RHYTHMISING IDENTITY: MUSIC THERAPY AND ADOLESCENT IDENTITY USING AFRO-PUERTO RICAN "LA BOMBA"

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Abstract

This paper proposes a community music therapy intervention model in which the Afro-descendant musical genre of bomba is used as a tool to measure and contribute to the development of identity during adolescence. By integrating bomba into the music therapy session, the aim is to improve the adolescent's vision of him/herself. This therapy model proposes to impact a home for young women, victims of violence and abuse between the ages of 12 and 18, living in government custody. Using music corresponding to a specific cultural context is expected to address aspects of identity covering cognitive, social, emotional, physiological and musical areas.

This proposal is also intended to generate interest in music therapists for the study of all musical genres developed in Puerto Rico, which allows them to gain alternative and additional musical resources to serve different communities in the country. In addition, this session model opens a space for Music Therapy to continue exploring and studying the relevance of the use of folk music in community music therapy in our current historical context.

Keywords: community music therapy, bomba puertorriqueña, self-concept, folk music, adolescence.

BACKGROUND

Music and Identity

Music is a universal means of expression, which, since ancient times, has allowed for the verbal and nonverbal communication of individuals and between groups of people. It is a language created by human beings as a result of their activity of a mental and social nature, so it can be thought through and used to express and explore one's own identity (Lawendowski & Bieleninik, 2017). It facilitates social interactions and allows human beings to adapt to their environment from the sensory, cognitive, physical and creative aspects (Benedito, 2010). The qualities of music allow specific characteristics such as tone, volume, tempo, instrumentation and harmony to influence behaviour and evoke reactions in the individual. It is also a language that provides tools to access one's "being" and find meaning and purpose in life (Echard, 2019).

Identity is composed of the characteristics that distinguish the individual from others and his or her sense of purpose. In it, we find the skills, interests, personal history, personality and identity in society (as part of a family, cultural group, or workplace). This set of elements allows them to define themselves in the eyes of others and themselves (Echard, 2019). It involves understanding all those aspects

that influence the human being's vision of himself in an intrapersonal and interpersonal way: how he sees himself and how others or the community in which he is situated see him (Amir, 2011).

La bomba: Musical expression of the Afro-Caribbean-Puerto Rican context
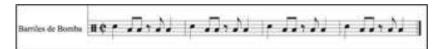
Bomba is a set of musical rhythms of Afro-descendant origin composed of certain elements that are worked in a musical and communitarian way, such as musical performance, chants and dance. In addition to being a musical genre, it is a space that, since the 16th century, has been used to liberate, manifest and create community as an escape from the colonial repression to which thousands of black people, coming from Africa, enslaved in the Caribbean, were subjected (Rivera et al., 2019). It is an artistic expression resulting from the intercultural flow between the Central African Congo and Afro-Caribbean populations in Puerto Rico (Taylor, 2019).

This set of rhythms is composed of five fundamental elements that carry out its execution: community, instruments, dance, songs, and rhythms. The bomba brings together in its expression a song that is repeated in response to a story that is sung; barrels or bomba drums, the barrel primo that has the function of establishing a rhythmic dialogue with a person who dances in the centre of a space surrounded by the people who are present at this meeting; the maraca and the "cuás" (two wooden sticks that are struck on a surface) that mark the rhythm. This set of elements comes together in what is called a "batey", a name belonging to the Puerto Rican Taino culture, an aboriginal tribe of the area, which means ceremonial meeting place. This configuration has been learned through practice and collective exercise, in which they repeat a configuration for which there is no logical explanation.

There is a great variety of rhythms and variations of these. Each rhythm comes from a different region of Puerto Rico, so it will have particular characteristics in its percussive accents and tempos. This work will focus on the "sicá" rhythm, one of the develop rhythms of the region of San Mateo de Cangrejos, currently known as Santurce, located in the capital city of San Juan, on the north coast of Puerto Rico. Figure 1 musically demonstrates how this rhythm is played.

Figure 1

Sicá rhythm in the pump barrel.

Source: Own elaboration.

Like all music coming from the oral tradition, it suffers a transformation in its manifestation but maintains its validity and is extrapolated to the whole island of the Caribbean archipelago. Proposing the integration of a set of rhythms in a context in which the cultural identity of its individuals has been in constant clash and search given its historical context, cultural components such as music become a common language that connects them communally. That is why the presence of bomba in the culture of the Puerto Rican people links the social and individual need to position themselves in a space that is in constant discovery and to find a means of expression that connects them with their own culture.

It allows for human well-being and understanding in the community. This duality of the bomba presents us with that intrinsic and inherited musical desire for an inner quest that works and acts for personal healing as well as musical development (Taylor, 2019).

In this case, the Afro-Puerto Rican folkloric music of the bomba will be proposed as a resource for music therapy sessions since it presents and offers, from its historical context, a space in which music and identity converge. The quality of adaptation to the times is what makes bomba a viable tool for use in a therapeutic context in which the adolescent population is the protagonist. In the field interviews conducted by Taylor (2019), she captured the description of this bomba event as a trance, where both the voice and the rhythms become constant cycles. The rhythm of the instruments forms a steady base, and the choruses repeat over and over again. Your interviewee compared it directly to "gospel" singing, where trance is experienced due to the repetition, which in turn invites those present to participate. Indeed, in the Puerto Rican context, the rumbling of drums and songs and the dynamics of the movement itself evoke different reactions and feelings in all people, regardless of age. The interviewee, Caridad, in Taylor's article (2019), shares that children and young people have expressed that their participation in the bomba, either in dancing, singing or playing an instrument, makes them think and remember their brother who was killed.

The bomba allows them to remember their past in order to continue their present, to which the interviewee comments that each rhythm presents a particular mood or purpose and that memory plays an important role in the healing process. "For them, bomba functions as therapy because they are able to remember a painful past in order to move forward." (Taylor, 2019) The bomba experience for those who live it is a space in which, without the need for scientific interpretation, they experience the daily life of different people through the cycle of life (Lauzon, 2017). This is possible because the practice of the bomb is an event that has been learned and repeated from generation to generation orally, which makes this expression one of everyday life.

This is why, from the field of music therapy, this musical genre and expression is viable for addressing the identity aspect in adolescents.

An intervention model is proposed with a musical genre that, from its beginnings, has been a space for the search for well-being. Being called ancestral music, it is an experience that is complex to describe verbally since it represents a lived baggage that cannot necessarily be understood rationally. The bomba meets the characteristics associated with the concept of "musicking", a word coined by Brynjulf Stige (Stige, 2002) to describe the music therapy session and process as an experience that is lived while it is being carried out.

This Puerto Rican musical genre, given its historical and cultural development, offers a space through therapy for the specialist to attend to the physical and emotional wellbeing of the participants, the expression of their individuality, to meet the personal achievement of being able to play the instruments, to provide the opportunity for musical writing techniques and the experience of social and community involvement in the environment of the young women.

Adolescents, identity and music therapy

Adolescence is a term that describes the developmental stage between childhood and adulthood. The World Health Organization defines it as:

> "Adolescence is the phase of life from childhood to adulthood, or from 10 to 19 years of age. It represents a unique stage of human development and an important time for laying the foundation for good health." (World Health Organization, n.d.).

Adolescence is a period in which several drastic changes occur that eventually lead to the child's maturity. During adolescence, various changes are experienced at the biological, psychological, social and cognitive levels (Gaete, 2015), aspects that, as a whole, aim to define individual identity.

The changes that the child undergoes to become a young person are gradual, and as described by Erikson, cited by Ives (2014), each one is influenced by external psychosocial factors such as the community, historical aspects, learning models, the developmental period itself and the dynamics of the conflict. These factors, together with the stages of adolescent development, make up this identity-creation process.

It is in adolescence when the search for what gives reason and meaning to their lives takes on greater importance as they begin to discover their role in the world and begin to build their own "being" (Echard, 2019). This constantly evolving process requires tools that allow them to identify their human needs and that drive them to seek new experiences. These changes in adolescent development require the music therapist to rely on the search for the aspects that bring meaning to their lives, bring them joy and help them reaffirm their sense of "being" (Echard, 2019). Therefore, the function of music therapy, in addition to encompassing the development of skills through music, needs to delve into the search for the individual meaning of each participant or patient.

Music influences the way adolescents think and act, so it exerts a great weight on the way they understand their environment (Benedito, 2010), which is why music therapy serves as a tool for adolescents. The purpose of music therapy lies in the creation of community since it is desired that participants think of different ways in which the musical tools learned and worked on can be adapted to their daily lives (McIntyre, 2022). Music therapy is also used with adolescents to reduce the impact of dysfunctional behaviours. This is why Benedito (2010) mentions that positive aspects are worked on in the affective-emotional, communication, social, cognitive, and physiological areas.

The structure of music is what allows the therapeutic environment to provide structure to the patients' own experiences, stimulating their self-discovery. Lawendowsi et al. (2016) mention that music accompanies the process of self-realization and building self-confidence. To exemplify this, he offers as an example the method of improvisation, which allows people with challenges in verbal communication to find a way to do so without the need for words. In addition, making music in a group setting is presented

as an opportunity to get to know the participants, to recognize one's own and others' abilities, and to create community.

An example of a group setting for music therapy with adolescents is the "Coffee House" (Mitchell, 2021), a performative community music therapy project and event created and established in Ontario, Canada, which functions as an example of this practice. In it, the verbalization of the narratives of each young person and each member of the youth centre's work team was worked on through their participation in the event that involved everyone's participation. This event represented a space for them to present their identities and nurture their immediate community with an honest view of who they were. These youth were patients at a treatment centre for mental health patients/open custody unit for adolescents sentenced by the criminal justice system.

The music therapist at the centre, through the program mentioned above, worked on musical presentation as a method for the youth to feel capable and whole through music, and that this, in turn, would achieve a change in their musical identity, their self-concept of life, and would provide them with tools to engage in new social and community relationships and interactions (Mitchell, 2021). Through this activity, new perspectives were forged in relation to the young people and towards the work team of the centre since they witnessed through the presentations qualities such as courage, a sense of humour, new possibilities of relating, and vulnerability, allowing for an expansion of personal and musical identity in a collective way (Mitchell, 2021).

Music therapy is a dynamic process that allows patients to be active participants in their search for well-being and self-understanding (Wiess & Bensimon, 2019). That is why the construction of this music therapy design presents and proposes the use of the instruments and community dynamics of the bomba to address the development of identity in young women in the adolescent stage through this therapy design presented below.

INTERVENTION PROPOSAL

Presentation of the proposal

The development of this intervention model suggests two fields to be studied in depth in music therapy: the use of traditional music in the Caribbean region and the study of the influence that the sociocultural context has on the development of identity in adolescents. This design presents a pilot therapy program to be implemented primarily in foster homes for children and adolescents belonging to the Department of the Family program in Puerto Rico. It provides the opportunity to confirm, on a larger scale, how the use of instruments, rhythms and activities related to Puerto Rican cultural identity impact music therapy. In addition, it presents the need to create music-therapeutic care strategies to serve this population of youth who experience violence and physical removal from their foster homes.

Globally, this session model opens a space for Music Therapy to continue to explore and study the relevance of using folk music in community music therapy. Given that the processes of immigration worldwide are driven by political, economic, and social changes, the field of music therapy needs to take a closer look at the music of cultures outside the major world powers. As music therapists, we have the task of connecting with different realities accompanied by music that speaks of the present and the ancestral that every human being possesses; the sound seeks to connect with what human beings do not know how to verbalize, but we feel and express through music.

Participants

The beneficiaries of the music therapy sessions will be girls and young women between the ages of 11 and 18 (the age of majority in Puerto Rico). These young women reside at Hogar Fatima, a permanent/provisional home associated with the Administration of Families and Children of the Puerto Rico Department of the Family, with shelter capacity for thirty-four girls. The girls and young women living in this home are mostly victims of abuse, neglect, or survivors of violence in Puerto Rico (Hispanic Heritage Council of Western New York, Inc., 2018).

The Home is composed of a group of girls and young women who are constantly changing, so it is approximate that fourteen young women participate. The home is divided into two housing modules since, depending on the situations that may occur in the girls' daily coexistence, the group of girls is divided between the two modules, thus forming two groups.

The girls live with their caretakers, who are in charge of ensuring their safety, cleanliness, behaviour and compliance with the duties of each of the girls. Each caregiver works an 8-hour shift, during which time they are in constant contact with the girls, and there is one caregiver per module.

Resources

It is important to have resources that consider the space, the personnel to work with and the musical materials in order to carry out the therapy sessions.

- Therapy space: It is recommended that the therapy room be a large room with ventilation and away from external noise. It should have approximately 15 chairs for the use of the girls in the home and the music therapist. There should be at least one table where the instruments and materials to be used for the music therapy sessions can be placed. A storage room will be requested in which the instruments can be stored since they are large and heavy, and there are many of them. The storage room should have controlled access since the instruments will be in the custody of the music therapist and are not the property of the home, and this will be required to preserve the instruments.

  There is also the space and possibility that some of the sessions can be held outdoors; for this purpose, the chairs and instruments will be taken to a specific outdoor space where the music therapy session will take place. For this, it is important to consider the amount of outside noise that can become a distractor to the therapy and the weather conditions.

- Material resources: As detailed in Table 1, among the instruments to be used, it will be necessary to acquire at least one instrument of national creation, such as the pump barrel.

- Personnel resources: The primary requirement for staff to work in the girls' home is that the professional intervening must be a woman (female gender or femme corps), and there must be a caregiver/companion of the girls per session.

Table 1

Visual reference of instruments for the sessions.

Source: Own elaboration.

Therapeutic objectives

1. To promote self-concept and identity building through the use of instruments and songs belonging to the Puerto Rican bomba.

2. To promote individual emotional and creative expression in a freeway.

3. Identify and share the emotions generated by the execution and/or interpretation of songs and instruments.

4. To stimulate the motor skills of young girls through the execution of various instruments, promoting movement and coordination.

5. To promote solidarity and teamwork.

6. Establish verbal and non-verbal communication with the music therapist and the young participants through songs, improvisations and rhythm

Procedure

The therapy proposal consists of eight therapeutic sessions of one hour each. These sessions will last two months and one day, starting on Saturday, January 27 and ending on Saturday, March 16, 2024.

The therapy sessions will be consistent, occurring once a week on Saturdays from 10 to 11 a.m. The approximate total number of youth residing in the home who will be impacted by the sessions is fifteen.

The intervention model to be used in the sessions will take into account the seven phases of a Music Therapy session, according to Mateos Hernández (2004). Each activity that will be developed in the therapies will have the goal of fulfilling the therapeutic objectives that support the identity work proposed in this project.

The design of the sessions will have the following phases, as shown in Table 2: greeting and welcome, motivation for the session, the central phase in which various interventions will be developed, the phase of symbolization and verbalization after the activity, and the farewell phase.

The central phase will include interventions aimed at conscious body activation, perceptual development and the relationship with the other. Table 3 presents each of the interventions (activities) designed and explains their therapeutic usefulness based on the objectives established in the project.

For the creation of the interventions, music therapy methods were considered, such as songwriting, improvisation techniques based on Nordoff Robbins, active music creation techniques, and the Orff method, which uses voice, body, and dance.

The set of sessions will integrate the elements of bomba, which are people or community, instruments, rhythms, song or story and dance.

These will be presented in a staggered and cumulative manner since the bomba itself requires each of these functions to manifest itself. We will begin by introducing the instruments and integrating one of the basic rhythms, which is the sicá; then, we will introduce a song of collective creation and, finally, the bomba dance. It is carried out in this way because while simultaneously working on the development of the identity and self-concept of the girls, during the therapy session, musical skills are also developed, which require repetition in order to be learned.

Table 2

Primary phases of the session explained.

Phases	Purpose
Greetings and welcome	Acknowledge each participant's presence in the session and validate her mood and feelings prior to the therapy session.
Motivation for the session	Conduct an introduction to the topic or topics proposed to be worked on during the session.
Central phase	Phase in which different interventions (activities) that lead the purpose of the session are carried out.
Symbolization	Space to process the interventions made, to close the activities and for the participants to express their experiences, feelings and questions that arose during the session.
Farewell	Phase in which the therapy session is closed.

Source: Own elaboration.

Below is a sample of a conscious body activation phase intervention to be performed during the first session:

How does the maraca sound?

Intervention is divided into two parts:

- This activity begins by asking the question, "How does the maraca sound?" in a recited and rhythmic way. In the beginning, the girls are expected to shake the maraca freely, as they wish. Then they are guided on how to do it, which will be as follows: start by asking, "How does the maraca sound?" and respond by saying "chiqui-chá, chiqui-chá" while shaking the maraca in the same rhythm. Figure 1 shows how the activity will be carried out musically.

The dynamic of the activity will be repeated three to four times, with the tempo and volume gradually increasing. After these repetitions, the facilitator will give two young people the opportunity to lead the dynamic, encouraging their active participation.

Figure 2

How does the maraca sound?

Source: Own elaboration.

The therapeutic objective of this intervention is to understand the individual and collective pulse, thus stimulating group consciousness. In addition to stimulating rhythmic creativity and individual expression, the girls are expected to react to volume and tempo dynamics, imitate, propose musical ideas and maintain a collective pulse.

The bomba resource, which serves as a cultural and musical link, will be used to work on the inner look at the adolescent "I" of the young girls. This comes about as a result of the benefits that music therapy and bomba share: both stimulate social integration and interpersonal communication, allow the expression of emotions verbally and non-verbally, and strengthen the recognition of the "self" in which adolescent girls can identify their value as an individual and in the group. By creating songs, playing instruments, singing and dancing, the girls will be open to exploring different skills and recognising their strengths and inclinations.

It is of interest that each intervention allows them to explore and understand the individual and community identities of their environment (the group, caregivers and music therapist) so that it results in a strengthening of their self-concept.

Evaluation methods

To evaluate the effectiveness and development of the sessions and participants, the following evaluation methods will be used:

- Initial pre-assessment: This consists of a visit to the home, where the director and social worker will meet. The physical, emotional, psychosocial and spiritual needs of the girls will be discussed, as well as a background on the girls and the operation of the home.

- Initial and post-assessment: These assessments will be conducted on the starting day and the final day of the sessions. It will consist of a quantitative assessment using the SCIM or "Self-Concept and Identity Measure" questionnaire (Kaufman et al., 2015). This questionnaire uses 27 items that assess baseline aspects of identity, such as consolidated identity, identity deprivation and identity disorder. In order to use this assessment model, the questionnaire would need to be adapted to the Spanish language and the Puerto Rican context.

- Self-assessment questionnaire: This simple document asks the girls three questions to measure the impact of music therapy on their self-concept after each session. This questionnaire is adaptable to meet any ne

Table 3

Interventions (activities) per therapy session.

Session	Intervention	Therapeutic usefulness
1	Hot maraca	Create a safe environment in which they can feel confident and secure that they will be listened to and respected. The aim is to establish non-verbal communication among the group, stimulate eye contact and teamwork. Stimulate looking at their own individualities: "who are they in that space?"
	How does the maraca sound?	Understanding the individual and collective pulse, thus stimulating group awareness. Stimulate the creativity of movement and its individual expression.
2	Pump rhythms and instruments	To stimulate the development of instrumental and rhythmic musical vocabulary. Stimulate individual and collective thinking and questioning.
	Maraca and cuas	Working on the internal pulse, rhythmic memory and acquiring body awareness.
	Improvising melodies	Stimulate the individual participation of each young person and the creation of improvised melodies. Validate the musical proposals of each young person using repetition (the MT and other young people will repeat the proposed melodies). Recognize the ability to perform more than one musical activity at a time (for example: playing an instrument and singing).
3	Follow the color of the bell	Motivate curiosity and discover the excitement of using a new instrument. To learn and recognize a melody aurally.
	"Fire in Bucaná".	It is desired to work the internal pulse, the rhythmic memory, to acquire corporal conscience and of its voice. To promote social integration.
4	Drum circle	That the girls feel confident that their free expression will be respected and listened to. Validate their emotions and recognize their individuality.
	Sicá in the barrel	To work on the young girls' musical memory, develop motor coordination and concentration skills.
5	"I am..."	Recognize personal value and validate one's own "being" characteristics.
	"I am... you are"	Validate and respect the contributions of each individual in the group and recognize the value of the other.
	"Songwriting": "Así somos".	Stimulate creativity and collective creation.
6	Piqueteando	To promote body activation and enhance the skills and motor coordination and memory of young girls.
7	My pump was formed	To develop leadership, validate the importance of the individuality of each of the young women and foster the capacity for group work and support.
	Recapitulation of past interventions.	Stimulate musical and temporal memory. Encourage group work and leadership.
8	Recapitulation of most of the interventions.	To give closure to the session and satisfaction after a work and discovery carried out during a total of eight therapies.

Source: Own elaboration.

ed for reasonable accommodation for any young woman who presents any diagnosis of functional diversity or difficulty in reading and writing.

- Observation sheet per session: At the end of each session, a series of data will be collected that corresponds to the therapeutic approach to be used with the girls. This will contribute to the quantitative and qualitative evaluation of the impact of the therapies on the emotional, cognitive, musical, psychosocial and physical areas of the participants.

RESULTS

The results of the possible effectiveness of the sessions and hypothesis testing will be evaluated both quantitatively and qualitatively.

Quantitative evaluation

Self-Concept and Identity Measure" or SCIM

The Self-Concept and Identity Measure (SCIM) developed by Kaufman, Cundiff and Crowell (2015) will be used as a basis. This questionnaire consists of 27 items, which is completed by the patient or participant himself/herself and allows for the identification of identity consolidation and identity disturbance. The questionnaire evaluates base aspects of identity such as self-concept and its role in the environment, the consistency of the individual with respect to his or her interests, the value that the individual has about himself or herself, the recognition of his or her individuality and feeling a whole human being (Kaufman et al., 2015). The SCIM divides its questionnaire into three identity factors that, according to Kaufman (2015), represent the "functional construct of identity"; these are: consolidated identity, lack of identity and identity disorder. These factors are described as follows:

- Consolidated identity comprises different items that capture the consistency of individual values, beliefs, and self-concept.

- Lack of identity: comprises items that capture feelings of emptiness and lack of self-awareness.

- Identity Disorder comprises items that capture inconsistency in belief in one's own values and dependence on others to develop one's own identity.

Kaufman et al. (2015) indicate that the response range is from 1 to 7, with one being "strongly disagree" and seven being "strongly agree". The highest total of the sum of all the premises will represent that there is an identity disorder (Kaufman et al., 2015).

To use this intervention model, the questionnaire would need to be adapted to the Spanish language and the Puerto Rican context.

Qualitative evaluation

- Questionnaire for girls and young women per session.

A second evaluation document will consist of a questionnaire presenting three simple questions, with space for answers, which will be handed out at the end of each session. This document serves as a direct evaluative reference to measure the impact of music therapy on the self-esteem of each girl or young woman after the session. The questions will be placed in 2 formats: question and answer and question and answer. This survey will be used as a kind of reasonable accommodation for girls or young women who present some diagnosis of functional diversity or difficulty in reading and writing, such as intellectual disability or motor disability. The second assessment will only have a simple response question that can be written in one word, or the child or young woman can draw a picture.

- Sign-in sheets per session

At the end of each music therapy session, a series of data will be collected that correspond to the music therapy approach for young women: the development of identity, with special attention to self-esteem and self-concept. This will contribute to a quantitative and qualitative evaluation of the impact of the music therapy therapies on the socio-emotional, cognitive, musical and physical areas of the participants. These will be measured from 1 to 4, with 1 = Never, 2 = Seldom, 3 = Almost always and 4 = Always. The data and observations collected in the record sheets will be contrasted with the results of the evaluation with the SCIM questionnaire that will be given to the young women during the visit prior to the sessions and post-sessions.

CONCLUSIONS

Although currently only a proposal, the music therapy design presented complies with the general objective of implementing the bomba tool to address cognitive, social, emotional, physiological and musical identity. The proposal presents traditional Puerto Rican music and instruments as a primary basis in all sessions, demonstrating at all times the use of the

bomba instruments individually and in an integrated (joint) way.

The designed sessions present different techniques that favour the good and healthy development of self-concept in girls. Activities that validate the expression of emotions are exemplified, for example, in the phases of symbolization in which questions are asked that require the self-reflection of each girl. The "songwriting" technique is used for the creation of a joint song in which the verses will be created by the young women, which will allow a space for them to narrate their reality. It is also intended to encourage the forging of personal identities that can expand the perspectives of themselves and their environment.

The role of the bomba as an inspirational tool for the creation of this intervention proposal is intended so that the lyrics of their songs, both those learned and those created, can represent and capture the thoughts and stories that affect the emotions of the adolescents. These will be exemplified through the melodic and harmonic structure that music offers and the sound dynamics it presents. The group environment will facilitate the integration and sense of individual belonging in the environment of these young girls; as a consequence, music will lead the way to help them establish new relationships with who they are in this stage of growth and the integration of their identities to the social environment.

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MUSIC GENERATES IDENTITY

MUSIC THERAPY MAKES IT EASIER TO ASSUME IT