically.

Although the LGM, applied to the ex-combatants’ songs, presents limitations in terms of incorporating the analysis of the basic musical elements, suggests how the harmonies, rhythms and structures of the songs are standard in the musical genres beneath belonging and identity in popular music traditions. However, some harmonic variations were found in songs written after the Accords, some initiatives in instrumentation, sound mixing and video production, and even a creative exploration of a commercial musical genre, new in FARC’s music tradition, was located. The study does not identify any differentiation in the basic musical elements between FARC’s songs and others typical of the popular genres and traditions; there are no exotic harmonies or melodic or rhythmical variations. However, the analysis points to
significant changes in the lyrics, performance, while visual elements result from the ex-combatant musicians' experiences of the transformation of the conflict.

The LGM analysis as applied to the songs – the plot in particular – allow meaningful connections to be identified between the images of musicians performing and the music videos narratives. In the songs written before the Peace Agreement, the music video narratives refer to the popular struggle and the peasant resistance; political identity is expressed explicitly. Thereafter, the songs tell dramatic stories in evocative and biographical terms; their identities as musicians belonging to concrete musical traditions are central, and their political identity is communicated subtly and metaphorically. The explicitness of the changes in the ex-combatants' political identity shows a negotiation of their MII as a direct result of the process of conflict transformation.

The "I, one and we poems", a product of the LGM second reading, reveal their musical and political identities based on first person pronouns. The attention paid to their hesitations and other non-verbal emotional expressions reveals their trust and doubts about the conflict transformation process. These non-verbal dimensions of their narratives reveal two tensions in their musical identities. First, there is tension between the past and the present, between the musicians they were and the music they made as combatants, and the musicians they are and the music they are currently making. Second, there is tension between their roles then and now as singers, producers, songwriters, composers, and arrangers; then, they were promoted by a protectionist cultural policy, and currently, they are looking for job options on a musical scene that is new to them. The changes and affirmations in their IIM affect conscious decisions affecting how they assume their new political identities.
Their personal connections, as well as with family and friends, guerrilla and political party and background dimensions, as a product of the third LGM reading, display numerous angles as musicians: songwriters, singers, instrumentalists, dancers, producers and, significantly, music teachers. The poems reveal an intensive dynamic around musical identity in terms of *I learn-we learn/I teach-we teach music* affirmations. Learning and teaching music considerably enriches their musical identity experiences – learning, by reinforcing them as following a musical tradition, affirming their interest, improving as professional musicians; and teaching, by expressing joy and recognition when they teach and guide in rehearsals and productions as songwriters, arrangers or producers. Learning and teaching music connects FARC's musical traditions inside the movement by linking experienced musicians with the younger ones and building a specific role (Wright, 2015). Some of them worked as "bridging musicians" in the cities; they learned by being involved in professional musical scenes, later sharing those learnings with their musician companions at the FARC campsites during the conflict.

Learning and teaching music brings different generations and places together, motivating negotiations around musical identity throughout the movement and over the decades. The poems and the emotional hotspots displayed how *I learn-we learn/I teach-we teach music* are self-affirmations expressed in emotional terms, mainly narrating anecdotes and events in which friendship, solidarity and even the risk assumed in some circumstances, have a place. The results suggest that *I learn-we learn/I teach-we teach music* are self-affirmations that simultaneously promote the negotiation of musical identities, providing satisfaction and reinforcing self-esteem among the ex-combatant musicians. As mentioned, the bridging musician is valuable in connecting the ex-combatant musicians with the musical scene. Additionally, the bridging musician is a familiar figure for the ex-combatant musicians, the embodiment of a meaningful metaphor of connection and change with the potential to motivate and enrich experiences of negotiating musical identity (Wood, 2015).
The analysis points to how the musicians’ use of real names, artistic names and guerrilla names or alias are associated with periods of their identity negotiation process in their experiences of conflict transformation. In general, the uses of their names break down these into three dimensions: their guerrilla names usually appear when remembering the past; their real names emerge in talking about their current issues; and their artistic names occur at different moments but always when they refer to musical experiences emotionally significant. However, there are moments when they are indifferent to their guerrilla or artistic names; while mixed self-affirmation using their artistic- and guerrilla names reveals the link between musical and political identities in their narratives.

The poems display their self-images as ex-combatant musicians, revealing a tension between their long trajectories of making music in the movement and the problematic start from scratch on the musical scene. This tension affects their affirmations as professional musicians; the emotional hotspot indicates frustration and an emotional conflict around self-esteem after the Peace Agreement. In this perspective, the negotiation of musical identities varies from one case to another; some utilise their knowledge of musical genre tradition, others try new commercial musical genres connecting with new audiences, but others decline to continue making music.

Based on the poems, their musical identities in terms of “we” reveal three dimensions connected with their identity as FARC musicians. First, their memories of “we” (themselves) as musicians in everyday life during the conflict – as ensemble members, studying and teaching music and enjoying recognition among audiences, companions and commanders. Their companions’ appreciation of their role as musicians in everyday relationships helped to build the ex-combatants’ collective musical identities. A second, “we” recalled making and producing music: singing and rehearsing, playing...
different instruments, learning and caring for the sound equipment, transporting their instruments (sometimes in extreme conditions) and organising cultural hours. The third dimension encompassed their explanations about FARC’s musical initiatives: “we” as FARC musicians following Colombian musical traditions or exploring contemporary musical genres. According to the “I, we and one” poems, their musical identities in terms of "we" are less frequent and diverse since the Accords. Consequently, their musical identities in terms of "I" become central, narrating their current initiatives and expectations of making music.

Their connections reveal a current moment of new relationships in how they negotiate their musical and political identities and their voices' multiplicity, confidence and distrust in multiple actors involved in their experiences of the transformation of the conflict. Family and friends are fundamental bonds expressed in the narratives in two ways – remembering the influence of their families inspiring and supporting them to be musicians; and, during the interviews, appearing in the mention of everyday life activities, attitudes, gestures, and expressions. The plots identify changes in their voices when talking about their current families. On the other hand, their childhood families connect them with indigenous and peasant origins that they value highly. Both identities are relevant in cultural terms but add a significant dimension to their political identities.

Indigenous communities and the peasantry are historical actors in the Colombian internal armed conflict. They frequently use their happiness and pride voice to recall their narratives about their childhood families. Nevertheless, their descriptions portray a background of violence, persecution, forced displacement and extreme poverty, emerging as crucial factors for joining the guerrilla. According to the LGM second readings, the vehemence and authority voice appears as vital in describing their belonging to revolutionary, popular and FARC musical traditions. The voice
communicates a conscious effort to write profound and relevant lyrics as an explicit part of their political identities. This voice underlines their contribution to the movement through their musical activities, alongside political and military responsibilities. The *vehemence and authority* voice is apparent in remembering musical activities during the conflict, arranging, producing, recording, performing, and teaching music. The LGM second readings, the emotional hotspots particularly, display a political identity interwoven with emotionally significant musical experiences.

The connections identified in the narratives reveals a significant link between their musical and political identities and their family early experiences with music and the birthplace of socio-political contexts. The plots and the poems illustrate how enrolling with the guerrilla was a fundamentally political decision and a crucial moment in becoming a musician. The guerrilla itself appears as an extended family in emotional terms, continuing and deepening political and musical experiences that started in their childhood families. Their musical experiences during the conflict are interwoven with the construction of their political identities, creating a solid affirmation as FARC musicians. Although the research does not consider a gender approach, it is relevant to mention how, thanks to the “I, one and we” poems, musical identities rooted in musical genres and traditions are less relevant in the women musicians interviewed than in men. Female musicians are interested in mixing and exploring upbeat and commercial musical genres; on the other hand, male musicians are proud to follow and explicitly respect the musical genre traditions. The plots and the “I, one and we” poems suggest that, despite considering fewer female FARC musicians than men, female musicians had more experience singing and playing for different musical ensembles, projects and musical genres. The needs of FARC’s musical ensembles for feminine voices and performances motivate them to learn and experience more musical styles than men.
Based on the connections, established by the third and four LGM readings, it is clear how their relationship with the guerrilla and the political party is fundamental not only to their political identities, but also in constructing their musical identities. Commanders, bosses and companions usually appear as helpers and supporters. It is crucial to underline the high cost and risk for the guerrilla units undertaking musical productions, the difficulties in buying and transporting musical equipment, and the complexity of the military side of musical activities during the conflict (e.g. rehearsing during military operations). This serious commitment on the part of the guerrilla to promote their music consistently permitted their musical careers to develop within the movement through the years. Manuel Marulanda appears in frequent anecdotes; their narratives underline his human condition and unlimited support for the organisation's musicians. The life stories revealed Marulanda as a father figure more than a historical political and military leader. The stories about Marulanda in pachanguitas (parties), and the detailed description of his final hours, among other mentions, portray a meaningful relationship between them, based on evident elements of the culture of personality but also rooted in valued experiences shared intensively in the everyday life of the guerrilla during the conflict. Paradoxically, the conflict's transformation is the moment that the organisation's policy promoting music disappears; today, the ex-combatant musicians have to assume the challenge of continuing their careers on the professional music scene.

Based on the LGM fourth readings applied to the songs-as-narratives, the enemy’s presence has a remarkable place in the songs written before the Peace Agreement, contrasting with the total absence of the adversaries in the songs written after that. The results indicate that the transformation of conflict promotes a shift to a new identity not defined by the opposition. The new songs reveal the irrelevance of an identity based on us/Them terms. In the songs written after the Accords, the narratives focus on the consequences of the conflict, describing its effects on their personal lives, whether
nostalgically or hopefully. The absence of enemies in their lyrics reveals a profound effect of the transformation of the conflict in their political and musical identities.

The reader's response, the voice and interaction with the interviewer, emerge in due proportion throughout the narratives, based on feelings of empathy and vivid dialogue about their music. The reader's response identifies the researcher's voice in the narrative, usually in emotional terms: surprise and an unconcealed admiration for the tenacity and effort in affirming their careers as musicians in such an adverse context. The reader's response, based on the first and second LGM readings, allows the researcher's emotional voice to be heard among the ex-combatants' emotional voices, configuring a polyphony of emotional voices grouped in the five combinations of basic and complex emotions: happiness and pride, trust and confidence, sadness and nostalgia, vehemence and authority, and anger and disappointment. The reader's response is the interviewer emotional voice in the narrative polyphony; in this case, characterised by surprise, attention and admiration. These emotions are predominant because the interviewer focused on their musical experiences, obtaining a lively dialogue and emotional connections as interviewees' responses.

The fourth LGM reading reveal a deep emotional bond between the musicians and their audiences. The latter are a source of pride and self-esteem, admiring of the performances, for which the musicians are grateful. Their narratives describe audiences being motivated politically but mainly touched emotionally, even in the songs performed for them before the Accords, which are characterised by explicit political content. The ex-combatants' memories of their audiences express joy, trust, solidarity, affection and nostalgia. Their narratives speak of two different kinds of audiences: their companions within the movement and listeners outside the guerrilla, ranging from people living in nearby zones of FARC influence to Colombian society in general. Before the Peace Agreement, the former practically disappeared as a frequent
audience; they mentioned just a few events playing for their ex-combatant companions. The connections reveal an entirely new relationship with their audiences, currently based on the people who enjoy their local gigs and internet-based relationships, attracting enthusiastic or aggressive followers on their social media.

Their *background connections*, a product of the LGM third reading, reveal diverse cities and locations. They offer an extended map of their musical and political identity experiences, built up over the years around the country. Natural sites, jungles, forests, mountains, rivers, rural regions, and municipalities were the places and trajectories associated with political and military activities, and thus part of their political identity. However, those areas were also where they experienced their musical creativity, teaching-learning and exchange activities with other musicians from different regions, influencing their musical identity (Wright, 2015). This finding reveals how their political and musical identities evolved simultaneously during their life as combatants and musicians before the Peace Agreement.

The third and fourth readings show how, after the Accords, their mobility dynamic has been reduced because they settled stably with their families. Equally, their mobility is not significantly motivated by political reasons; they travel for economic purposes, looking for job opportunities in music and other activities. Places where FARC had a historical presence are recalled emotionally, rather than explained in terms of political or military strategic zones. The cities emerge as places to establish themselves and their families since the Peace Agreement, to undertake their musical initiatives and find more frequent job opportunities. The world of work, illustrated by the third and fourth reading, reveals their political and musical identities in simultaneous negotiation through their job experiences. They appear in different roles during the conflict as tailors, nurses, FARC’s musicians and combatants, but nowadays they define themselves as bodyguards, employees, ex-combatants or professional musicians.
The plot and the contextual connections, a result of the fourth LGM reading, reveal extensive and diverse experiences with different musical genres, and recurrent contact with other musicians and musical practices. Music from the Eastern plains, vallenato, Andean string music and reggaeton particularly motivate them; however, the narratives mention an extraordinary number of experiences across diverse musical genres: salsa, pop, rock, rap, bachata, ranchera, corrido, social songs, and chucu-chucu, among others. The contact with different musical genres results from their musical exchange with local musicians in different territories of FARC political and military operations. The musical genre dynamic within the movement confirms the long trajectory of musical traditions within FARC’s music, connecting areas of influence, commanders, musicians and musical ensembles. Jorge Briceño, "El Mono Jojoy", supported the ensemble Rebeldía Oriental (Eastern Rebellion) on the Eastern Front. Manuel Marulanda and Joaquín Gómez promoted Rebeldes del Sur on the Southern Front. Iván Márquez, Solis Almeida, Bertulfo Álvarez and Jesús Santrich supported vallenato singers and ensembles on the Caribbean Front. Timoleón Jiménez, "Timo", helped Jesús Ferrer (Horizonte Fariano) in the Catatumbo region, and Alfonso Cano in the Andean central region supported some musical and cultural projects with indigenous communities organised by Cristian Pérez, a famous FARC songwriter who died in Cauca.

The analysis reveals the ex-combatant musicians’ comprehensive knowledge about FARC’s culture and its musical traditions, allowing them to explain its musical legacy in their own words, its history, and the meaning of its rebel, insurgent, political and social lyrics, the different genres, songwriters, singers and ensembles. The cognitive praxis perspective (Eyerman & Jamison, 1998) and mosaic charts display a web of relationships revealing musical identities in terms of "I", indicating consciousness of their singularities and their unique contribution to FARC music. The background connections illustrate their musical uniqueness resulting from their trajectories as guerrilla members sharing with musicians from different regions; their musical and
political identities were built up during an intense period marching with the guerrilla in diverse rural areas of the country. The analysis illustrates how their unique way of singing, playing or writing songs results from their political experiences. Their political and musical identity was a personal and collective construction framed by the movement’s policies over time.

Based on the *cognitive praxis* perspective (Eyerman & Jamison, 1998), the link between their musical and political identities appears in their different ways of referring to FARC songs as political, social, protest, revolutionary or combat music. This diversity reveals other concepts about FARC music, in political terms. FARC music as political songs appears in the narratives about ideological values and political aims. FARC music as social and protest songs is connected with the influence of recognised songwriters and musicians in Latin America’s protest song tradition. FARC music as revolutionary or combat music emerges in the musicians’ memories about making and sharing music with their companions before the Peace Agreement. However, their new songs do not draw on those political categories. Nowadays, their songs are defined as popular songs belonging to different musical genres, revealing how their musical identities deepen while the negotiation of their political identities changes to a more political self-affirmation. In the songs written before the Peace Agreement, the *self-identity* affirmations reveal clear statements of political identity, such as guerrilla combatants, peasants, and musicians singing on behalf of FARC. The political identities in the songs written after the Accords are inexplicit, expressed in metaphors and subtle visual elements, set locations and objects.

The LGM analysis applied to their songs – one performed by an ensemble, two more as duets and just one by a solo singer – reveal an elaborate musical production effort involving qualified personnel and significant resources. The song-as-narratives first and second LGM readings find no interest in innovation or a break from the conventional
aesthetic of popular music video clips. The recurrent images of the musicians singing and performing in different shots and angles appear in all cases. Additionally, the typical visual treatment based on two basic visual narratives were interwoven: musicians performing, and a parallel dramatic story, were used in two videoclips performed by actors, one based on an elaborate choreography representing the guerrilla and peasant link, and one using press material. Intentionally, the songs and the videoclips communicate belonging and shared identity with popular music aesthetics.

The song-as-narratives LGM analysis reveal the careful musical production process. Their attention to detail is evident, especially in the lyrics, that underline the peasantry’s identity in political terms. The songs written after the Peace Agreement adopt a nostalgic tone; in contrast, those written before the Accords have precise propagandistic functions. The lyrics contain minimal references to music as a topic; only in a few places do words such as “sing”, “play” or “dance” appear. They have a crucial role as leading singers, songwriters and producers, according to the primary role in the visual narrative. Their clothes are relevant, symbolically communicating their belonging to some regions’ cultural traditions. Military uniforms affirm their political identity as FARC musicians in the songs written before the Peace Agreement. In general, the songs are written to be easily heard and remembered by the audiences, maintaining recognisable elements of the musical genre. The songs’ simplicity seems intentional.

The LGM poems as applied to songs, reveal the peasantry as the fundamental subject in the songs studied. Through elaborated choreographies or press images, the songs written before the Accords reinforce a link between the guerrilla and peasantry as a straightforward political identity affirmation. In the songs written after the Agreements, belonging to the peasantry is relevant as an expression of the musicians’ musical
identities based on performances of songs rooted in traditional rural styles. Similarly, in the songs written before the Peace Agreement, political identity relies on the epic role of the people as a political subject and symbol, fighting concretely for their rights. The people are not mentioned in the songs written after that; nevertheless, the ex-combatant musicians appear as popular musicians and as part of the people, thanks to pieces that clearly belong to popular musical genres in musical terms (melody, harmony, rhythm, structure and organology) and as regards visual elements, cultural and religious expressions and ways of singing and dancing. The people appear symbolically or poetically in the new songs.

The LGM analysis applied to the songs written before the Agreement reveal how the musicians' musical identity is central, even predominant. On the contrary, in the songs written after, their political identity is less evident. The focus on the expression of their political identity is displaced by an affirmation of musical identity, based on an emphasis on conventional musical characteristics of the musical genres, images, gestures, body movements and even historical references to traditional musicians. This focus draws attention to their belonging to long-standing musical traditions beyond the movement. Their political identity was subtly expressed through metaphors, memories and poetic figures, connecting to intimate emotions and feelings. Political identity shifted to a more individual and personal experience throughout the transformation of the conflict. On the other hand, in the songs written before the Accords, political identity is explicit and central to the lyrics' message; in general, they are traditional songs performed according to the musical genres' characteristics, *merengue campesino* and *reggaeton* in particular. The LGM readings reveals a change in emphasis between political and musical identities, providing evidence of music as a resource to deal with social and political identity negotiations during a process of transformation of the conflict. The music supports self-identity negotiations, while significant changes occur in their political identities at the personal and collective levels.
In the songs written before the Accords, the LGM analysis applied to the songs-as-narratives, identify the ex-combatants’ combined musical and political identities through singing and dancing, while using uniforms and symbols in the video-clips’ visual narrative. Their dance used military uniforms, overlapping political and musical identities during the performances. When the musicians dance wearing military uniforms, their political and musical identities merge in performative terms.

The fourth LGM reading applied to the songs-as-narratives reveal broader relationships identified in some musical genres characteristics, words, images, symbols or performances, displaying the songs' social, historical, cultural, and political relations. The musical genres are pivotal in connecting the musicians’ pieces with their contexts and with other musicians; *merengue campesino* connects with the peasant world, the Andean popular music tradition and the FARC's origins as a guerrilla in the southern Colombian Andes. The *reggaeton-rap* song manifests a creative use of modern urban popular genres, new to FARC's musical tradition at that moment. *Vallenato* is based on musical characteristics of the *paseo vallenato*, even a traditional peasant *sabanero*-style. Remarkably, the *vallenato* song was written and performed by an Andean ex-combatant. His musical identity was not defined by his belonging to the regions in which *vallenato* originated, but by personal experiences, building a deep emotional bond with the genre and with the influence of FARC's *vallenato* songwriters. The *pasaje* has harmonious variations and arrangements only heard in new musical offerings from the musicians from the eastern Plains; however, the songwriter defines himself as part of a long legacy of FARC musicians from this region.

The third and fourth LGM readings identify a challenge to how the ex-combatants negotiate musical identities, building a new relationship with their audiences, finding a way to balance new musical styles with tradition, past listeners with the new audiences,
and traditional forms of circulation and distribution with the new ones. The most conflictive and adverse situation is the lack of options for financing musical initiatives, and the very low-paid musical activities on the musical scene since the pandemic restrictions.

The analysis of the songs-as-narratives picks up the process of conflict transformation through the ex-combatant musicians' connections identified through the third and fourth readings. Although there are explicit references when the lyrics mention peace or the dialogues, the conflict's transformation generally appears understated. Performing and dancing as traditional musicians without any political symbol, uniform or representation, they experience a substantial effect resulting from the accords, an opening onto the negotiation of their musical identities: they have become professional, popular musicians like any other. The perspective reveals how the conflict has transformed complex socio-economic realities for the ex-combatant musicians in this post-Agreement era.

The mood can be observed through the emotional hotspots, deepen in attitudes and feelings. The LGM readings illustrate how the subjects' musical identities evolved through their experiences of the transformation of the conflict. They feel happiness at continuing to make music and, in one case, visible frustration at being unable to carry on with it. Continuing to make music is a fundamental personal decision, beyond political party support, the number of internet followers or trolls, or the limitations of the musical scene. Since the Accord, they have expressed their musical identities as a personal decision and a clear self-affirmation. Their perseverance in making music nowadays, after innumerable adverse situations throughout their lives, makes them feel proud; it is crucial for their musical identities, persistence is their most valued attribute as musicians. They feel sadness and nostalgia when remembering the music made during the conflict, especially when they remember fallen companions; however, they
also feel hope in, and optimism at, their new musical projects, despite evident difficulties. Noteworthy from a broader perspective is that they feel fear and uncertainty, particularly about their current political and economic situation.

The plots, products of the first LGM reading, disclose a narration of their bodies’ self-images. Initially, they remember their bodies when describing their first experiences as musicians; adjectives such as “little”, “skinny” or “energetic” girls and boys appear. Later their bodies change; although it was indeed a process, they remember concrete moments of such change after enrolling in guerrilla, which were points when they became “brave”, “strong” and “mature”. Their bodies communicate bonds, through gestures and movements, with musical genres (singing and playing), with companions (dancing and performing) and with the guerrilla (representations of marching and shooting). They express their musical and political identities through their bodies. These results reveal embodied musical and political identities.

The analysis of the song-as-narratives show them to be constantly performing. Singing is a continual activity that constructs the songs-as-narratives in musical and visual terms. Singing is a fundamental embodied expression of their musical identity. FARC musicians appear with their ensembles or duos dancing and playing traditional instruments, underlining their belonging to popular musical genres. Singing is a significant performative action of expression of identity. It expresses their political identity in musical terms; they sing the discourse and simultaneously embody their musical identities, materialising their musical self, alongside their political cause.
5.3. Discussion

Concretely, this research has found evidence of the negotiation of the musical identities of FARC musicians, as well as their political identities, as constructed through their music. The findings are based on social and cultural perspectives of musical identities (MacDonald et al., 2017), the music and social movements theoretical framework (Eyerman & Jameson, 1998) and the transformation of conflict approach (Lederach, 2003, 2005). The methodology adopted allows us to observe how musical identities are negotiated as a force for transformative political and cultural changes at the personal and collective levels. The phenomenological perspective, the qualitative methods, the ethnographic approach and the narrative analysis were adequate for undertaking a qualitative study of FARC musicians' narratives: life histories and songs. This study is a significant development of the musical identities field. It goes deeper into the role of music as a means for expressing social identities, regulating behaviours, and communicating values and attitudes, including political identities (MacDonald et al., 2017).

As found at the beginning of this research, the musical identities field enables the functions or use of the FARC musicians' music in personal, collective, cultural and political terms: cognitive, emotional and social (MacDonald et al., 2002, 2012). The social function was determinant in analysing FARC's musicians' identities. Consequently, this research observed the management of interpersonal relationships based on the LGM Reading Three: Listening for the Relationships and the LGM Reading Four: Listening for the Wider Social Structures. The LGM readings of the life histories and the songs-as-narratives reveal the musicians' web of connections with the protagonists mentioned in the plot, shaping their musical and political identities collectively through four different levels: self, family and friends, guerrilla and political party, and background. The results reveal how they negotiate their identities through
musical preferences, options and decisions, defining spaces of belonging or exclusion during the process of conflict transformation.

This study also identified the mood function, confirming its role as a tool for facilitating changes and adaptations, but mainly substantiating their musical and political identities thanks to the polyphony of emotional voices that constitute both identities in their biographies and songs. Although the methodology focused on identifying emotions, they are inherently related to moods; they are two categories that describe mental states in terms that are helpful for this research (Alpert & Rosen, 1990; Feldman Barrett, et. al., 2018; Beedie et. al., 2005). Finally, the self-identity function was identified thanks to the “I, one and we poems”, a result of the LGM Reading Two: Listening for the personal pronoun uses in FARC musicians' life histories. The findings confirm the self-identity affirmations as constitutive, personal aspects of their musical identities and their music-based political expressions. Nevertheless, the active role of interactions and relationships motivates an extended notion of these functions beyond the first person “I”. The poems required the inclusion of "we" as a collectively built self-identity; and "one" as inexplicit but actual expression of self-identity, used at particular narrative moments when a direct self-affirmation was inconvenient because of different conscious or unconscious (apparent or unapparent) factors.

This research found a close interaction between the two critical dimensions of the musical identities field: identities in music (IIM) and music in the identities (MII) among the ex-combatant musicians. The results confirm that their IIM, their roles as songwriters, singers, producers, instrumentalists, music teachers or students, and even their decisions to renounce making music, are inseparable parts of their political identity. On the other hand, they have been musicians while maintaining a political commitment; every musical role assumed has had a place in building personal and collective political projects, their MII. Their music and political identities interact,
transforming each other. The transformation of the conflict represents a radical negotiation of their political identity, with a significant effect on their musical identities, from FARC musicians to musicians who support the Los Comunes party. They made music only for the organisation’s needs; nowadays, they make music in response to different demands – the political party’s musical requirements are one among others.

The research confirms the relevance of social and cultural contexts in MII and IIM dimensions (MacDonald et al., 2002). Additionally, the study’s results demonstrate that their MII and IIM emerged and evolved emotionally, motivated at the individual and collective levels. Both identity dimensions rely on significant experiences, vividly remembered, constructing self-affirmations, bonds, and relationships simultaneously. The results settle the relevance of the social constructionist approach, evidencing how social interactions continuously form and develop the self (MacDonald et al., 2002). This approach allows the ex-combatants' profound and radical identity negotiations to be observed through the transformation of the conflict. Their life stories and songs are narratives in which personhood and intersubjective relationships appear as music, words, social performances and embodied expressions (Elliott & Silverman, 2017).

The contextual connections, identified through the LGM fourth reading, reveal the central role of the musical genre. The musical genres are cultural sites for negotiating the ex-combatants' musical and political identities, interweaving social actions, political ideas and the concept of the group's inclusion or exclusion of individuals and collectives. The musical genre is definitive for belonging to FARC's musical traditions and a broader connection with Colombian music. The results show that musical identity is built according to the traditions of musical genres, their being learned and taught, and, on the other hand, explorations of new ones.
The results also confirm how the political identities of FARC musicians depend on hierarchies, functions, rituals, myths, and culturally constructed stereotypes (Otto et al., 2006). During the conflict, their political identities forged a radical sense of self and community that subsumed quotidian identities (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985; as cited in Bowman, 2014). However, this research found that the quotidian identities were not subsumed entirely by their political identities; their musical identities, among other forms of self-affirmation, established a relationship that interacted with their political identities, adapting reciprocally to each other. The research findings suggest that political and musical identities are not isolated self-affirmations following parallel tracks; both identities are interwoven with each other with other forms of identity: ‘I am a peasant’, ‘I am an indigenous person’, ‘I am a vallenato’, and ‘I am a mother’, etcetera. The interaction between musical and political identities, and other forms of identity, is motivated by emotional events that trigger a rich polyphony of voices, confirming how negotiating their identity is a plural process that transforms them in several different ways at once.

During the conflict, their political identities were based on a diametrical sense of antagonism that justified the military option. However, personal, collective and contextual emerging factors promote alternative ways to live, do politics and make music for themselves, affecting their identities and the entire organisation. The experience of conflict transformation manifested in new identities that eroded the polarised definition of the enemy, as seen in the absence of the explicit adversary in their new songs.

The outcomes suggest a radical transformation of their connections and support networks during the conflict transformation process. Their solid political identity, based on us against them, was untenable because their personal and socio-political reality allowed them concrete expressions of the moral imagination to do politics and make
music beyond the armed conflict (Lederach 2003). The transformation of the conflict renders the hierarchical and vertical relationships of the organisation's military structure flexible, allowing for a dynamic of emerging identities based on groups, sub-groups, creative musical initiatives and restored family relationships. The musical genres were a rich resource for their musical identities, transforming the conflict process, deepening them or openly exploring new ones. The musicians left behind an entire way of life, weapons, symbols and practices in which were rooted their concept of power; notably, their uses of music metamorphosed from songs as statements, denunciations and ideals, to songs as invitations, memories and feelings (Bergh & Sloboda, 2010). After Otto, Thrane and Vandkilde (2006), the transformation of self-perception and the concept of power, are at the heart of a radical change from combatant to ex-combatant identities: power as dominance by force shifts to power as persuasion.

The results verify the relevance of the dialectical integration of the three approaches to the phenomenological perspective of violence: operational, cognitive and experiential (Schmidt & Schröder, 2001). The study allows establishing the operational approach showing the musical experiences in a violent context as part of human everyday life situations, rational decisions and adapted to sociocultural and material conditions. The cognitive approach sees violence as culturally constructed, consequently, this study identifies music as part of the guerrilla sociocultural construction representing cultural values at a discursive and practical level. The experiential approach is fundamental for this research because of the central role of the narratives, observing the role of music in subjective and individual experiences framed by a violent context. The LGM analysis allows a holistic interpretation of the negotiation of ex-combatant musicians’ musical and political identities. From the socio-political conditions to cultural factors and their individual experience, the LGM provide an analytical framework and a comprehensive explanation, an effective methodological solution for this dialectical integration. The results evidence the shift of the *moral idiom* that legitimised the armed conflict.
(Ferguson, 1990, as cited in Schmidt & Schröder, 2001) thanks to the *moral imagination* (Lederach, 2003). The symbolic dimension of violence is based on discourses; nevertheless, the ex-combatant musicians’ narratives contained a transformation in their *cultural grammar*, questioning the motivational framework of the conflict through their songs.

The LGM analysis of the songs-as-narratives found that, in their narratives, the legitimacy of violence suffered a crisis; framed by the transformation of the conflict process, the acceptable use of force was displaced through lyrics and musical performances, a shift in their musical identities that influenced their political identities. Following Schmidt and Schröder (2001), violence is legitimised by traditions and practices that render it an acceptable response to conflict and confrontation, the legitimacy of violence recreates ideas of the past and behaviour models appealing to feelings that exalt social, political or cultural differentiation, promoting traditions of confrontation. However, the results reveal how the ex-combatant musicians mobilise through lyrics and musical performances, a crisis in the *legitimacy of violence*. They use their belonging to *musical traditions* against the *tradition of confrontation*; this opposition of *traditions* enabled self-affirmations based on a cultural memory beyond the conflict, a search for a new political identity supported by their musical identities rooted in the Colombian popular music legacy. The “I, one, and we poems” illustrate how violence is no longer legitimate for the ex-combatant musicians; they question the confrontational tradition through their songs creatively.

The negotiation of their musical identities promotes a new cultural model that defines their actions beyond violence. The previous cultural model that legitimised the violence required *codes of legitimation* that aligned the guerrilla’s interests with moral imperatives (Schmidt & Schröder, 2001). Nevertheless, the analysis allows us to observe a transformation of the *historicity code* within the movement itself and even at
a biographical level. The *imaginaries of violence* emphasise a particular *historicity of confrontation* through representational strategies: *narratives, performances* and *inscriptions* (Schmidt & Schröder, 2001). The ex-combatant musicians, supported by guerrilla commanders in a new socio-political reality, promote an alternative version of the movement, displacing the *imaginaries of violence* with a new imaginary that emphasises the search for peace as the historical movement's aim. *Narratives* change from the memory of past violence, to not justifying violent acts but fighting to attain peace. *Performances*, as public and ritualised representations that stage the confrontation and enact images of violence, change to musical performances that recover the roots of popular music practices and contexts. *Inscriptions*, as a representational strategy of violent imaginaries embedding cultural, communicative elements during the conflict, shift to a new representation of the political party and the absence of symbols, emblems and images of the military past.

The plots of the ex-combatants' songs reveal a structural transformation of the guerrilla's *imaginaries of violence* in each of its five characteristics. First, the polarised structure – *us against them* – with minimal ambiguity or none at all, disappears in the songs written after the Peace Agreement. Second, the principle of totality in every action, confrontation as a defensive-aggressive situation, vanishes vis-à-vis a more complex and personal description of emotionally conflictive conditions in everyday life. Third, the moral superiority of *our cause* is replaced by an ethic based on human reactions and attitudes. Fourth, the description of the post-war scenario as a total (zero-sum) victory or a complete defeat, in which the winning group eliminates the losing one physically or politically, disappears into a context in which difficulties and oppositions are a substantial part of life. The changes in their narratives, performances and inscriptions reveal a positive crisis in the code of historicity, through the dynamics of the negotiation of their musical identities, leading to the unviability of violence in the movement's new political identity.
Meanwhile, the mobilisation of tradition perspective (Eyerman & Jamison, 1998) identified in the narratives, confirm that the social movements promoted cultural transformations, allowing new meanings for particular musical genres to emerge (Eyerman & Jamison, 1998). For decades, FARC musicians developed their musical traditions within the movement: valleynato, music from the eastern Plains, Andean string music, rap and tropical music. The FARC's musical traditions had suitable exponents, significant discographies, continuity in learning and teaching, and a consistent production-circulation-consumption chain. FARC's musical traditions – sounds, performances, evoking images and symbols – support the FARC's structures of feeling, a central aspect of cultural formation (Williams, 1977; as cited in Eyerman & Jamison, 1998), legitimising a range of social forces and historical processes. The LGM analysis reveal that the songs reconstitute the structures of feelings, of musicians and of the movement, aligning the negotiation of their musical and political identities with the process of conflict transformation. The reconstituting of the structures of feelings is noticeable through their emotional voices, narrative hesitations and managing the inevitable tension with commercial expressions of the musical genres (Eyerman & Jamison, 1998).

The result establishes that social movements are spaces for producing culture; their political dynamic expands cultural actions that create new meanings that are necessary for a collective identity. FARC's culture and music were generated by everyday creative interactions among their members and communities and through concrete cultural policy actions; the cultural hour was the most crucial cultural policy instrument. From the exemplary action perspective (Eyerman & Jamison, 1998), the narratives show how their songs reconstitute political and cultural dimensions simultaneously, providing a political context for cultural expressions and cultural resources for political aims (Eyerman & Jamison, 1998). The “I, one and we poems” illustrate how FARC conceived new relations between music and politics through a collective learning
process (Eyerman & Jamison, 1998). This cognitive approach focuses on constructing ideas among social movements and articulating a collective identity. Primarily through teaching-learning music experiences, FARC’s musicians invent and reinvent the structures of feeling that provide cohesion to new social formations through the transformation of the conflict, promoting a politicisation of knowledge (Williams, 1977 as cited in Eyerman & Jamison, 1998), in this case a politicisation of musical knowledge.

The evidence provided by their bodies’ gestures and movements, recorded by the plots in the first LGM reading, reveals how the musicians embody traditions through rituals and performances that empower and create collective identity in an emotional and discursive sense (Eyerman & Jamison, 1998). Changes in FARC musicians’ social (political) and cultural (musical) identities drive them to embrace the transformation of the conflict, an interaction between dynamic actors, in which their examination of the contextual changes suggests responses for deactivating factors of violence (Lederach, 2003). The first and second LGM readings allows for presenting situation explanation. The change of patterns and history (Lederach, 2003) is evident in their narratives about their description of the current situation at personal and collective levels. The first reading, the plot specifically, display their solutions, relationships and supporting systems (Lederach, 2003) in their narratives about initiatives, expectations, hopes and concerns vis-à-vis their personal and professional future. The second LGM reading shape the dynamic of their political, social, cultural, relational and personal expectations, initiatives, hopes and fears during the process of the transformation of the conflict. The results confirmed the presence of conflict-transformation model components at a subjective level, and proved how the narratives are pertinent in identifying and analysing them.
The LGM third and fourth readings confirm that, in the ex-combatants' experiences, the transformation of the conflict highlights the creative changes generated by the conflict dynamics and the relationships that make them possible (Lederach, 2003). The ex-combatant musicians' narratives, life stories and songs reveal how they embrace a new horizon of political and musical expectations. They are assuming a conscious decision to put their previous political and musical identities in crisis; their identities are in a constructive conflict. This identity conflict is a dynamic interweaving of different relationships, transforming individual, collective, cultural and social realities that produce positive or negative responses and deactivate or activate factors of violence (Lederach, 2003); in this case, to disengage with the violence continuum.

The results, and in particular the future horizon perspective, identified in their narratives, confirm that identity resides in the narratives of how individuals or collectives define themselves (Lederach, 2003), including the expression of non-verbal narratives: emotions, feelings and body gestures and movements, relevant to a comprehensive perspective of how an identity crisis develops. Identity crisis belongs to the process of conflict transformation, a reinvention of the narratives, which requires 'moral imagination' to create a constructive dynamic (Lederach, 2005). The LGM analysis evidence the conscious effort of ex-combatant musicians to overcome the cycles of violence in their everyday reality creatively.

After Lederach (2005), the results reveal that they mobilise the moral imagination in four capacities: first, the possibility of imagining a web of relationships that includes enemies is evident in their new connection with their political context and in the disappearance of the explicit enemy in their songs written after the Peace Agreement. Second, to hold in a paradoxical tension curiosity and complexity that erode the basis of dualistic polarities – their connections reveal a complicated world of new interactions and interpretations of reality. Third, to promote creative acts in different fields of
society, evident in their *future horizon* perspective and their "I, one, and we poems", which describe their political and musical projects as lying between hopes and fears.

Fourth, to accept the inherent risk in advancing towards unknown scenarios beyond violence, something that is clear in their statements about their trust and affirmation in the peace process, despite severe adversities.
5.4. Limitations

The methodology offers a complete and comprehensive analysis of the ex-combatants' narratives, life stories and songs. The emphasis on non-verbal expressions and contextual elements enriches the study of life histories, providing essential data for delving deeper into musical and political identities. The methodology as applied to the songs offers the observation and integration of lyrics and performative, emotional and symbolic elements pertinent to researching musical and political identities. However, it presents restrictions when the analysis requires identifying essential musical elements associated with formal melodic, rhythmical, harmonious, structural or expressive features or characteristics. The LGM analysis focuses on the musicians' experiences in negotiating their musical and political identities. Following the comprehensive application of the LGM analysis to the songs-as-narratives, it is clear that aspects related to basic musical elements were not salient or prominent.

Nevertheless, further research could explore the complementarity between the LGM analysis and certain musicological methodologies, as applied to popular music. In preliminary terms, the methodology has coincidences with particular popular music analyses (Machin, 2010; Moore, 2001, 2003, 2007, 2012; Bracket, 2000) that include contextual, visual and lyrical content as part of the analysis necessary for delving into music as socially constructed phenomena, captured in Simon Frith's contributions (1999, 2001, 2004, 2007, 2014). However, the LGM analysis applied in analyses of some musical features are a possibility (Rink, 1995, 2002). This exploration has enormous potential in terms of songs-as-narratives, because the LGM could add an additional layer to the consistent reading exercises focused on the development of music and sound elements. As events in the song-as-narratives, they may be identified and analysed comprehensively amid the other readings. The LGM analysis provides rich data for deeper exploration of the psychological terrain of ex-combatant musicians. This information may potentially suppose psychological conditions, even a profile
diagnosis. However, this research was clear that it sought to analyse musical and political identity dynamics, without looking to find any psychological condition in the ex-combatant musicians.

The finding of long musical traditions in FARC's music, promoted by musicians, and influencing and inspiring them at the same time over the decades, may be exceptional among the identity-building processes of ex-combatant musicians, as well as, members of other Colombian irregular armed forces or groups. Further research is necessary to identify similarities and differences between how FARC ex-combatants negotiate their musical identities and how other ex-combatant musicians from other irregular forces in Colombia do the same.
5.5. Recommendations

Studying ex-FARC combatants' musical and political identities, as expressed through their music, permits an understanding of their individual and collective realities beyond their discourse, involving ways of identifying their emotional voices that express their hopes and concerns. The emotional dimension is central to their songs, in which they perform and embody their musical and political identities. This fundamental finding has practical consequences. Institutional actions to support sociocultural aspects of their reintegration should consider initiatives to produce and distribute their music, whether or not it contains political content. Their new songs, free of explicit political content, are significant for reinforcing their self-determination and autonomy, their self-esteem, the bonds with their companions, and their connections with new audiences; as can be observed in Norther Ireland case particularly (Bailie, 2020; Pruitt, 2011; Odena & Scharf, 2022).

Designing policies aimed at effective sociocultural interventions after peace processes should focus on the cultural implications of the transformation of the conflict and support initiatives for a creative transformation process, based on musicians and artists who experienced the armed conflict as protagonists. The songs open up a narrative about the transformation of the conflict for ex-combatant musicians and society in general. As narratives, they allow a humane perspective on the experiences; the ex-combatants' songs about everyday issues are essential to this issue.

In this context, the present research contributes thinking at different levels. The development of Colombian society depends on successfully implementing processes related to de-escalating the internal armed conflict. These processes have sociocultural aspects that are indispensable to properly reintegrating ex-combatants into civilian life, in which music has a substantial role. The study of FARC ex-combatants' musical identities, and the political identities expressed through their music, contribute to
understanding their individual and collective realities, producing valuable new 
knowledge for improving these institutional actions to support sociocultural aspects of 
their reintegration and enhance the design of such policies, particularly contributing to 
the Colombian government’s Total Peace initiative. Moreover, the field of musical 
identities is increasingly interested in undertaking empirical research in communities to 
deepen understanding of the ties between musical identities and sociocultural, political 
and economic contexts. This proposal will contribute to that aim, focusing on musical 
identities in post-conflict situations and analysing political identities through musical 
practices in those contexts.

The ex-combatant musicians use their musical identity negotiation as practicality. 
During the transformation of the conflict process, musical and political identities support 
each other using for that their emotional competence or emotional capital, their 
different uses of "I", "one" and "we", their personal relationships and their connections 
with broader socioeconomic, political and cultural structures. Although further research 
is necessary to explore whether these findings are general or specific, it is plausible 
that they can be pertinent to interventions and initiatives in the sociocultural dimension 
of other armed conflicts. It is necessary to explore the possible contribution of this 
study to the Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) developments of 
the United Nations, particularly the Integrated Disarmament, Demobilisation and 
Reintegration Standards (IDDRS) framework in its levels focused on reintegration and 
populations: women, gender, children, youth and cross-border populations, in which 
sociocultural practices and identities negotiations must be considered significantly.
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Appendixes

Appendix A
Life History Questionnaires

First interview. Musical biography
Basic information
What is your name?
How old are you?
Where were you born?
Where were you grew up?
Where do you live?
What is your education level?

Initial musical experience
Was the music relevant in your childhood and adolescence?
Do you remember what did you feel when you heard the music in your childhood and adolescence?
Do you remember a crucial moment in which you decide to be a musician?
When do you decide to be (singer or instruments)? Why?
Why did you start to write your music?
How did you start to write your music?
What did you feel doing your firsts musical creativity experiences?
Do you remember your first concert? Do you remember something significant about it?

Music learning experiences
When and how do you start to learn music?
What did you feel learning music?
Do you study or practise your music regularly?
If yes, could you describe how do you study and practising music?

Music creation and production
What do you consider the main inspiration to keep you creative as a musician?
How do you create and produce your music?
What do you feel when you are creating and producing your music?

The role of music and usefulness (instrumental reasoning)
In what aspects create and produce your music is necessary for you?

FARC songs as exemplary actions. Cosmological dimension, mobilisation of tradition and structure of feelings.

In what musical genre do you write your songs?
Why do you choose that musical genre?
Do you consider your songs as part of the musical genre tradition?
Do you follow some popular musicians or musical traditions in particular?
Do you like experiment changes and introduce new ideas in the musical genre?
What aspects of your music do you consider that should not change in the musical genre’s tradition?
What is your opinion about the commercial and popular expressions of your musical genre?
What do you feel when you are writing a song in the musical genre?

Cooperation relationships and social and cultural links
In your opinion, how your musical genre listeners accept and value your music?
Do you feel an emotional contact with them?
What people help you to share or distribute your music?
What is the importance of these people in the sharing or distributing of your music?

Relevant musical characteristics
In your opinion, what are the most remarkable features of your music?
How could you describe your melodies?
How could you describe your use of chords and harmonies?
How do you decide the instruments necessaries for your ensemble?
What characteristics of your music are more significant to express your emotions and feelings?
Political discourses and lyrics
How do you write your songs?
What are the most important topics in your lyrics?
What is the importance of your political ideas in your lyrics?
If yes, why do you decide to include your political ideas in your music?
If any, how do you describe the political message of your songs?
Are you interested in some specific political issues as environmental sustainability, gender equality, childhood and youth rights, among others?
If yes, why? Have you written songs about those issues?
If any, what is the role of change notion in your songs?
If any, what is the role of struggle notion in your songs?
If any, what is the role of hope notion in your songs?
What feelings do you experience when you are writing your lyrics?
Do you feel an especial pride for a particular song or songs that you had written?
If yes, which songs? Why?
Do you feel some regret for the content that you wrote in any particular songs that you wrote?
If yes, which songs? Why?

Emotional and expressive dimension
Before the Peace Agreement, do you remember a significant moment in which you decide going on as musician despite difficulties and adverse conditions?
After the Peace Agreement, do you remember a significant moment in which you decide going on as a musician?
What kind of emotions are involved when you write your songs?
What do you feel composing and arranging your music with your colleagues?
What kind of emotions do you expect to share with the audience?
Could you choose a couple of your songs that you consider especially relevant for you personally? Why?

Collective and individual identities
Do you consider yourself a musician?
If yes, how do you experience your decision to be a musician?
Do you think that your music identifies yourself with a musical tradition? Why?
If yes, how do you experience your belonging to a musical tradition?
Do you think that your music identifies yourself with your political ideas? Why?
If yes, how do you experience the communication of your political ideas through the music?
Do you think that your music identifies your listeners with their community?
What do you expect that the audiences feel when they hear your political message through the music?
Do you develop other musical activity such as musical production, ensemble direction, sound engineering, management and etcetera?
If yes, do you consider yourself musical producer, ensemble director, sound engineer, manager or etcetera?

Music teaching experiences
Have you had musical teaching experiences?
If yes, could you describe your music teaching experiences?
Are your political ideas important in your teaching experiences?
What do you feel teaching music?

Moments and places of musical performance (fiesta)
In which social occasions do you perform your music usually?
Where do you perform your music, usually?
What do you feel when you perform your music in parties and celebrations?

Musicians’ perception of audiences' responses in musical performances (fiesta)
In your knowledge, what is the audience’s response to your music in fiestas and celebrations?

Musical performance production
Do you practice and rehearsal your music?
If yes, how do you practice and rehearsal your music?
How do you organise your rehearsals?
Do you have an ensemble?
If yes, do you enjoy being part of an ensemble?
Musical groups or ensembles performances
How do you gather and organise your musical ensemble for your performances?
Are the political aspects relevant when you decide to gather your musical ensemble?
Have the musical and political aspects the same relevance when you gather your ensemble?

Repertoire criteria
What criteria do you use to choosing your setlist songs?
Are the political aspects relevant for your setlist songs decision?

Political aims of performance and circulation
How do you distribute your music?
Do you have political objectives when you are thinking about sharing and distributing your music?

Audience’s profiles perception
How could you describe your listeners and followers?

Musicians’ perception of their music and usefulness in audiences (instrumental reasoning)
In what aspects do you think your music is necessary for your audience?

Other audiences’ feedback
Do you remember meaningful emotional responses or feedback to your music from your audience?

World of work
Are you working as a musician currently?
Do you gain an income for your musical activities?
What do you consider is the main problem to develop your career as a musician?
Will you aspire to work and receive an income for your musical activities in the future?
Do you have interpersonal relationships that help you to develop your music professionally?
What problems do you find to expand and strength those interpersonal relationships?
What are your future expectations as a musician?
How do you experience your professional situation as a musician currently?

Second interview. Music and social movement relationship

Contextual information
When and how do you joint to the movement?
Why do you decide to be part of the movement?
Do you consider yourself as a movement´s musician? Why?
What is your definition of FARC music?
What is your definition of FARC culture?
What is the role of the music in the FARC culture?
What is the role of your music in the FARC culture?
Do you consider your music as an expression of the FARC culture?
What is the role of FARC´s music in the Colombian musical culture?

Cooperation relationships and social links
What people in the movement help you to create and record your music?
What is the importance of these people in the creation and production of your music?

Political discourses and lyrics
In your opinion, what is the importance of your political ideas (lyrics) for the social movement?

Place of own music in FARC musical tradition
In your opinion, what is the relevance of your music for the social movement?
Do you follow some musicians or musical traditions of the FARC music?
Do you admire some FARC musicians? Why?
Do you critic some FARC musicians? Why?
In your opinion, what are the insurgent songs?
Did you write insurgent songs?
Do you write insurgent songs currently?
What are the similarities and differences between the insurgent songs and the protest songs?
Emotional and expressive dimension

Do you compose and arrange your music only with movement´s colleges?
If yes, what do you feel composing and arranging your music with your colleagues?
What kind of emotions do you expect to stir up in your companions?
Do you remember your first concert in the movement? Do you remember something significant about it?
What kind of emotions do you expect to stir up in the audiences?
Could you choose a couple of your songs that you consider especially important for the movement? Why?

Collective and individual identities

Do you think that your music identifies yourself with the movement´s political ideas?
Do you think that your music identifies your listeners with their community?
Do you think that your music identifies your listeners with the social movement?
In which aspects do you think that your experience in the social movement makes your music different from other musicians?

Technological dimension and using of technologies

How do you sharing or distributing your music?
What kind of resources or technologies do you use for sharing or distributing your music?

Cooperation relationships and social and cultural links

How many people help you to share or distribute your music?
What is the importance of these people sharing or distributing your music?
Are they part of the movement?

Moments and places of musical performance (fiesta)

In which occasions do you perform your music usually for the movement?
What is the importance of your music in the social movement´s fiestas and celebrations?
What do you feel when you perform your music in the social movement´s parties and celebrations?
Musical groups or ensembles performances

Is it the belonging to the movement a relevant criterion to choose the people for your ensemble?

Repertoire criteria

Are the social movement principles and values relevant for doing your setlist song?

Political aims of performance and circulation

Are the social movement’s objectives relevant for sharing and distributing your music?

Musicians’ perception of audiences’ political engagement

Do you think that your music has a role in your audience’s politic conscience and commitment? Why?

Musicians’ perception of lyrics emotional effect

Do you think that your music spurs emotionally the audience’s politic conscience and engagement? Why?

Musicians’ perception of their music and usefulness in audiences (instrumental reasoning)

In your opinion, in what aspects is your music necessary for your social movement?

Musicians’ perception of audiences’ responses in musical performances (fiesta)

In your opinion, what is the audience’s emotional response to your music in fiestas and celebrations?

Could you describe it?

What are the emotional responses of your audience to your music in the social movement’s fiestas and celebrations?

Musicians’ perception of audiences’ responses in musical performances (fiesta)

What are the reactions of your audience to your music in the social movement’s fiestas and celebrations?
Third interview. Role of the music in the transformation of the conflict.

Contextual information

How do you describe your socioeconomic situation currently?
What is your opinion about it? What do you feel about it?

How do you describe your social movement’s current situation?
What is your opinion about it? What do you feel about it?

Music creation and production

Before the Peace Agreement, how do you decide which songs record, play or perform?
After the Peace Agreement, how do you decide which songs record, play or perform?

How did you create and produce your music before the peace agreement?
How do you create and produce your music currently?
How do you expect to create and produce your music in the future?

Political discourses and lyrics

After the peace agreement, do you identify changes in the political aspects of your music?
If yes, what kind of changes can you identify?

How do you get or aspire to get political engagement from your audiences?

In your opinion, do you think that your music has a role in the peace-building process? Why?

Place of own music in FARC musical tradition

In your opinion, what are the most significant changes in the insurgent songs since the Peace Agreement?

Emotional and expressive dimension

After the Peace Agreement, do you remember a particularly happy and joyful moment playing your music?

Before the Peace Agreement, do you remember a particularly happy and joyful moment playing your music?

After the Peace Agreement, do you remember a particularly sad or nostalgic moment playing your music?

Before the Peace Agreement, do you remember a particularly sad or nostalgic moment playing your music?
Do you identify changes in the emotional aspects of your music after the Peace Agreement?

Do you remember your first concert before the Peace Agreement? Do you remember something significant about it?

What kind of emotions do you expect to stir up in your audience nowadays?

Could you choose a couple of your songs that you consider especially relevant for the peace-building process? Why?

Technological dimension and using of technologies

How did you get your instruments and equipment? How did you care for them and give them maintenance?

How do you get your instruments and equipment currently? How do you care for them and give them maintenance?

What relevance has the technology for sharing and distributing your music before the Peace Agreement?

What relevance have the technology of sharing and distributing your music after the Peace Agreement?

What relevance has the technology to contacting your audiences before the Peace Agreement?

What relevance have the technology to contacting your audiences after the Peace Agreement?

Organisational dimension, performative expression, ritual and liminal experiences

Before the Peace Agreement, what memories do you have of your musical performances?

What were the most emotional moments?

In your perspective, how your audience participated and enjoyed your performances?

Before the Peace Agreement, how did your companions help you to organise your performances?

How your companions and friends help you to organise your performances currently?

How do you describe your performances, currently?

What means for you keeping active as a musician?

In your opinion, what means for the social movement your musical performances?

Do you think that the emotions and feelings that you experienced performing your music have changed?

In your perspective, how your audience participate and enjoy your performances currently?
Musical performance production
How did you practice and rehearsal your music currently?
What are the most significant problems to rehearsal and practise your music currently?
How do you experience your musical practice and your rehearsals currently?

Moments and places of musical performance (fiesta)
Do you describe the music in social movement´s fiestas before the Peace Agreement?
How is the music in the social movement fiestas currently?
Did your music have a role in the fiestas?
Does your music have a role in the fiestas currently?
After the peace agreement, what aspects are different from your musical performance in the movement parties and celebrations?
What aspects have not changed?
After the peace agreement, what did you feel when you perform your music in parties and celebrations?
Before the peace agreement, how do you experience your musical performance in parties and celebrations?

Musicians´ perception of changes in the audiences
Do you think that your listeners and followers have changed after the Peace Agreement?
If any, what are the most significant changes that you perceived in your audiences?

Musicians´ perception of their music and usefulness in audiences (instrumental reasoning)
In what aspects is your music is pertinent for your community?
In what aspects is your music is pertinent for the transformation of the conflict process?