MUSIC AND LEADERSHIP AMONG ADOLESCENTS

IN SALVADOR DA BAHIA, BRAZIL

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Arnie Daniel Schoenberg

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The Undersigned Faculty Committee Approves the

Thesis of Arnie Daniel Schoenberg:

Music and Leadership among Adolescents in Salvador da Bahia, Brazil

_____________________________________________
Philip J. Greenfeld, Chair
Department of Anthropology

_____________________________________________
Edward O. Henry
Department of Anthropology

_____________________________________________
Paul M. Sneed
Department of Spanish and Portuguese Languages and Literature

Oct. 31, 2005
Approval Date
DEDICATION

Pra Cynthia
ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Music and Leadership among Adolescents
in Salvador da Bahia, Brazil
by
Arnie Daniel Schoenberg
Master of Arts in Anthropology
San Diego State University, 2005

Using participant-observation in small percussion groups in Salvador da Bahia, Brazil, I examined how adolescents develop leadership skills through music. I compared leadership in band rehearsals to administrative meetings with a sample non-governmental organization that uses music to improve the lives of young African descendants. I focused my observations on communication and problem solving in both rehearsals and meetings. My findings suggest that music contributes to the leadership development of adolescents through the music per se and through its social context. The social context for leadership development includes what I define as the racial-musical-educational project in Salvador and other recreational activities. Music contributes to leadership development by providing a communal experience in which adolescents can efficiently rehearse negotiations of power in a ludic setting that mitigates personal conflicts.
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In this thesis I examine how adolescents develop leadership through music in the city of Salvador, in the state of Bahia, Brazil. I used participant-observation of small percussion groups in a sample non-governmental organization (NGO) that uses music to improve the lives of young African descendants. I compared band rehearsals to administrative meetings and grouped my observations of leadership into communication and problem solving. I find that music contributes to leadership development through both the musical experience \textit{per se}, and the social context. I describe most of the social context as a racial-musical-educational project in Salvador, and other recreational activities. Music \textit{per se} develops leadership by forcing adolescents to renegotiate social roles, by promoting the development of increased attentiveness, and by inspiring motivation through shared escapism. Music contributes to leadership development by providing a communal experience where adolescents can efficiently rehearse negotiations of power in a ludic setting that mitigates personal conflicts.

I find that adolescents in Salvador who play music in a group develop leadership skills such as: being able to switch leadership styles depending on the situation, team leadership, increased attentiveness, consensus decision making, judicious use of disruptive behavior, breaking problems down into pieces, and perseverance. My findings are consistent with previous studies that find a wide variety of leadership skills are associated with adolescents playing music in a group (Corso 2003; McCarthy et al. 2004; Robinson 2003:73; Rothlisberger 1995; White 1998).

This thesis has academic and political uses. Academically, this ethnography contributes to the intersections of adolescence, music, and leadership in Salvador. Politically, public support for music programs for young people depends on communicating the social benefits of music (McCarthy et al. 2004). I find that music is well situated to develop leadership among adolescents in Salvador because of a combination of factors: (1) it has a strong symbolic connection to African identity, (2) it has a high concentration of social interactions, (3) it is a recreational activity that is compatible with youth culture and provides a setting for ludic activity, and (4) it emphasizes consensus decision making and non-
violence. For other cultures where these factors are also applicable, the social benefit of leadership development can be marketed to policy makers to defend the allocation of resources to music programs for young people.

In Chapter 1, I introduce leadership, adolescence, music, the cultural context of Salvador, and their intersections within this study, while reviewing a sample of relevant academic sources. The background introduces the historical, political, racial, and musical context of Salvador. Then I provide a brief statement of the problems and questions that I hope to answer, a purpose for this study, and definitions of some of the terms I use (also included in the glossary, Appendix A). I continue with a literature review of leadership and how it relates to music and adolescence, and then review a sample of sources on Salvador, structured as a racial-musical-educational project that promotes leadership development.

In Chapter 2, I describe the design of the investigation, the population and sample, the fieldwork, and discuss some of the limitations I had.

In Chapters 3 to 5, I present the findings of the sample NGO being studied. Chapter 3 focuses on musical leadership, categorizing and discussing examples of patterns of communication and musical problem solving. Chapter 4 focuses on administrative leadership, categorizing and discussing examples of patterns of communication and problem solving during meetings. Chapter 5 discusses the broader cultural context of the rehearsals and meetings.

In Chapter 6, I broadly discuss my findings, evaluate the hypotheses in terms of the data presented, include recommendations for future research, and conclude.

**BACKGROUND**

Brazil is the fifth largest country in the world with the eighth largest economy. It is the largest country in South America in both area (8.5 million square kilometers) and population (over 180 million). It has a relatively low population density and immense natural resources, which should imply a high standard of living and minimal social problems, but old hierarchies exist which marginalize the majority of the population.

Class is the most salient division: the wealthiest 10% of the population take home about US$2,000 per month, whereas the poorest 50% of the population make about US$100 a month (Buarque 2004a). The origins of this disparity have roots in the long and continuing
history of foreign extraction of domestic resources, which began with European colonialism and continues with the privatization of public resources. The culture of corruption that Brazil faces today is a result of this history, symbolized in the common caricature of political leaders as people in suits who board planes with trunks full of money on their way to Portugal or Switzerland.

Regional divisions in Brazil were formed by waves of immigration that took advantage of various economic booms. *Bahia* means "bay," and was named after the largest natural harbor in the Northeast. By the 1600s, it was lined with fertile sugar plantations, which traded through the port of São Salvador. Bahia is the largest state in the Northeast, and Salvador was once the capital of Brazil before it was eclipsed by more modern cities to the south: the industrial capital is São Paulo, the governmental capital is Brasilia, and the cultural capital is Rio de Janeiro.

Not all immigration was voluntary. Brazil is *not* a racial democracy. For half of its history, the Brazilian economy depended on slavery, and discrimination is obvious today in employment, housing, and education. Racism in Brazil is not as simplistic as in the United States. The Portuguese form of colonialism was more tolerant of miscegenation. Agriculture was especially dependent on slavery and the social relations on the plantation—the relation between the master's house and the adjacent slaves' quarters—helped define Brazilian culture (Freyre 2004). Also, important were the *quilombos*, communities of escaped slaves such as the Nation of Palmares, ruled by Zumbi in the late 1600's. Brazil doesn't have a one-drop rule, so the boundary between white and black is more fluid and set several shades darker than in Europe and North America.

Out of a population of over three million in Salvador, around four-fifths are black (Lima Alves 2003). As whites moved to wealthier suburbs, blacks inherited the decaying historical center and financed much of its restoration through music. Salvador continues to expand in urban sprawl. The NGO that I studied was based in a neighborhood where much of the land had been formed in the last hundred years by residents who built shantytowns on piers along the bay, and gradually displaced the water with trash and dirt. Over time they built larger homes, and fought for potable water, power, sewage, roads, schools, jobs, and the other rights entitled by citizenship (Santos 2005).
As in the history of the United States, the strongest institutions of African culture were religious. Although four-fifths of Brazilians call themselves Catholic, Salvador is dominated by public expressions of African religion, of which Candomblé is the most prevalent. Candomblé continues to be repressed as devil worship by many Christians, and open Candomblé practitioners are in the minority. But syncretism has a long history in Salvador. The separation between religious and secular practice is not as clearly defined as going to church on Sunday. Candomblé influences almost all aspects of Bahian culture. Percussion (Figure 1), song, and dance are integral parts of the religious experience of Candomblé. One of the important religious practices of Candomblé is based on the transmission of Axé: the magical life force. The religious intensity of Axé bleeds into the secular percussion and dance of Salvador. Adolescents in Salvador use drumming to negotiate religious affiliation and spiritual exploration.

The marginalized youth of Bahia are often forced to improvise their own recreation. They make soccer balls from rags or paper. They make their own paper and stick kites. They draw patterns in the dirt to play marble games. Musically, many young people are impressed by the spectacles they see during carnaval, and recreate them on a smaller scale by playing improvised drums made from recycled materials, usually empty cans or plastic barrels, in what are called bandas de lata (tin-can bands). The organization of the bands is very decentralized, and the music is simplified compared to the groups they imitate, but it becomes a passion for many adolescents, and they may spend over eight hours a day playing in these bandas de lata.

The hierarchies of class, race, and age were solidified in the two decades of direct military dictatorship from 1964 to the mid-1980s. During that time music was especially politicized, as most popular musicians opposed the dictatorship, publicly and through metaphorical song lyrics (Veloso 2002). Halfway through the dictatorship, black political movements also increased the use of music in their struggle towards racial justice. Adolescents who play in bandas de lata add these racial connotations to the general marginalization of youth, and are situated in political struggles that range from dodging tomatoes thrown by neighbors who can’t hear their soap operas over the din of the drums, to performing in international anti-racist demonstrations.
But music is also just a leisure activity, the most popular leisure activity for adolescents in Brazil, slightly more than television (Zagury 2003), and in Bahia music is probably even more important than in many other parts of the country. There are tens of thousands of musicians performing in various styles and groups including: European art music, military marching music, street vendors, bar bands, church choirs, capoeira (a
dance/martial art), et cetera. Percussion dominates, especially in relation to dance. Salvador is renowned as a center of world percussion, and is the host city for the annual World Percussion Panorama (Risério et al. 2004).

Salvador is fairly integrated into the world economy of music production and distribution. Every small commercial center has at least one music store, and street vendors sell pirated CDs and DVDs. Middle-class adolescents line-up in shopping malls to buy tickets for large stadium concerts of popular music.

The Brazilian carnaval is the largest music and dance ritual in the world. It is concurrent with the Catholic Lenten Carnival, but the religious significance is eclipsed by the magnitude of the party. Major preparations begin six months in advance. Carnival is a primary venue for the expression of African music in Brazil and a racially contested space. Many consider the carnaval in Salvador to be the largest popular carnaval in the world, with over a million people partying in the streets.

Carnival entries are called blocos, and the ones with primarily members of African descent are called blocos afro. There is a long history of racial segregation in carnival. Black participation in carnaval was traditionally limited to walking behind the parade. Before the blocos afro, performance was limited to the afoxês, the Rio de Janeiro style samba schools, and the blocos do indios. An afoxê is a group of drummers and dancers who are involved in carnaval and syncretic religious ceremonies such as the Washing of the Church of Bomfim. Filhos de Gandhy is the most famous afoxê (Figure 2). In the 1950s blacks were permitted in carnaval as blocos do indios, and had to dress as North American Indians. Both the afoxês and the blocos do indios were revitalized because of the growth of the blocos afro.

Blocos afro are currently the largest performing groups of music and dance in the Northeast. Each bloco afro may parade with over three thousand costumed dancers, and at the core is a group of over a hundred synchronized drummers. Ilê Aiyé was the first bloco afro. It formed in 1974 as a direct response to racism in the carnaval, and promoted the re-Africanization of the entire carnaval. Ilê Aiyé inspired a social movement, and members left to form their own blocos afro. Olodum has had the most commercial success of any bloco afro, touring and performing with international artists. Timbalada, was formed by Carlinhos Brown whose aesthetics might be considered postmodernist because of the way he constantly quotes traditional music while inventing new styles.
All blocos afro explicitly claim more than a recreational purpose and they work to improve the social conditions of their communities. They are active politically in opposing racism and increasing the self esteem of African descendants. Most of the blocos afro have separate music schools and performing groups for youth, which are associated with the social development goals of the organization and also train performers for the adult groups. The blocos afro form partnerships with government programs, community schools, and NGOs. Ilê Aiyê is based in the black neighborhood of Liberdade. They have several schools and partnerships with NGOs. Olodum is based in the newly revitalized Pelourinho neighborhood. Their school is called the Olodum Creative School (ECO). Ara Ketu, another famous bloco afro, has a school for adolescents in the neighborhood of Periperi, where it was founded. Timbalada is based in the neighborhood of Candeal, where its founder, Carlinhos Brown, helped form several youth blocos, such as Lactomia, and a formal music school, Pracatum, which has a new site, equipment, and a rigorous program of musical and general education (Figure 3).

The blocos afro often form partnerships with NGOs to provide their constituents with political advocacy, education, health care, legal advice, and other social services inadequately provided by the government. Often the NGO will create their own creative art
programs to provide adolescents with socially constructive leisure activities such as: music, dance, capoeira, theater, visual arts, and poetry. Youth music groups can take many forms such as: European art-music ensembles, bands, small blocos, choirs. The NGO often works in partnership with a formal music school or bloco afro. The NGO usually provides the rehearsal space and the instruments, and the music school or bloco provides the instruction.

The creative arts are used both as hook to get adolescents into the programs where they can be provided social services, and as an end in itself. Testimonies abound on how art programs keep adolescents off the streets and away from drugs and crime. For the marginalized youth of Salvador, finding leisure activities can be a political struggle in itself.

There is a saying that in Salvador everyone is a musician. Many musicians will move in age groups through the following stages. Most children have some experience playing in a banda de lata. Around adolescence, a few might go on to play in a school band, be accepted into the youth group of a bloco afro, or an NGO. Some may play in a church band or choir, or begin the initiation into Candomblé. By the late teens some might play in small amplified bands in their neighborhood, playing popular styles such as: pagode, axé music, reggae, MPB, forró, or rock. Opportunities for professional musicians are severely limited. Only a handful will achieve stardom. A small few will work as music teachers. Avocationally, many adults will play informally at parties, and seasonally in large blocos afro for carnaval. Many
will transition into being volunteers in the same NGO, and some go on to form their own NGOs.

**STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

Does music develop leadership? Are the leadership skills used in music associated with general leadership skills that can be applied to other situations such as administrative meetings? What other cultural aspects are associated with general leadership skills? How does music develop leadership? How much is the musical experience *per se* responsible for leadership development, and how much is it the extra-musical, cultural factors associated with music?

My thesis is that music contributes to the development of leadership in adolescents in Salvador. To prove this kind of causal thesis I would first need to show associations between music and leadership. Then, I would need to evaluate all other causes for the development of leadership. Then, I would need to provide a plausible explanation for how music might develop leadership. However, even among adolescents who spend over half the day playing or listening to music, the complexity of culture makes it difficult to evaluate all other causes for the development of leadership. Even with my supposedly independent variable, music, I run into problems of whether it is the musical experience itself that is causing leadership, or just that the music functioning as a symbol for other cultural factors, such as racial identity. I conclude that music contributes to leadership based on the strong associations between specific leadership skills used in music and administration; the relative importance of music compared to other causal factors (such as school, soccer, capoeira, and other social activities); and the plausible explanations for how music might develop leadership.

**PURPOSE**

In 1947 the anthropologist Ruth Landes asked why the people of Salvador waste so much time with music:

> Why, I thought pettishly, don't they throw all this energy into work? Why don't they move faster in health and social programs? Why does so much of it go into fun and god-imaginations? Why? Well, I answered myself, one reason naturally was that they were not instructed in these other saner pursuits. Another was that they were very, very poor, very, very little educated. And another was that they found something real in the janeiras [holiday celebrations], deep personal satisfactions they could discover nowhere else.
> [Landes 1994:67]
Her answers have been thoroughly contested by the social movements of the blocos afro, who demonstrate that music is more than the last recourse for personal satisfaction of the uneducated poor who lack social hygiene. People in Salvador are poor, undereducated, and lacking sufficient health care, but they throw their energy into music as a way to promote education and to develop the leadership skills necessary to overcome poverty and organize social programs.

The question of whether music leadership skills are transferable might seem so obvious that it doesn't warrant study, except that this common knowledge is so often contradicted by public policy. In Salvador (and around the world) most educational programs mandate the development of leadership and leadership traits such as problem solving and critical thinking, yet government support for musical education continues to decline. Though I only address public policy tangentially, I hope this thesis will add to studies on the social benefits of musical education.

Public policy aside, even if the main hypothesis seems to be a tautology, this ethnography contributes to the intersections of adolescence, music, and leadership in Salvador. It also extends previous ethnomusicology studies in the area through the detailed categorization of the social dynamics of small music rehearsals.

**DEFINITION OF TERMS**

I reserved the meaning of *to play* for music, and used *ludic* to refer to fooling around, goofing around, and other kinds of repetitive, non-productive, simulacra of adult behavior that adolescents prefer. Leisure time and recreational activities, such as music and sports, often provide a setting for these ludic behaviors.

The San Diego State University Institutional Review Board approved my fieldwork on the condition that I protect the confidentiality of my informants. In order to more easily distinguish band names from nicknames of informants, I capitalized the *The* of all the pseudonyms of bands that I observed, and left true band names in Portuguese. I used "the neighborhood" and "the NGO" instead of pseudonyms.

Race is a dominant cultural attribute in Salvador. Over the years the Brazilian census has included hundreds of shifting racial terms. Though the terms are not scientific, racial categories have historical significance. Most terms refer to skin color, but are loaded with
class, region, political struggles, and other connotations. A popular term in academia is *Afro-descendants*, which acknowledges the history of the African diaspora. In this study I will default to the term *black*, which is the best translation of the most common racial term used in song lyrics and daily conversation at the NGO. Mixed-race terms such as *mestiço* or *mulato* were very rarely used at the NGO. The term *black* can still be pejorative depending on its use, but most musicians are part of a movement to reclaim the word as a term of empowerment and unity.

Terms such as *childhood* (Ennew and Plateau 2005) and *adolescence* (Hanawalt 1992) are somewhat arbitrary, but most of my informants were between 12 and 18 years old, and so I generally refer to them as *adolescents*.

**Music**

The following section introduces the instruments and structure of the music played by blocos afro, while presenting my operational definitions of common terms and a few specific musical styles played in Salvador (also included in the glossary, Appendix A).

**INSTRUMENTS**

Many of the decisions made by the adolescents described in Chapter 3 and 5 refer to the instruments shown in Figure 4. The photos are idealized, as most of the actual instruments I observed showed the wear and tear of many years of use. Many were handmade from recycled materials. Often repique or caixa parts were played on oil drums. Surdo parts might be played on plastic barrels. The separation of instruments into highs and surdos was based on a clear division in pitch, and the division was present in the call and response form of many musical changes.

**STRUCTURE**

A *hit* is when a drum stick or a hand strikes a drum. *Beats* are regular units of time, which could be understood as where you would put your foot down if marching or dancing to the music. A *part* is the sequence of hits played by an individual usually repeated after one, two, four, or eight beats. The amount of time it takes most of the parts to cycle is called a *measure*, and there are usually four beats to a measure. *Rhythm* is the capacity to constantly and consistently measure small increments of time, and make minute adjustments in
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voice</th>
<th>Highs</th>
<th>Surdos</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>singing,</td>
<td>hand drums: Djembe/Atabaque/Timbal; bowl and cylinder/barrel/conical shape. Wood with</td>
<td>Deep and wide metal shell with two plastic heads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>directing,</td>
<td>natural or plastic heads. Usually played with both hands. Lower volume meant more</td>
<td>Marcação: played with two padded mallets; plays more complicated parts and occasional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;front man,&quot;</td>
<td>isolation. More technically difficult to play. More prestige. More African symbolism.</td>
<td>adornments; technique may mimic other large drum styles: zabumba, alfaia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ascribed</td>
<td>Parts were often solos.</td>
<td>Fundo: played with one padded mallet; usually plays a simple repetitive part.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leadership</td>
<td>Repique, also called repinique: metal shell, two plastic heads, high pitch; usually played</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>role</td>
<td>with two sticks; often the lead instrument, some adornments. Ascribed leadership role.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Caixa, also called Tarol: shallow metal shell, two plastic heads, high pitch, resonating</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wire or strings vibrate against one head (a snare drum); played with two sticks; plays</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>repetitive parts, few adornments</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Efeitos: Extra percussion; an assortment of small percussion instruments; may include</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cowbells, wood/jam blocks, agôgô, ganzá/chocalho; &quot;half moon&quot; tambourine; tambourine,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tamborim, xéquere, etc.; sometimes attached to a frame and played with two sticks; usually</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>very spontaneous, low status but occasionally will have an important clave part</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Surdos</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fundo: played with one padded mallet; usually plays a simple repetitive part.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 4. Instruments used at the NGO.**

*Source: © BrazilianPercussion.Com (www.brazilianpercussion.com) except for the jam blocks © Latin Percussion (http://www.lpmusic.com).*
performance accordingly. A rhythm is a group of simultaneous interlocking parts; if it includes singing then it becomes a song. The term song can also be extended to rhythms that are structured like songs and have previously organized musical changes, which can be beginnings, breaks, or endings. Musical changes are similar to parts except they are often played in unison, or in a call-and-response form between the high instruments and the surdos, and they are usually not repeated in a cycle. Breaks are short rhythmic interludes that either interrupt the rhythm or serve as a transition between different sections.

In summary, from large to small: Salvador has dozens of social action groups that teach music to adolescents, the NGO I studied hosts about a dozen bands, each band has around seven members and they rehearse their repertoire of all the songs they know, each song has one or more rhythms, a rhythm has simultaneous parts, parts are patterns of hits on the drum that usually fit into one measure, which usually has four beats; and in a song, each rhythm is framed by musical changes (beginnings, breaks or endings).

Jamming means a group of musicians playing without fixed parts. Solo can be a noun or a verb and means to improvise, to intentionally elaborate on a part. I use tempo and speed interchangeably. I use the English word drag to refer to unintentionally slowing down the rhythm, but the adolescents used to fall, as in the common complaint: “It's falling!” The metaphor of falling down reflects their structural understanding of the music. Syncopated means rhythmically complicated. I borrow the verb to layer in to describe a way of beginning a song by starting with a single part, and then adding parts until everyone is playing. Vocables are spoken syllables used to represent drum hits.

Synchronism means that all or most of the musicians are playing their parts at the same tempo and in phase, with a very small tolerance. This implies that most of the musicians are in rhythm, making continuous small adjustments to their own parts. At the same time I heard synchronism, I usually observed the musicians show a distinct behavior that U.S. musicians colloquially call "grooving," and might also be called an altered state of consciousness, or described psychologically as flow (Csikzentmihalyi 2003:48-9) or rhythmic entrainment (Condon 1986), or described emically as having Axé. But occasionally synchronism was accompanied by boredom.

Clave is Spanish for "key," and is used in Cuban music to refer to the syncopated, high pitch parts that the rest of the band uses as a reference to locate their own part within the
ensemble. A clave part is one kind of a foundation part, a part that has a structural role of maintaining the synchronism of the group. Foundation is a loose translation of the drum part, fundo, the drum with the lowest pitch in the ensemble, which also has the role of a foundation part. Foundation parts help determine the rhythmic framework, but leave ambiguities, sometimes called participant discrepancies, that need to be negotiated by the group in what I call microleadership.

The musicians I talked to hardly ever referred to the overall style of music they played, and when I forced the issue, one NGO volunteer called it just música afro (Afro-music), and this term is very useful in the way it acknowledges the historical musical connection to Africa, but is distinct from música africana (African music), music played by people on the continent of Africa. The afro connotes the broad term música afro-brasileira (Afro-Brazilian music; samba, Candomblé, capoeira, etc.), and the afró also connotes música dos blocos afro (bloco afro music), or música afro-pop (afro-pop music/popular African music). These terms are especially blurred because the blocos afro borrow explicitly from all styles of Afro-Brazilian music. Neguinho do Samba was the drum leader of several blocos afro including Ilê Aiyê, Olodum, and now heads Projeto Didá. One of the many música afro styles he invented or promoted was called samba reggae, and because of the popularity of Olodum in the 1980s, samba reggae became the most common general term for música afro, and continues to be widely used in the United States and Europe. For this thesis, I limit the meaning of música afro to the music played by the blocos afro and orchestrated by smaller adolescent groups.

A typical ensemble uses the instruments shown in Figure 4 (p. 12). The ensemble size can vary from three to over one hundred. A typical small ensemble, like the bands I observed, is shown in Figure 3 (p. 8), and a medium ensemble is shown in Figure 6 (p. 39). Each bloco afro creates new arrangements and rhythms, but I notated several typical versions (Figure 27, p. 88; Figure 36, p. 136; Figure 38, p. 141).

Samba is a broad term that includes many styles of music and dance, in the same way rock has many branches with different names and histories. I use pagode to refer to the contemporary samba from Bahia, not to be confused with the older pagode from Rio de Janeiro. The term axé music was created by the music industry to market música afro played by trios elétricos, small bands that play on large sound trucks during carnaval.
The adolescents borrow two styles of traditional carnaval music from the Northeast state of Pernambuco. Frevo is very fast, and features wind instruments and uses simple drum parts (example on p. 92). Maracatu is slower, more syncopated, and features similar instruments as música afro (such as the alfaia), although the rhythm is very distinctive.

**LEADERSHIP**

There are almost as many different definitions of *leadership* as there are people who have tried to define it.

-Ralph M. Stogdill

After a brief introduction to an anthropological approach to defining leadership, I structured this literature review on leadership from broad to specific, including: management science and organizational culture; education; general leadership in the arts; conducting; case studies of music, leadership, and youth; and a definition of microleadership in music.

For this thesis I started with a broad definition of leadership as problem solving in a group. Then I defined specific indicators of leadership based on my observations, and correlated these with similar indicators from other literature, and used both the observations and relevant literature to help interpret the role of music in developing leadership among adolescents in Salvador. I used an anthropological approach to defining leadership, balancing an emic approach (defining indicators of leadership from within the culture itself using fieldwork data gathered from participant-observation) with an etic approach (comparing the indicators to similar ones from the literature review). A strict etic approach would start with the best theory of leadership, and evaluate the adolescents' behavior based on how it fit the components of that theory. A strict emic approach would dispense with the need for any review of previous literature on leadership theory, and simply take what the informants call *leadership* and evaluate the culture based on that definition. One advantage of a strict emic approach would be to avoid many of the subjective definitions of leadership, and the problems of applying U.S. leadership models to different untested cultural situations.

Wenquan Ling et al. survey some of the cautions for cross-cultural research on leadership:

Hofstede (1980) pointed out that many of the differences in leadership style, employee motivation, organizational structure, and so forth can be explained through the mental programming within different cultures. Bass (1990) indicated that cultural differences exist not only in terms of leaders' goals and limits of authority but also in leadership style and the conditions necessary for leadership. Ayman and Chemers (1983) studied leadership behavior of Iraqi managers and found different factor structures for Iraqi, European, and U.S. samples. They concluded that the evaluation of leadership behavior
was a function not only of overt leadership but also of the evaluator's cultural background. The authors warned that applying Western leadership theories, measures, and research designs in other cultures may lead to inaccurate conclusions. [Ling et al. 2000:730]

I attempt to balance emic and etic approaches. The warning of Ayman and Chemers is a cautionary tale for applying a strictly etic approach, in the way my culture could determine the conclusions about leadership behavior of the culture I am studying. The disadvantage of the strictly emic approach is that there is a risk of a tautology in defining aspects of leadership from the cultural traits of a population, and then using those same categories to turn around and say the population shows leadership, as my hypothesis needs to do. I use the correlation of my indicators with other studies to avoid this tautology. I use an etic comparison to check the validity of my emic observations.

A related problem is that I attempt to apply a concept like leadership to a culture where the concept is not commonly used. The more common word used to include the traits which might be grouped into leadership is the Portuguese cognate of citizenship. When I hear the word citizenship, I think of Green Cards and taking tests where you have to recite all the U.S. Presidents in order. The connotations of citizenship in the community I studied are more like how they used it in the French Revolution. Evelyn Nakano Glenn calls this substantive citizenship: the "capacity to exercise rights to which one is formally entitled" (Glenn 2002:53) and the policies of enforcement of those rights. The NGO's concept of citizenship was clearly stated in a poster on the wall, included as Appendix B. Both leadership and citizenship represent a suite of traits that are nearly identical. I chose leadership because its emphasis on group dynamics was more appropriate to musical rehearsals.

Management Science

Most sources on leadership are culturally bound to an audience of U.S. businessmen, but many suggest principles and structures that supported many of the categories I used to present my fieldwork data, and suggested models of leadership development that I found relevant to the adolescents in Salvador. I relied primarily on Peter Guy Northouse's Leadership: Theory and Practice (2004) to survey leadership theories. Below, I briefly introduce several theoretical topics that I found relevant to my fieldwork, including (1) leadership traits versus processes, (2) assigned versus emergent leadership development,
(3) task versus relationship leadership styles, (4) transformational leadership
(5) psychological approaches to leadership, including scaffolding and flow, and (6) team
leadership.

Older leadership theories were mostly taxonomies of leadership traits (personalities, attitudes, skills) and situations; and most of the newer theories focus on leadership as a process. Although I group many of my observations into leadership traits, the emphasis on process is especially relevant to explaining how leadership is developed. Most recent approaches have rejected the idea of born leaders (Great Man Theory), and accepted that leadership is a capability that can be learned. Leadership theories, and book sales, are commonly evaluated by their practical applications to teaching leadership. The skills approach to leadership is especially conducive to teaching leadership, especially the technical skills described by Robert. L. Katz (Northouse 2004:36) or the capability model of Michael D. Mumford et al. (Northouse 2004:39) that includes the traits of communication and conflict resolution (42-3), which I found important while comparing musical to administrative leadership. Mumford's use of motivation (Mumford et al. 2000:22) is useful in understanding the social motivation for the development of leadership created by political movements in Salvador.

Another branch of research compares aspects of leadership that are assigned—determined by an ascribed social role—or emergent—developed through positive communication behaviors (Northouse 2004:5-6). The development part of my hypothesis necessitates a focus on emergent leadership, and communication behaviors were the foundation of my observations for both musical (Chapter 3) and administrative (Chapter 4) leadership. I did observe some assigned leadership, especially regarding the ascribed leadership roles of various instruments.

One major division in many theories is the separation between leadership styles oriented toward tasks and relationships. Most of my data on tasks came from observation, and most of my data on relationships came from interviews. Initiating Structures was the term used by Ohio State researchers to describe tasks (Northouse 2004:66-7), and it especially resonated with my observations of rehearsals, because one of the most important leadership factors was the skills adolescents used to literally initiate songs. I found Situational Leadership theory (Hersey et al. 1977; Northouse 2004:89) useful in explaining
how leaders in the NGO adjusted their leadership styles to concord with the situation of their followers.

Transformational leadership is the best fit for the self-ascribed leadership theory used by the leaders of the NGO. Their stated goals are the transformation of the individual, and include Bernard M. Bass and Bruce J. Avolio’s four factors of transformational leadership: Idealized Influence, Inspirational Motivation, Intellectual Stimulation, and Individualized Consideration. Idealized Influence refers to charismatic leaders who act as role models for their followers, have high moral standards, and provide followers with a sense of vision. Inspirational Motivation refers to leaders who communicate high expectations to followers using symbols and emotional appeals. Intellectual Stimulation refers to leadership that stimulates followers' creativity. Individualized Consideration refers to the relationship style of leadership (Northouse 2004:169-87).

All leadership sources borrow from psychology to some degree or another, and among the more psychological approaches, several relevant studies used the Zone of Proximal Development (Corso 2003:11-5; Price and L. Byo 2002) and the concept of flow (Csikzentmihalyi 2003; Turner 1982). Lev Vygotsky’s Zone of Proximal Development toward independence refers to the distance between the problems individuals can fix independently, and the possible solutions that can be achieved in collaboration with peers or under the guidance of an authority. Scaffolding refers to how leaders parse large objectives into small more manageable ones, to move their followers into the Zone of Proximal Development where they can learn. The leader may structure the rehearsal or meeting into smaller units, which gives the group the independence to accommodate larger goals.

I found Mihalyi Csikzentmihalyi’s concept of flow useful in describing the psychological state of what I heard musically as synchronism. Csikzentmihalyi defined flow as happiness in action and claims that it is a cultural universal (Csikzentmihalyi 2003:39). I observed that usually when the music sounded good, a majority of the adolescents were happy and "in flow." The characteristics of flow are: (1) goals are clear, (2) feedback is immediate, (3) a balance between opportunity and capacity, (4) concentration deepens, (5) the present is what matters, (6) control is no problem, (7) the sense of time is altered, (8) the loss of ego. All music inherently has instantaneous feedback, an altered sense of time, a focus on the present, and deepened concentration. During rehearsals the adolescents had
clear goals that ranged in scope from the musical change (beginnings, breaks and endings), to the song, to the repertoire. A balance between opportunity and capacity is explained as: "Flow occurs when both challenges and skills are high and equal to each other" (Csikzentmihalyi 2003:44), this helps explain some of my observations of excellent music played by bored musicians. Control is no problem means both that individuals feel like they are in control of themselves, and that they don't need to control the group (Csikzentmihalyi 2003:50-2), and both connotations are important for the kind of team leadership that I observed. Csikzentmihalyi directly connects the musical rehearsal to the administrative meeting in the way he describes the loss of ego as the feeling "often mentioned by musical performers as the peculiar order in consciousness they experience while playing. Or it can merely be the satisfying sense that one belongs to an efficient group working toward the same purpose" (Csikzentmihalyi 2003:55). Flow also suggests a model for leadership development: while playing music, the adolescents develop the capacity to be in flow and create the conditions for the entire group to be in flow, and then they use flow to improve administrative meetings.

Many of the recent approaches to leadership emphasize a more diffused process that allows for more flexible roles between the leader and the led, such as the participative leadership of path-goal theory (Northouse 2004:126), and team leadership (LaFasto and Larson 2001). I found music especially well situated to teach team leadership.

Several sources argued that leadership skills are transferable between situations. Carl Larson and Frank LaFasto (LaFasto and Larson 2001) surveyed 600 team leaders, including executive, management and project teams from industries such as health care, sports, airline, banking, telecommunications, education, theater, and sports and found six common leadership traits which they grouped into "Working Knowledge" (experience and problem-solving ability) and "Team Work" (openness, supportiveness, action orientation, and personal style) (Kogler Hill 2004:211; LaFasto and Larson 2001:5). McCauley et al. 2003 find that leadership capacity is transferable from one situation to another, and that learning leadership actually requires "a variety of developmental experiences" (McCauley and Van Velsor 2003:5), and each of these different experiences must include assessment, challenge, and support. This research supports my hypothesis that general leadership skills can be taught with music.
Organizational Culture and Anthropology

Literature on organizational culture is usually written for human resources departments as a kind of Readers' Digest of the profit-making applications of behavioral science research, and because science tends to be market driven, the “organization” in organizational culture is usually a large corporation. However, many of the approaches to group dynamics and leadership are relevant to the smaller groups I studied.

Among anthropologists who have studied organizational culture, Helen B. Schwartzman is especially relevant because she has focused on both children (1978; 2001) and administrative meetings (1989). She uses participant-observation to study "how contested and ambiguous social relations and cultural values may emerge out of formal and informal meetings processes and how the meeting may serve as a sense-making form for individuals and groups in specific contexts" (Schwartzman and Hanson Berman 1994:68). The adolescents in the NGO use the meetings to negotiate contested social relations such as race, class, gender, sexuality.

Schwartzman says: "One of the key transformations that a meeting frame makes is to turn the behavior of individuals into organizational action […] From this perspective, talk is not expressive or reflective of action, power, control, it is action, power, and control" (Schwartzman and Hanson Berman 1994:88). This helps justify linking my observations of individual administrative leadership behaviors (Chapter 4) to larger social policy issues (the racial-musical-educational project in Salvador) in order to explain the motivation for leadership development.

Education: the Leadership of Teaching

The leadership of teaching compares the social dynamics of education to leadership. It looks at the teacher as a leader, and compares the skills of pedagogy to leadership (teacher:student::leader:follower). Teaching was an important leadership activity in the rehearsals, and many of my observations focused on who taught whom, and how; noting the context for when adolescents said “Here, let me show you how it’s supposed to go.” Brazil has a long history of viewing teaching as a leadership activity, and much of Paulo Freire's (Freire 1986; Freire 1998) work has components of revolutionary leadership that parallel
many of the strategies of the NGO (see Appendix B), and the educational goals of the blocos afro.

**Arts Advocacy**

Art is the response
to all that diminishes us.
It corrects. It ridicules. It disdains.
Against force and obscurantism.

-Frederico Morais

Political advocates for the arts often sponsor research that promotes the social benefits of the arts (Americans for the Arts 2005), and though the research tends to be biased toward the arts, many of the general conclusions provide useful comparisons to my research and many sources specifically address leadership development through music. The largest recent study was by the RAND Corporation (McCarthy et al. 2004), and it included discussion of leadership, youth and the arts from the perspectives of both culture and the individual. On a broad scale, they find that "the move from social capital to community organizing involves the development of both a sense of collective efficacy and skills in leadership and organization" (McCarthy et al. 2004:28), and this parallels the history of the blocos afro and one of the goals of the racial-musical-educational project in Salvador: to use music to develop leadership. McCarthy explains the expression of communal meanings:

Intrinsic benefits accrue to the public sphere when works of art convey what whole communities of people yearn to express. Examples of what can produce these benefits are art that commemorates events significant to a nation’s history or a community’s identity, art that provides a voice to communities the culture at large has largely ignored, and art that critiques the culture for the express purpose of changing people’s views. [McCarthy et al. 2004:xvi]

In the case of this thesis the communal meanings expressed are the reinforcement of African identity with art that critiques racism for the express purpose of improving the self-esteem of young black people.

Alaka Wali et al. in the 2002 study, "The Informal Arts: Finding Cohesion, Capacity and Other Cultural Benefits in Unexpected Places" found that participation in the informal arts is one path to develop the competencies that include leadership, and that it may start with an individual and evolve into an organization. The informal arts tend to be public and attract people who have the least experience, ties, and resources in the community.
In many cases, these people become involved in organizing some aspect of the activity. Specific skills that participants in informal arts might acquire include the ability to run a rehearsal or meeting, knowing how to allocate time and other resources; knowing how to obtain needed equipment, permits, and funds, and how to recruit new participants; and knowing how to arrange advertising for the event. These activities build social and leadership skills and involve people in the civic life of their communities. [McCarthy et al. 2004:31, emphasis added]

This suggests a model for leadership development where the causal factor is not the music per se, but the extra-musical organization that accompanies a musical event.

On an individual scale, McCarthy et al. 2004 also promotes the intrinsic benefits of the arts, which they rank from mostly personal benefits to direct social benefits, including: captivation, pleasure, expanded capacity for empathy, cognitive growth, creation of social bonds, and expression of communal meanings. Captivation is described as the rapt absorption that can connect people more deeply to the world and open them to new ways of seeing and experiencing the world, or allow them an imaginative flight, a departure from their everyday self that enables them to imaginatively inhabit the created reality being presented, and this imaginative departure can foster a deep involvement with the concerns and insights of others (xvi,45). This is an excellent explanation for the general benefits of rhythmic entrainment (Condon 1986), and parallels being in the flow (Csikszentmihalyi 2003).

McCarthy et al. 2004 finds that benefits from the arts differ from other social activities: "the communicative nature of the arts, the personal nature of creative expression, and the trust associated with revealing one’s creativity to others may make joint arts activities particularly conducive to forging social bonds and bridges across social divides;" as well as ethnic identification that allows participants to develop and maintain their cultural heritage, and communicate their cultural identity to outsiders; and "a group phenomenon in which the individual feels that the power of the group somehow transcends or at least exceeds the sum of the individual parts. Choral group singers, dancers in a troupe, symphonic orchestra members, and members of a drum circle experience the group as producing something that overwhelms both the creators and the audience (McCarthy et al. 2004:29)." Paul Sneed described a similar dynamic of energy in funk performances in Rio de Janeiro:

In the music, the constant chaotic and individual sounds of the city and the favela [slum] are drowned out by the wall of speakers and melded into one unifying harmonious flow of music. The music is so loud that it becomes a physical presence as the booming sound waves massage the mass of bodies before the amps as each hair on them vibrates to the beat. This sonic wall provides a certain peace in the baile [dance], a utopian mysticism
that joins together with the threat of violence or the hope of sensual contact as the participants let go and allow themselves to be swept away. [Sneed 2003:177]

To overwhelm implies social power, and this benefit becomes especially important to the young people of Salvador who gain self-esteem by exerting social power. Adolescents who are normally powerless because of their age, class, race, or gender, can use music to overwhelm people with a demonstration of organization and the sheer volume of the drums.

Rehearsing and Conducting

Leadership in European art music is primarily demonstrated by a conductor during rehearsal. Harry E. Price and James L. Byo (2002) surveyed the scientific literature on the psychology of large ensemble leadership, focusing on rehearsing and conducting, to extract practical advice for the conductor. Their section on “Rehearsal Atmosphere” mentioned that domination by the conductor does not preclude collaboration with the ensemble (336). They advocated using constructive criticism or the combination of positive and negative feedback. They defined “Pacing” as the frequency and duration of ensemble performance episodes, conductor talk, lag-time between cutoff and conductor talk, and conductor rate of speech (337). They stated that the best way to learn “Performance Error Detection” was through practice. In the section on “Rehearsal Structure” they advocate scaffolding (339-40). The section on “Verbal Communication” is divided into “Content,” experienced conductors talk less, “Aural Models,” singing the part, “Conceptual Teaching,” eliciting higher order or conceptual thinking, and “Nonverbal Issues,” which are sub-divided into “Facial Expression,” which is generally approval or disapproval, “Eye Contact,” and “Gesture.”

Conducting is the most salient expression of music leadership in European art music, so it is consistent that many of the characteristics mentioned by Price and Byo are also found in descriptions of leadership, such as the importance of: (1) maintaining eye-contact, (2) facial expressions, (3) gestures, (2) using collaboration to improve the rehearsal atmosphere (3) identifying problems, (4) giving both positive and negative feedback, and (5) structuring rehearsals through pacing and scaffolding. At the NGO, I observed all of the above as important leadership factors in both rehearsals and meetings.

Marilyn Alicia Kerley (1995) examined the decision-making processes, the leadership styles and behaviors, and the musicality of two master choral music teachers. Kerley used Situational Leadership theory to examine the choral conductors’ organizational strategies
Kerley finds that good leadership behaviors include: positive-learning, non-threatening atmosphere, rapport, collaboration, teaching strategies and tactics that encourage the singer to "strive for perfection" (133). Kerley broadly assigns the responsibility for leadership to the students themselves:

Student attentiveness and focus relate directly to on-task behavior. Student self-directed control of behavior manifests itself in ownership and pride within the group. The teacher no longer assumes ownership for student action. Rather the sense of total commitment to the social group governs the behavior of members of the group. This statement is not meant to diminish the function of the master teacher. It is however intended to suggest that effective teachers are eventually able to share control with students, when and if the students assume the role of responsible leadership. [132]

I found Kerley's study useful in the way she found team leadership in a hierarchical music organization, and especially her findings that self-directed behavior—attentiveness, focus, on-task behavior—may come from ownership and pride within the group. This provides a model for autonomous leadership development; the adolescents develop leadership behaviors in rehearsals in order to maintain the pride they take in their band's public performances.

Case Studies of Music and Leadership with Youth

Deborah White in her 1998 educational leadership dissertation, "The Impact of Cocurricular Experience on Leadership Development," found that "group music experiences were especially strong leadership learning environments for youth" (White 1998:119). White's purpose was to examine the stated goal of education to teach leadership, and explore how leadership is taught, the differences between cocurricular activities, how they were affected by gender, and how leadership education could be improved.

White discusses gender, racial, and class barriers to leadership development in the United States, and partially attributes it to the historical fact that "in the first half of the 20th century, many traditional leadership development opportunities for adolescents and young adults had either restricted membership to white males or limited opportunities for women and other minorities" (7). The expense of joining leadership development organizations such as the Girl Scouts "can prove to be a hardship for lower socioeconomic groups, requiring participants to have monies, transportation, and family involvement over and above that required for school" (36). In Salvador, gender barriers discourage girls from playing drums,
racial barriers prevent darker skinned adolescents from attending university, and poverty limits the leisure activities of adolescents.

Results of the study showed the importance of mentors, the strength of high school teachers and cocurricular activities (in High School but not as much in college). The cocurricular activities most influential in High School were: student government, group music experiences, athletics, and church youth groups. In college the most influential cocurricular activities were: resident hall living and internships. Gender differences included women's lack of identified community mentors, the importance of a college internship experience for women, and that men had more community mentors and sports opportunities. The cocurriculum provides experiential learning opportunities, or a "training ground" (8).

Some of the relevant narratives include:

My high school band director demanded excellence and set very clear goals. Seeing the joys and benefits of teamwork … I learned that the only way to succeed was through a team. […] My college band director was also a big influence. He taught me vision, that you have to have an idea and a picture of what you are going to do. […] We were a great high school band. The quest for excellence, the demand for excellence, and at the same time there were very clear set goals. My understanding of teamwork was formed by this. […] It took a commitment to be in the choir. you don't just show up and sing. You have rehearsals every week. I did that for six years. […] The best thing about the band is the discipline. Nobody standing over you saying you have to practice. It doesn't work that way, it has to come from within. You are going to be challenged, have auditions and so forth. It does teach you to be a self-starter. You have to motivate yourself to go in and do the practice, and do enough of it so you will do well. [89-97]

These narratives are similar to many of the narratives from my interviews. White's observations correlated with mine, especially (1) the historical context for disparities in leadership development, (2) cocurricular activities as a "training ground" for leadership development, (3) changes in leadership development activities through different life stages; adolescents grow out the band, and (4) the importance of mentors in leadership development.

Marcia Raquel Robinson in her 2003 education dissertation, "The Effects of Socialization through the Arts: Teaching Life Skills Strategies to Youth in West Las Vegas" studied the acquisition of life skills through the arts, including music. Robinson evaluated "The Performing and Visual Arts Camp for Adolescents," a multidisciplinary cultural and performing arts programs founded by Katherine Dunham, designed for gang members and other at-risk students from 10–15 years old in the Las Vegas area.

The camp participants presented a final musical theater production with all seventy students, executing performance and leadership skills developed in the camp's
workshops. Recent research correlates evidence that one positive outcome of high academic performance in students is directly linked to their good habits and good character [Robinson 2003:iv]

How students changed because of their experience in camp was measured with surveys, journals, and interviews. The quantitative evidence suggested a moderate increase in decision making ability (74), "qualitative data validated and documented significant growth and positive change in Self esteem and Persistence" (Robinson 2003:73). The conclusions are valuable because the adolescents I observed could be also considered "at-risk," and I found the rehearsals developed persistence (perseverance) and self-esteem.

Danna J. Rothlisberger in her 1995 education dissertation, "The Impact of High School Band on Student Education as Perceived by Band Students, Band Directors, and Building Level Administrators," studied “the perceived impact of band on the development of life skills such as problem solving, creative thinking, self-discipline, teamwork, motivation, responsibility, communications, and leadership,” and found that Band Directors overvalued the leadership benefits of band compared to Principals (82). I found this to a certain degree with the youth groups I observed in the way the band teachers emphasized the value of the music per se, whereas the youth group director thought of the music more as a hook to attract adolescents where they would be exposed to extra-musical training in citizenship and other practical skills. Rothlisberger found that: "band has a positive impact on student education, including the development of life skills" (v-vi), such as: problem solving, creative thinking, self-discipline, teamwork, motivation, responsibility, communications.

Dawn T. Corso’s 2003 "'Smooth as Butter': Practices of Music Learning Amongst African-American Children" studied children 9 to 12 years old with a conceptual framework that included scaffolding, apprenticeships, and communities of practice; primarily through participant-observation. Corso had several findings:

First, children learn music by participating to varying degrees within a community of practice. Individuals within the group serve as sources of information and skill based upon their own expertise and interest creating an environment of reciprocity and shifting leadership. Furthermore, the bonds of friendship strengthen these communities of practice by providing pre-established common ground, intimacy, and concern amongst members. Second, musical play simultaneously functions to prepare children for adult life and allows children to engage in recreational entertainment. Moreover, the activities serve the distinct purposes of identity and gender-role formation and allow for exploration in areas of power and sexuality, especially as they apply to females. [Corso 2003: iv]
I found similar examples of shifting leadership (team leadership), and the function of music as a ludic rehearsal of adult behaviors and negotiations of power, identity, gender, and sexuality.

Michael J. Sciarini (2003) studied the educational leadership that "motivates students to put forth the necessary study, practice, and rehearsal required to successfully become military musicians," focusing on how students overcame the problems of boredom from repetitive practice. He addressed how leadership can influence students "who initially lack the internal desire to practice." And he explores factors such as educational environment, instructor behavior, the "perceived power type of the instructor" (iii). Power types were similar to leadership styles (119-38). The population of his study provided an excellent contrast to most of the studies (including this one), which studied less hierarchical, shared leadership music situations. Sciarini studied the pedagogy of "coercive power:" the music student had compulsory "study hall," signed binding contracts to practice a certain number of hours, and they received ominous "counseling statements" if they didn’t. Sciarini studied a recreational activity that discourages ludic activity. Sciarini found that "while mandatory practice assignments may lead to good practice habits in the short run, it is more important that students develop an inherent desire to practice" (163). This concords with the NGO’s primary method that starts with the adolescents’ inherent desire to play music, and lets them discover on their own that they will enjoy the music more if they enforce mandatory rehearsals and good practice habits. The adolescents who balance ludic behavior with discipline and find ways to communicate this balance to their peers are developing leadership skills.

**Participant Discrepancies as Microleadership**

I would like to use the term *microleadership* to describe the management of all the very small problems that are being continually solved in a group. In music, Charles Keil described a similar dynamic as "participant discrepancies" (Keil 1995). This term may imply that the performers are making mistakes, and many ethnomusicologists prefer the term "micro-timing" (Polak 1999). Alf Gabrielsson (2003) contributes to this discussion in his review of recent research in models of explanation of "expressive timing" in music performance. I found that all the models of participant discrepancies include some aspect of
intentional communication between performers, and this implies group decision-making. Negotiating participant discrepancies requires the kind of teamwork that Beverly White described as a “consensus musicus” (White 1972). Since these group interactions involve similar dynamics as leadership, the resolution of these participant discrepancies is a form of microleadership. Most of the microleadership I observed could be described as compromises between similar but conflicting rhythmic patterns. For this study, I use microleadership because it combines musical and administrative situations, and it gives a little more agency to the performers than "discrepancies."

MUSIC AND EDUCATION AS A RACIAL PROJECT IN SALVADOR

All I wanna say is that
They don't really care about us

-Michael Jackson

In this section I use Omi and Winant's concept of racial formation to expand the background section (p. 2-9) and present a sample of relevant literature on Salvador. Social struggles for racial equality are intertwined with music and education in Salvador. Jack David Eller says that ethnic "groups are not fighting about culture—about which culture is right or about converting others to their culture—but fighting with culture" (Eller 1999:48). Bahia has a continuous tradition of African culture, and is also recently undergoing a process of "re-Africanization" similar to the U.S. civil rights movement (Risério 1981). Livio Sansone explains:

The music, the sounds, have always been integrated into the social life of the world of the black Bahian, increasingly determined by the process of recreation of black identity and youth and of the innumerable combinations and interpretations, inspired by the curiosity for an “Africa” reinvented, and also by the desire for citizenship and consumption of a new generation of black and mixed-race youth. [Sansone and Santos 1998:8]

The blocos afro participate in national educational policy (Jones De Almeida 2003). Música afro has become a symbol of racial identity and a forum for political activism. Música afro is also overtly used as a pedagogical means of re-enculturation, and implicitly as a hook to bring adolescents into educational programs where they are taught fundamental language and math skills, along with job training. This strategy in Salvador of using music to improve the educational opportunities of young black people is what I have dubbed the racial–musical–educational project of Salvador.
This concept of a racial project is based on Michael Omi and Howard Winant's (Omi and Winant 1994) paradigm of racial formation, which classified the history and present state of race in the United States. They defined racial formation as: "the sociohistorical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed […] a process of historically situated *projects* in which human bodies and social structures are represented and organized […] we link racial formation to the evolution of hegemony, the way in which society is organized and ruled" (55-6). The definition of their paradigm draws from critical theory (especially Gramsci), which is relevant to forms of resistance such as music and education, but their examples emphasize a fairly structural, political science, approach which presents the racial state (83) and government policies as prime movers. The racial project works on the macro and micro levels and can explain both prejudice and policy. Michael George Hanchard used a racial formation approach to study black political movements of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, and mentions the blocos afro as an example of "politico-cultural imagination" (Hanchard 1994:138). Adjoa Florencia Jones De Almeida's (2003) article on Afro-Brazilian identity and the community school movement provided an excellent framework to connect the blocos afro to national educational policy. I used Cristovam Buarque, former Minister of Education as a representative sample of educational policy. The local goals of the NGOs and non-profit groups are directly linked to political action on the national and international level. I present the cultural context of leadership in Salvador as a racial formation that emphasizes music and education.

I begin with a discussion of the culture of adolescents in Salvador, popular music, race and education, white reaction, gender and race, and conclude with a discussion of leadership training as a goal of the racial–musical–educational project in Salvador

**Adolescents in Salvador**

Children should be seen and not heard.

-15th Century English proverb

[originally applied specifically to girls]

Early anthropology viewed adolescents as incomplete recipients of adult culture, and recent approaches explore a distinct youth culture, which in Salvador includes recreational activities such as soccer, capoeira, and music. Structural-functionalism studied how adolescents grew into adult structures. For example, Barbara Ward in 1970 found that
because loss of self-control and aggressiveness were discouraged in the village of Kau Sai, that adolescents who cried or threw temper tantrums were ignored. Ward found the adults similarly withdrew from leadership roles, because "to push oneself forward in an open effort to dominate others is considered wrong in much the same way that any openly aggressive behaviour, including verbally aggressive behaviour, is considered wrong" (Ward 1985:180). Ward found that young people gradually adopted these structures as they became socialized. I take a similar structural approach when I argue that adolescents playing music that symbolizes African identity become socialized into the structure of a broad movement for racial justice.

Later anthropology began to view adolescents not as incomplete recipients of a fixed culture, but as people who have a degree of cultural autonomy in relation to adults. For example, Christine Toren (1993) found that adults in Fiji adjust seating arrangements according to status, but that children would assign status based on seating arrangements. These studies show the limitations of top-down models of enculturation, and the importance of cultural transmission between children. I found Toren's example of assigned leadership useful in explaining how an established musical structure that ranks instruments hierarchically could ascribe social roles to the adolescents who happened to pick them up; the youngest kid in the band could become "the leader" if she picked up a microphone or a repique.

Clarice Cohn said that regarding education, "children and youth are more than mere recipients of knowledge, they are active in the construction of feelings and knowledge in the learning process" (Cohn 2005:38). A common theme in leadership texts is that leadership cannot be learned, only practiced. These horizontal approaches to enculturation and education provide a model for leadership development: adolescents learn leadership from each other.

Sources on adolescence in Salvador are mostly about popular culture or "street kids." "Street kids" are usually not homeless. Maria Filomena Gregori found in São Paulo that most adolescents maintain some family ties, and the family becomes one stop in their routes of circulation (Cohn 2005:31-2,56), and Luzania Barreto Rodrigues (Rodrigues 2001) found similar results in Salvador. Almost all of the adolescents from the NGO I studied lived with parents or guardians, but thought of the NGO as a surrogate street.
Popular culture in Salvador is integrated into the national Brazilian culture, which is heavily influenced by the television shows, music, and other consumer products from the United States (Bulcão Nascimento 1999), so the youth experience with popular culture is very similar to that of the United States. Some of the important aspects of youth culture that I found distinct in Salvador were soccer, capoeira, and the bandas de lata.

Soccer is the national pastime of Brazil, and all of my informants played. Jocimar Daolio's 2003 book provides an anthropological analysis of soccer in Brazil, and the leadership benefits of soccer could be extended to music as well. Soccer is about individuals celebrating their body and escaping from television (Daolio 2003: 49,77). Daolio claims that becoming proficient at motor skills highly valued by the culture increases self-esteem. Soccer also provides the individual a collective context to understand their culture's ethos (Daolio 2003:185-8), and this is similar to the way adolescents in the NGO learn about racial struggle through capoeira and music. A large part of the ethos taught by soccer is violence, both literal and ritualized (Daolio 2003:169-76). This is an important difference between music and soccer, as the goal of música afro (music of blocos afro; samba reggae; but not necessarily all Afro-Brazilian music) is to suppress violence. Another difference is that music relies on constant synchronism between its performers, whereas the Brazilian style of soccer tends to emphasize the technical difficulty of the individual star, instead of teamwork and solidarity that is typical of European and other styles of soccer (165). Both soccer and music can teach leadership, but music has certain advantages in its emphasis on the mitigation of violence and synchronism.

Capoeira combines elements of dance, martial arts, and music. It can be very ludic like staged wrestling (WWF, lucha libre), and it is associated with cultural resistance, African identity, and spirituality (Almeida 1986; Capoeira 2002; Lewis 1992; Merrell 2005) which are associated with leadership development. Salvador is the world capital of capoeira, and youth in Salvador embrace it. It is taught in many public schools and youth and arts groups often use include it as a cultural activity. Capoeira groups are organized hierarchically and led by a mestre (master). All the adolescents I met knew at least a few moves.

Malandragem is an essential tenet of capoeira. Malandragem is the quality of being a malandro, which comes from the Italian “malandrino.” A malandro is someone who doesn’t work but is expedient; a con man, a trickster, despicable, lazy, a thief, a vagabond; that can
also be wise and astute (Larousse 2001). It tends to be applied to the lumpenproletariat. In Bahia it tends to have racial connotations (Lima Alves 2003). Malandragem is also important in soccer (Daolio 2003:161-2). The rules of who can trick whom, and to what degree, are constantly being debated (Capoeira 2002).

The banda de lata is a widespread phenomenon in Salvador and the rest of Brazil, but has been unfortunately been neglected by academia. The adolescents would witness the large carnaval spectacles of the blocos afro, and imitate them in their neighborhoods. They might incorporate carnaval elements such as costumes, and parading, but the core was a group of adolescents who would scavenge for anything that they could hit with a stick to make noise. For many adolescents, this was their first exposure to musical performance, and many professional musicians can trace their origins to the banda de lata. Most adolescents consider it just another form of recreation like playing marbles or flying kites, but playing in a banda de lata has a higher concentration of social interactions and a political context because of its association with música afro.

**Música Afro**

All the literature connects música afro to the political struggles in Salvador, and these political struggles provide a strong motivation for leadership development. Gerard Béhague dominated reference works, which focus on its origins, a description of the ensembles, and its racial activism (Béhague 1998; Perrone 1998; Sadie 2001). Antonio Risério (1981) documented its origins in the 1970s as a re-Africanization of carnaval. It grew out of previous expressions of African identity such as the afoxês and blocos dos indios, but was influenced by Soul Music from the United States and the growing radicalism of Brazilian black movements such as the United Black Movement Against Racial Discrimination (MNU) and protested racism in the carnaval (76-89). The social criticism of this challenge was extended by oppressed groups within the black movement such as gays (128), young women (Guerreiro 2000; Wagner and Valim 1999) and disabled youth.

All of the blocos afro have social action groups for adolescents. Besides didactic lyrics (Armstrong 2002), Ilê Aiyê (Conceição 2003; Hilda n.d.) and Olodum (Santos Rodrigues and Mendes 1997) publish booklets for youth that include African topics that have been excluded from the national educational system. Luzania Barreto Rodrigues (Rodrigues...
2001) evaluates one of a partnerships between Ilê Aiyê and a homeless youth organization, Projeto Axé, which has many similarities to the NGO I studied.

The blocos afro define an African social space, and revitalize their neighborhoods (Araújo Moura 2002; de Araújo Pinho 1998-1999; Guerreiro 2000; Lima Alves 1995; Lima Alves 1998; Lima Alves 2002; Lopes 1996). These struggles for urban redevelopment suggest models for leadership development described above (p. 21-2) by Alaka Wali et al.

Música afro has always had a strong aesthetic of hybridism (Béhague 1998; Guerreiro 1999; Guerreiro 2000; Lima Alves 1995; Perrone 1998; Risério 1981; Sadie 2001; Vianna 1999:100-6). Música afro is more Africanist than nationalist, different from the samba of Rio de Janeiro (Hanchard 1994:83), and it is heavily influenced by the music of the African diaspora, such as Jamaican reggae (de Araujo Pinho 2002; dos Santos Godi 2002), but it borrows from everyone—from Walter Smetak to the Beatles—and is influenced by tourism (Armstrong 1999) and technology (dos Santos Godi 1998).

The hybridism of musical styles is important to adolescent leadership because it provokes social negotiations at a broad aesthetic level within adolescent bands. When the blocos afro reclaim African music they are promoting the self-esteem of black youth which is essential for leadership development. But youth culture often rejects cultural revival as conservative, and modernist hybridism caters to the social trends of youth culture who want to distance themselves aesthetically from the previous generation (the music industry encourages youth to reject their parent's music). Paul Gilroy described the aesthetic negotiations of tradition versus modernity, and the social relationships that it anticipates: "Lines between self and other are blurred and special forms of pleasure are created as a result of the meetings and conversations that are established between one fractured incomplete, and unfinished racial self and others" (Gilroy 1993:79). Música afro provides a setting where adolescents can rehearse aesthetic negotiations in a group, and struggle to balance the Africanist and modernist aspects of their identity. The process of advocating for one aesthetic or another can force musicians into situations where they will develop leadership skills. For example, musicians left the conservative Ilê Aiyê to form more modernist blocos afro such as Olodum and Timbalada. When adolescent bands decide on their repertoire or how to arrange songs, they are forced to negotiate these aesthetics in a group, and this develops leadership.
For this thesis, I limit the scope of *música afro* to the music played by the blocos afro and orchestrated by smaller adolescent groups.

### Race and Education

One of the most frequently mentioned social goals of the black movement in Salvador is what Evelyn Nakano Glenn calls substantive citizenship: the "capacity to exercise rights to which one is formally entitled" and the policies of enforcement of those rights (Glenn 2002:53). She notes that studying labor and citizenship together necessitates studying local practices because, "labor markets are necessarily localized within a geographically limited area, roughly the distance a person can travel to work on a daily basis" (2). This emphasis on literal mobility is useful in describing the situation in Salvador. It helps explain phenomena like the bus boycott in Salvador in September, 2003 that was led by students protesting a fare hike of 15% (Figure 5). Limitations on literal mobility affect access to labor markets—and especially for youth—education and recreation.

![Figure 5. Student-led protest against bus fare-hikes, 9/2/03.](image-url)
Many macro-economic views of race and ethnicity assume the total mobility of people and ideas, and because of increasing globalization and mobility we tend to take this for granted, but mobility was limited for most of the 20\(^{th}\) century, and local differences were more important. Social patterns such as racism, are slower to change than the technologies which allow increased mobility. The struggle for citizenship is both a class struggle and a struggle against racism.

Brazil has a distinguished tradition of progressive pedagogy; Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* is internationally renown, but the effects of his theories have barely been felt in Salvador. Pedagogy in Brazil has generally ignored racial issues. For example, race is conspicuously absent from comprehensive texts on musical education (Hentscheke 2000). Public schools are obscenely underfunded, and many parents have responded through the community based school movement, which often includes NGOs and blocos afro.

Black students receive substandard education because of their class, and residential segregation. José Luiz Petrucelli, the investigator from the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) responsible for analysis of census data about education and color, states that:

> In high school there is already a racial filter. Since universities have fewer openings available than the potential demand, it is the white population that is admitted. If high-school education were more balanced, there would be less inequality in the university. As things are now, it can be seen that Afro-Brazilians are underrepresented in the university and discrimination also extends to the workplace. [Brígido 2004]

Petrucelli finds that the difference does not stem solely from economic conditions, because the difference is also found in wealthier families.

October, 2005 marked the third year of quotas for disadvantaged groups who have tried to address the disparity found in the 2000 census that blacks were almost five times less likely to get a university education that whites; Brazilians over 25 years old with a university education: 9.93\% of total whites, 2.13\% of total Afro-Brazilians, 2.36\% of total mixed-race Brazilians, 2.22\% of total indigenous Brazilians (Brígido 2004). Carolina Brígido summarizes the recent developments in quotas in higher education:

> In Brazil, thirteen public institutions of instruction have now agreed to quotas, reserving spaces for students who are black, disabled, indigenous, low income or those coming from public schools. To make this system a general formula, the Executive Branch sent a bill to the Congress setting aside 50\% of places in institutions of higher learning for students coming from the public schools. Of this 50\%, racial quotas will be established in proportion to the percentage of black or indigenous people in the state in question,
according to the IBGE data. At least 27 other similar projects are under consideration in the Congress. In the University for Everyone (ProUni) Project, which anticipates offering free education in private institutions to low-income students, there is also talk of quotas for minorities. [Brígido 2004]

I found that even with quotas, many qualified black students had difficulty paying for entrance exams.

The racial–musical–educational project in Salvador uses multiple strategies to compensate for deficiencies in public education. On a broad scale it advocates for African oriented legislation, affirmative action and quotas in higher education (Lima 2004), and more public resources for autonomous community schools (Jones De Almeida 2003). But it never waits for the government to respond, because adolescents demand immediate results. On a local level the blocos afro form their own autonomous community schools (Jones De Almeida 2003), or form partnerships with NGOs (Rodrigues 2001) or with public schools.

**White Reaction**

And on TV, if you see a congressman poorly concealing his panic when faced by any, more even than any, any any plan for education that seems easy that seems easy and quick and will represent a threat of the democratization of primary school education…

-Caetano Veloso, "Haiti"

The white reaction to this racial–musical–educational project in Salvador is not homogenous, and the sample below attempts to represent the range of reactions. Some white musicians have exaggerated their whiteness (Bonnett 2002), but many have embraced and respected the music of the bloco afro and are highly regarded within the black community of Salvador, such as the pop singer Ivette Sangalo. Many of the people that work at the NGOs that partner with the blocos afro are white. Music is an important axis of communication and symbolic exchange between blacks and whites (Sansone and Santos 1998:8), but there are growing contradictions between white youth culture adopting many of the musical styles of Salvador (cultural capital) but excluding the associated political goals.

The white conservative reaction is amazingly similar to that of the United States. The hands-off approach echoes Milton Gordon (1964:249). One journalist compared the governments racial equality programs to George Orwell's *1984*, and railed against a program that supports tolerance of black language in school, similar to Ebonics in the United States:
This measure is an obvious attempt to patch up the Affirmative Action Program announced in March this year by the Instituto Rio Branco. In a gesture of reverse racism, the Institute began to offer study bursaries of $25,000 reais for black candidates for a diplomatic career. For those thinking about such a career: better to be black and illiterate. If you are white and educated, forget it; education is not the currency of the era of Lula. Who could possibly be more educated than the Supreme Ignoramus? As if this scandal, which has the heavens crying for justice, weren’t enough, the government is distributing a kit “to combat racism in schools.” [Cristaldo 2004]

The author continues with a critique of what we would call "political correctness" in the US.

The white governmental reaction reveals insecurity about national identity. This is consistent with Omi and Winant's description of a racial state which is "composed of institutions, the policies they carry out, the conditions and rules which support and justify them, and the social relations in which they are imbedded" (Omi and Winant 1994:83).

Cristovam Buarque was the Minister of Education until early 2004, and has been very vocal about educational reform. He sees that growing class divisions threaten to erode racial solidarity and may lead to a two race society (Buarque 2004c). In his promotion of nationalism he seems to oppose community based schooling.

Brazil has a public university system and technical schools that meet international standards and a basic, K-12 education system that is among the world’s worst.

Universities and technical schools are federally based and receive federal funds. The elementary and secondary schools are run by the municipal and state governments and can only count upon local funding.

Guaranteeing the same quality education to all its children is what ensures the identity of a country. In Brazil, quality of education depends upon the city where the children are born and live—upon the municipal budget, upon the mayor’s good will. As a result, in Brazil the school is the cradle of social and regional inequality; it is an instrument of national “disidentity.” [Buarque 2004b]

Buarque is currently a senator and continues to push for academic reform, and legislation which he proposed focused on raising teacher salaries (Buarque 2004a). One provision in current legislation includes references to subsidies for the poor, but does not mention racially based quotas (Buarque 2004c). His push for federalism over regionalism parallels the racial project that nationalized the samba of Rio de Janeiro in the early 20th century, and the way the African ideology of música afro is often minimized when marketed for national consumption.

On the other hand, also from the government but seeming to argue against Buarque's point, Petrucelli defends the idea of implementing racial quotas in the universities as a means of reducing the inequality: “Those against quotas maintain that merely improving K-12 education solves the problem. It doesn’t. And they still say that those in favor of quotas are
against improving education for everyone, which is not true. The quotas are a way of trying to remedy the inequality in a shorter period of time” (Brígido 2004).

**Gender and Race**

Gender roles in Salvador are partially determined by the history of slavery (Freyre 2004). There are fewer stigmas against education for black women than one might expect, and there are more women in school than men at all levels (Buarque 2004a). But, the education doesn't do much good when there are few job openings. Black women are practically excluded from industry, especially the higher-paying modern industry jobs, and instead they are slotted into the informal sector or domestic jobs (Hasenbalg 1999:70-1), usually working in white homes. Sexually, girls are forced into the extreme stereotypes of insatiable (pagode lyrics) or repressed (Table 1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sexually ambitious</td>
<td>Sexually repressed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active</td>
<td>Passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rigid, secure, insensitive</td>
<td>Fragile, insecure, sensitive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (GAPA n.d.), my translation

Musically, there are religious prohibitions against women playing drums, and the discrimination is carried over into the more traditional blocos afro, such as Ilê Aiyê and Filhos de Gandhy. But women can have a dominant role within the religious hierarchy itself (Joaquim 2001), as seen by Mãe Hilda, the founder and late spiritual leader of Ilê Aiyê (Hilda n.d.). The community schooling movement was led by women (Jones De Almeida 2003). Most of the administrators of Pracatum and ECO are women. Many of the community schools sponsor all-girl bands (Figure 6).

The story of Didá and Neguinho do Samba is a good example. Neguinho was one of the main percussionists who helped found Ilê Aiyê, the first bloco afro. He composed most of
the rhythms that the blocos afro perform today, and he redesigned the surdo to make it easier for adolescents to carry and play. He left Ilê Aiyê to work with Olodum, which has had the most commercial success of any group in Bahia, performing with Paul Simon and Michael Jackson, and touring regularly. Neguinho was instrumental in channeling the money from the big name stars into the redevelopment of his neighborhood, the Pelourinho, which due largely to his efforts was named a UNESCO World Heritage site. In 1993 he started Projeto Didá, a community school for girls with an emphasis on music. Their Cultural Director, Vívian Caroline de Jesus Queiroz, explains their policies: "I think that education, work, self-esteem, and collective work are important instruments in guiding adolescents through adolescence" (Girot 2003). Her critique of public education is similar to those mentioned in Almeida 2003, Queiroz laments:

Our idea is to make a tripod of the child, the family and the (public) school. The place we've had the least success with is the school. For now we're asking the mothers to come to Didá so we can work with them to discover what help their children need in school. The children bring their homework exercises to Didá for review and receive assistance with their efforts. It's really frustrating because in the end it doesn't matter if the parents are doing their job and we're doing our job but the school isn't doing anything. [Wagner and Valim 1999]
Transforming public policy on education requires political leadership.

**Leadership Training as a Goal of the Racial–Musical–Educational Project in Salvador**

Relying on music and education to fight for racial equality engages the community on all levels, using the past, and planning very far into the future.

In her ethnography of female religious leaders in Candomblé in Bahia, Maria Salete Joaquim (Joaquim 2001) discusses institutions of leadership that were established by the Orixás (Deities). The leadership goal of priestesses is the transmission of cultural values to the next generation, which include the spiritual values of Axé (77-9), and the political values of black identity (54-9). Joaquim interviews various priestesses from Brazil, including Mãe Cleo who describes the leadership role of a priestess:

> To be a priestess is to be a catalyst, like an orchestra conductor, to coordinate and at the same time transmit Axé. The responsibility for the process of initiation of the female and male initiates, from start to finish. She coordinates everything, she secures the Axé, "transmits the magic force that she has and has to give in all of the senses." In the spiritual sense she is the one who transmits through words and actions the culture of the ancestors. Candomblé is a culture that is very much alive. [Joaquim 2001:44]

I believe the metaphor of priestess as orchestra conductor works both ways: the skills required of an orchestra conductor include the ability to create a kind of sacred space, where the music is respected over all other claims for attention. For example, sneezing is normally an involuntary action, but there is something about both a musical performance and a religious ceremony that makes people suppress a sneeze. An emic definition of leadership in Salvador could be the coordination of Axé while problem solving in a group, and as Joaquim points out, the problems are often related to enculturation of African identity. Hanchard described Afro-Brazilian cultural spaces such as religion and music as "precarious, often fleeting organizational reservoirs for leadership as well as collective development" (1994:83). For the purpose of this thesis, one of the goals of the racial–musical–educational project in Salvador could be viewed as the promotion of transformational leadership training for black youth. This goal can be described with Bernard. M. Bass and Bruce J. Avolio's four factors of transformational leadership: *Idealized Influence, Inspirational Motivation, Intellectual Stimulation,* and *Individualized Consideration* (Northouse 2004:169-87).

*Idealized Influence* refers to charismatic leaders who act as role models for their followers, have high moral standards, and provide their followers with a sense of vision. The
bloco afro music leaders are charismatic, in fact their charisma is often more valued than their music ability. The way that leadership development relies on role models is demonstrated by the many leaders who have worked their way up in blocos afro and then left to go on to form their own groups and train new leaders. The bloco afro leaders are held to higher moral standards than commercial popular musicians, and they are often associated with religious practice. They present a vision of racial equality and general social justice to their followers.

*Inspirational Motivation* refers to leaders who communicate high expectations to followers using symbols and emotional appeals. The bloco afro leaders expect the same high moral standard and commitment to volunteerism that they themselves show. They communicate a vision of racial equality through political and religious song lyrics, and symbols of African identity such as instruments and dress. The inherent emotion in music makes the message even more visionary.

*Intellectual Stimulation* refers to leadership that stimulates followers' creativity. The music is extremely participatory, Ilê Aiyê parades with over three thousand performers, and the audience is encouraged to dance and sing along. All performers are encouraged to make creative variations to their dancing, singing, or drumming. The subjects of the song lyrics are more intellectually engaging than other popular music. The youth education programs associated with each bloco afro usually include the teaching of citizenship, and other general and transferable skills, like problem-solving and critical thinking. Citizenship, problem-solving, and critical thinking are fundamental leadership traits.

*Individualized Consideration* refers to the supportive climate that leaders provide. Leaders of blocos afro work to improve the self-esteem of black youth by affirming the positive aspects of their African identity. Among the expressions of African identity in Salvador, music is perhaps the most ludic, providing adolescents a space where competition is minimized and they tend to be supportive of each other. All the leaders of blocos afro function as mentors and counselors.

Thus, many of the goals of the racial–musical–educational project in Salvador can be seen as the long term transformation of the individual and society, through the development of leadership in young African descendants.
CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter I explain how the study is designed to address the hypotheses that music develops leadership among adolescents in Salvador; I identify the population and sample, and describe how they are treated.

I started my research with a broad goal of describing the culture and music of the youth of Salvador. After a few weeks of fieldwork, I narrowed my goals and established my primary hypothesis that music develops leadership. This hypothesis implied several questions that fit the data I was collecting: What other cultural aspects develop leadership? How does music develop leadership?

In studying the cultural context, I asked, as Deborah White (1998:16) does, "What other experiences occurring in a young person's development might affect leadership development? Investigating the role of parents, mentors, schools, athletics, and youth organizations provides another part of the picture." This is similar what the RAND Corporation asked when justifying the social benefits of arts education: "but is there something different and somehow better about the sense of community gained from creative activity as opposed to other group activities—competing on a sports team, attending religious services, joining a coffee klatch, etc.?" (McCarthy et al. 2004:29). The examination of other cultural aspects that might develop leadership poses more specific questions. How is participation in a musical band different from school, soccer, capoeira or other social activities? Is music a factor at all, or is it merely associated with social situations where important cultural factors are negotiated, such as poverty, race, gender, sexuality, religion, kinship?

Assuming the music itself is a factor, examining how music develops leadership poses questions about the social organization of small groups, how decisions are made, and how problems are solved. Can the abilities used to make leadership decisions in musical situations be applied to other situations, such as administrative meetings? How is leadership taught or learned?
The methods of outsider participant-observation have inherent limitations, but the holistic aspect of anthropology makes it appropriate for dealing with the multi-causal factors involved in leadership.

I tried to avoid McCarthy et al.’s criticism of arts advocacy research:

Many studies are based on weak methodological and analytical techniques and, as a result, have been subject to considerable criticism. For example, many of these studies do no more than establish correlations between arts involvement and the presence of certain effects in the study subjects. They do not demonstrate that arts experiences caused the effects. [McCarthy et al. 2004:xiv]

A common scientific method of demonstrating causation is to first show correlation, then eliminate all other feasible causes, and finally provide an explanation for why the factors go together. My study was designed to demonstrate that music is a causal factor in the development of leadership skills in adolescents. I found definite correlations between music experience and leadership skills in adolescents in my fieldwork, and I present several plausible models for leadership development based on the fieldwork and the literature. Unfortunately, I found other strong cultural factors that preclude proving that music per se is the most important causal factor in leadership development. I argue that music contributes to leadership development among adolescents in Salvador.

**DESIGN OF THE INVESTIGATION**

I designed the investigation to gather data relevant to the hypothesis. I gathered data using participant-observation and interviews. I reviewed relevant literature before and during fieldwork to help guide my observations, and again afterwards to help interpret the data.

In order to demonstrate that musical experience contributes to leadership development, I first found associations between musical experience and indicators of leadership, in both the literature and fieldwork. Then, I explored other cultural factors that may contribute to leadership, and attempted to isolate music as a significant factor.

I searched for similarities between the problems solved in musical situations and the problems solved in administrative situations. I categorized communication patterns and problem solving in both rehearsals and meetings. I focused on band rehearsals because of the higher quantity of social interaction compared to other musical situations, and because the ratio of rehearsals to performances are about ten to one with newer bands, and this allowed for more observations. Also, although rehearsals and performances had similar social
interactions, the interactions in rehearsals tended to be less concealed and more varied. For example, in a rehearsal it was acceptable to stop and discuss a problem, but during performances communication was often subdued. I focused on formal meetings as an example of an administrative situation that showcases leadership skills.

This research is primarily a description of an ethnographic present, but proving leadership development requires a longitudinal approach. I show change over time in several ways: (1) within each of the phases of fieldwork I observed changes in the social dynamics of the group from week to week, especially with the bands that were just beginning, (2) the two-year period between phases allowed me to observe changes in several bands and individuals, and (3) I compare musicians that have just started to play in a band to musicians with decades of musical experience. For all methods, especially the last, I attempt to isolate music as a causal factor, and mitigate the obvious differences that come from people becoming more mature, more respected, and better leaders as they get older.

In order to explain how musical experience might develop leadership, I compared my fieldwork with models of leadership development gleaned from the literature review.

**Variables: Population and Sample**

The population for this study consists of the young people who live in the metropolitan area of Salvador in the state of Bahia, Brazil, and specifically the social action organizations that use the arts to help them.

The sample is a single NGO in Salvador. I chose it out of dozens of similar NGOs in Salvador, based on contact made in 1998 through a mutual acquaintance. To determine how representative my sample was, I performed a "spot check" of other groups within the population (Merriam 1964:51), including Ilê Aiyê, Olodum, Filhos de Ghandy, Projeto Didá, Caravana Cultural dos Alagados de Salvador, and two bandas de lata.

The NGO sponsors around a dozen bands at any given time. Each band has about seven members each, mostly between 12 to 18 years old, almost all black, about three-fourths boys. The volunteers were the same except older, usually around 20 years old and most had been with the NGO for over five years.
FIELDWORK

I performed the fieldwork in two phases. In 2003, I was in Salvador from July 19 to October 27 (98 days), and I was doing participant-observation for about 55 days in that period. In 2005, I was in Salvador from July 10 to August 15 (35 days) and I was doing participant-observation for about 25 days. This works out to 133 days of fieldwork and about 80 days of participant-observation.

I formally interviewed 15 participants and volunteers from the NGO. I had informal conversations with many more. My principal informant was Sneezy, who was exceptionally articulate about both musical aesthetics and social interactions. He was in his early twenties, black, born and raised in the neighborhood. He played in a banda de lata as a child. He participated in the NGO and then became a volunteer. Now he plays drums professionally in several bands in Salvador. His volunteer roles at the NGO varied, but he mainly coordinated the rehearsal room and helped to organize bands. Sneezy was an excellent example of leadership at the NGO. All of the younger band leaders looked up to him and imitated his leadership styles to some degree. He in turn said that he had learned his leadership techniques from the NGO director, and through his participation in the NGO.

Besides participant-observation and interviews with the NGO, I gathered several other forms of data during the fieldwork: (1) I interviewed local scholars and experts; (2) I used data sets gathered by the NGO itself, which included an informal survey, participant's age, parents, attendance, and participation in activities; and (3) I continue to stay in contact with several of my informants through e-mail.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Besides the obvious methodological limitations of an outsider ethnography (such as not understanding many nuances of conversational Portuguese), I gathered limited data on administrative meetings, and lacked a control group.

I evaluated my hypothesis that musical leadership is transferable to administrative leadership by comparing observations of incidents of musical leadership to incidents of administrative leadership. However, I determined that a significant portion of administrative leadership was taking place outside of meetings. For example, meetings to plan for an upcoming event were often cancelled but the event still happened; this implies that informal
leadership was successfully taking place. Also, although I attended around 200 rehearsals I only attended around 25 meetings.

My observations of the community where the NGO participants lived was limited to mostly walking to and from the NGO and talking to a few residents. I did not study a large control group of adolescents who lived in the same neighborhood but did not participate in the NGO. The main condition for participation in the NGO was that the adolescents be in school and maintain passing grades. This academic requirement skewed my sample because I wasn't studying the adolescents in the neighborhood with the worst academic problems. I wasn't rigorously studying the other social activities in the community besides music that may also contribute to developing leadership skills. I mitigated the lack of a control group through interviews, asking participants how being in the NGO was different. But, interviewees tend to exaggerate the benefits of their own group, and I was unable to evaluate to what degree the interviewees exaggerated the benefits of the NGO.
CHAPTER 3

MUSICAL LEADERSHIP

We cannot say about these drums
that they can almost speak.
They do speak.
They represent or simulate
the tones and rhythms of true speech.
They try to imitate the human voice
And so emit words, poems.
Verbal symbolism recreated
in the meeting of hands
and drum skins.

-Antonio Risério

I organized my findings into leadership and cultural context. I divided leadership into the categories of musical leadership and administrative leadership, which I cross-cut with categories of communication and problem solving. I include some specific interpretation and discussion with the findings, but save most of the broader comparisons for the final chapter.

In the next three chapters I report on my fieldwork with a sample NGO. The NGO is typical of the dozens of social action groups in Salvador that combine the arts with projects oriented toward improving the economic self-sufficiency and the self-esteem of young African descendants. The purpose of the NGO is to provide extracurricular activities to the youth in the neighborhood. These activities include classes in music, art, dance, theater, reading, job-training, and citizenship. The administration of these programs required meetings. Music education was mostly decentralized. The NGO provided the instruments and rehearsal space, along with some coordination and instruction but for much of the time the adolescents were left to organize their own rehearsals. The NGO had a few paid staff positions, but was mostly run by volunteers, most of whom had participated with the NGO for many years, and gradually assumed more and more administrative responsibilities.

In Chapters 3 and 4 I make the somewhat arbitrary division of leadership into musical and administrative events. My basic criteria is that any social organizing that happens during a rehearsal is musical, and anything that happens outside a rehearsal, where people aren’t
drumming or singing is administrative. But a half-an-hour discussion of the long-term goals of the band during rehearsal is more of an administrative event than a musical one, and during meetings people would occasionally practice rhythms, hitting tables with pencils or their hands. The difficulty in separating these categories actually supports my hypotheses that music and administrative skills are interrelated.

Of all the possible indicators of leadership I found communication and problem solving encapsulated most of my observations, and these can be loosely viewed as form and function. Members of the group have a range of communication skills that can be used to solve immediate problems. Broader problem solving involves ideology, aesthetics, economics, politics, and other more social forms of power, which I discuss as the cultural context of leadership in Chapter 5. I continue this chapter by describing patterns of communication and problem solving in rehearsals.

**COMMUNICATION**

Communication can be: written, verbal, non-verbal, and any combination of the above. The affective function can be analytical or emotional. Written communication was very limited, and only included rehearsal schedules and set lists.

**Verbal**

Verbal communication consisted of speech acts. They contained elements of demonstration, analysis, and emotion. Verbal communication was common during rehearsals but mostly absent in public performances.

**DEMONSTRATIVE**

I have labeled demonstrative communication in music the speech acts where people use their voice to demonstrate a part or the rhythmic structure. There is no standard repertoire of vocables, the goal is to mimic the sound of the drum. Long, low vowels are often used for tones such as the surdo or the main tone of the timbal; short high vowels are used for sharp attacks such as the repique, oil drum, and timbal slaps; hissing sounds for the snares of the caixa or the rattle of the ganzá.

Carlinhos Brown promoted vocables in several songs, and named the musical school "Pracatum" after a popular timbal part from one of his earliest hits (Brown 1993). Band
leaders often sing the part before rehearsing it. For example, when demonstrating a part, Sneezy would typically sing the part with vocables, and evaluate whether the drummer could repeat it correctly. If not, he would grab sticks and demonstrate it on the drum, or an adjacent drum. Singing the part often saved time because the directors didn’t have to find an extra pair of the correct sticks and position themselves correctly, but it had disadvantages because the person being shown the part couldn't see the way the sticks moved, and the sound was often harder to hear.

Figure 7 is an example of demonstrative communication using vocables. Samuel, leader of The Next Big Thing demonstrated the start of a song to the rest of the drummers by singing the part first. In this example the low vowel signified the start of a phrase.

Figure 7. Samuel of The Next Big Thing uses vocables to demonstrate a beginning.

Leaders also communicate the rhythmic structure for a musical change or a part, usually by counting the beats of silence. This is most common in beginnings, where the leader will count "Three, Four!" or "One! Two! Three! Four!" and the band is expected to start on the next beat.

**ANALYTICAL**

During rehearsals the musicians are constantly critically evaluating the performance of the group by describing problems and suggesting solutions. The cognitive skills that allowed leaders to identify problems and imagine solutions usually required verbal skills to explain these ideas to the group. Typically someone would stop the music and proclaim how the group should perform a given rhythm or change, then they would explain themselves, and others would argue the merits of the position. Sometimes a specific performance problem could bring up broad issues and lead to long discussions. Sneezy would often stop rehearsals and give lectures or pep talks, often moving the entire rehearsal into a more comfortable space with chairs. When analytic speech acts got to this point I defined them as a "meeting," but analytical speech is best viewed as a continuum differing in duration, setting, and topic.
Musical issues were generally discussed in rehearsals. Meetings generally focused on conflicts within the band, attendance, or equipment.

For example, Heather, leader of The New Girls on the Block, would often discuss the band entrances before playing, reminding musicians where to start, explaining conceptually the order of various sections, and shouting out quick reminders a measure or two before a break or an ending. Most leaders had a set of descriptive phrases to label problems and focus the subsequent rehearsal, such as “It dragged!” or “It was sloppy!” Grace would often add short commentaries to clarify the leadership roles of various instruments.

**Emotive: Encouragement and Expletives**

Interjections were used as both positive and negative sanctions. When the group plays something well, members will compliment themselves, with an “All right!” However, encouragement was not as common as criticism. Frustration with mistakes was generally expressed through expletives. For example, when the band made a serious mistake on an ending, the silence would often be broken by someone shouting "Fuck!" The target of the expletive was usually a non-personal situation, but was occasionally directed toward mistakes that were attributable to an individual, or as a self-criticism.

**Non-Verbal Communication**

Non-verbal communication is important in music because using language is considered to be an interruption of most performance situations. With blocos afro, the volume of the drums overpowers the human voice, and makes anything less than shouting inaudible.

Mouthing words is common during the performance. During a rehearsal of The Wastelanders the singer started playing the horizontal surdo (an especially difficult part) and started dragging the rhythm of the entire band down. Tomcat gave her a frown, but she didn’t respond, so he mouthed "No!" three or four times until she stopped. The first syllable of the local equivalent of "Fuck!" is easy to lip-read (po'ha). Heather used this occasionally to communicate with other band members across the room, usually as a criticism for general problems with the bands, but occasionally directed towards a specific mistake someone made.
I have grouped incidents of non-verbal communication into performance style, gestures, posture, dance, and walking out in protest.

**PERFORMANCE STYLE AND PARTICIPANT DISCREPANCIES**

They spell words with a drum beat

-Ezra Pound

One of the most important forms of musical communication was very difficult to describe. Within the boundaries set by a part, the musician had leeway to adjust their performance style in order to communicate with members of band. The adolescents were constantly negotiating "expressive timing" in what I have dubbed microleadership (p. 27), making very subtle rhythmic variations to their parts. Some of the more obvious stylistic communication patterns I noted was that when people were happy or excited they tended to play louder, with more expression, dance more, and sometimes rush the tempo. When they were mad, they tended to play more quietly with less expression, less synchronism, would dance less enthusiastically, and would drag. After a song a musician might slam their sticks on the drum in frustration, but I very rarely observed violent anger expressed through the music itself. I attribute this to the non-violent aesthetic of música afro (in my limited sense of the term: music of the blocos afro and the adolescent bands who imitate it), in the same way it would be difficult to imagine using the adjective violent to describe a reggae performance (angry possibly, but not violent), or anything the group Filhos de Gandhy played.

Performers would consciously manipulate the group through their personal performance. Good players would leave space for other band members by playing softer when a singer was singing without a microphone or in sections where the music featured a hand-drum. Good fundo players would play louder when people started to loose the rhythm. Another subtle performance style change that I happened to observe was the caixa player for The Wastelanders would get slightly louder just before a break or ending in order to cue the rest of the band, who tended to loose track of where the musical changes occurred in songs.

**GESTURES**

Most gestures are common, but some have been adapted to musical situations. Many gestures were common to non-musical communication, such as pointing to direct attention,
extending the middle finger to signify “Fuck you!”, putting their index finger to the lips to ask people to be quiet, extending a thumb up with a closed fist to signify approval, or yawning when tired or bored (Rector and Aluizio 1985). For example, in one band with two bell players who were alternately losing the rhythm, Sneezy would point with his forefinger to the one who had the correct rhythm, and the pointing was accompanied by an encouraging facial expression (raised brows, wide open eyes, smile).

One gesture that is common to much of Latin America is a repetitive snap performed by flicking the loose forefinger against the ring finger (supported by the thumb); the wrist is flexed in towards the torso, and the forearm rotates rapidly. It is used to add emphasis in conversation, and was used by musicians to signify incredulous admiration for an excellent performance, or embarrassment for someone’s horrendous mistake. Though the snap was not audible while playing, it was visibly recognizable.

Many common gestures are modified because of limitations of simultaneously having to continue performing. For example, the shoulder shrug, that signifies questioning, is difficult to perform while playing drums, so drummers will jut their chins up and out, and open their eyes wider, to ask a question such as when a break or ending is supposed to come. After an exceptional performance, people would often pat each other on the back, but this gesture was difficult in music situations because most of the drummers had a stick in each hand.

Clapping is rare at rehearsals and uncommon at public presentations. When it occurs it is usually initiated by someone outside the NGO, such as a tourist. The audience generally shows its approval by dancing. Clapping is sometimes used to mark the time, as is stomping the foot.

Leaders have a lexicon of explicit gestures to communicate with the rest of the band. When the band has a singer, the adolescents are expected to have memorized the musical changes to the songs, and though the singer will sometimes cue them verbally, often the cues are very subtle, such as a direct gaze at the person who has missed the musical change previously and is most likely to miss it again. Without a song to cue the breaks or endings, the leader, often not playing, starts with the signal (number of fingers, stick, or other hand signal) held up high for a measure or two and then conducts with the beat: one, two, three, four, and everyone stops on the next one. Often leaders will sweep their open outstretched
hands in toward their torso, grasping and making a fist at the moment the music is supposed to stop, as if bringing the sound in, catching it, and trapping it in their hands.

During a rhythm, the leader will often adjust the tempo and occasionally the volume. A flexed wrist with the palm up that makes quick diagonal cutting motions (either toward or away from the torso) means to go faster, and the cuts often mark the intended tempo. Snapping the flexed wrist, palm-down, away from the torso, while extending the fingers can mean continue and be used to mark time. The singer will often quiet down the drums in order to be heard, with a palms-down damping gesture.

Gerald, directing a large group made up of several bands who had never rehearsed together, mimicked the intended unison ending (Figure 8), chopping his hands above his head in the air, while the musicians continued playing their regular parts. The musicians were not distracted by the gestures, and after Gerald called out the song by counting to four with his fingers in the air, the band performed the ending with amazing synchronism.

Figure 8. Gerald cueing ending with hand chops.

Most gestures are common to the city of Salvador, but many are specific to the director, and not everyone knows the entire repertoire of possible gestures. Grace invented a gesture to represent notes too fast to be visually perceived (sixteenth note triplets), by holding her hand out and wiggling her fingers quickly. One day Sneezy was trapped by the bus boycott and couldn’t make it to rehearsal, so Twiggy covered his responsibilities and helped lead a rehearsal of The Youngsters. He introduced a new song and used a gesture of opening and closing his hand to the beat, flashing it at the outside surdo players to signal, "keep going," and he called out the inside players to stop. Unfortunately, most of the band didn't understand the gesture, and several outside surdos stopped and the song fell apart.

Gestures are an important factor in team leadership. For example, the tall marcação player from The New Land is not the official leader of the group but is probably the strongest drummer. Occasionally, she hits the drum with larger than necessary up-strokes, which is an exaggerated visual gesture aside from the increased volume it produces, and it functions to
give the people near her a visual cue as to where the beat is. The other marcação player was constantly looking to her for her part, and literally looking at her for her part. Also, the strong marcação would sometimes play the weak one's part in the air for her during sections where they had different parts.

**Facial Expressions**

Facial expressions were especially difficult to interpret. I generally associated smiling with good music, but there were many exceptions. For example, at one of the rehearsals of The Trashcan Troupe I felt a jarring disconnect between myself being emotionally moved by an outstanding performance, and the expression of complete boredom on the faces of all the musicians; "Been there, done that, let's try the next song." This could be due to the increasingly high standards of performance in older groups, as if the band were disappointed because even though the performance was excellent, it wasn't as up to their potential. However, the way the older bands perfunctorily move on to the next song in the repertoire, instead of rehearsing a problem spot, suggests that their faces show boredom and not disappointment.

Another possibility is my difficulty in distinguishing boredom from concentration. After a difficult half-an-hour of rehearsal, The Young Perspectives were stuck repeating the same problems with the entrance to a song. Sneezy, frustrated by having to repeatedly stop the song and correct the same mistakes, let the problems slide and let them play the song for a minute, and after a brief moment of dancing, their movements became more subdued and their eyes unfocused and their facial expression looked almost bored, but the music had more synchronism then at any time in the entire rehearsal, and when Sneezy called out a break, they played it correctly (although soon after they fell back into the same problems).

Csikzentmihalyi (2003) equates flow with both happiness and concentration, but to me these would lead to very different facial expressions. I feel confident reading someone's face and deciding whether they are happy or sad, but I feel less confident deciding whether someone is bored or concentrating.

Younger bands will often smile when someone is fooling around, even when the music sounds bad. Smiling is often more related to ludic behavior, than a consequence of the quality of music being played.
The association between smiling faces and correct performance brings up a question of cause and effect. Does the smiling make them relax and play better? Does the correct sound of the music make them smile? Because I can't answer these definitively and have difficulty interpreting facial expressions, I look for other factors to guide my interpretations.

**POSTURE**

Posture is a reliable indicator to distinguish between boredom and concentration. When people are bored or if they disagree with something someone says, they will slouch or lean against the wall or a drum. When people are concentrating, they may be slack-jawed with unfocused eyes, but they are usually standing very straight. For example, Katy, the main repique player for The New Sensations, was obviously getting bored with a long discussion over how the breaks go for the song that the band had been rehearsing ("Seasons"), and she was slouching against the wall. All of sudden, Penny, a dancer who was especially hyper-active that day, jumped across the room to where Katy was slouched, and Penny grabbed Katy by the shoulders and physically propped her up in front of the drum, as if saying don't be bored, don't withdraw. Another example of the importance of posture was when Sneezy criticized the lead singer of The Persuasions for sitting on his heels during a rehearsal, saying that singers always stand up straight.

**DANCE**

A common way to increase the motivation of other players is to communicate with them through dance movements. Bands would sometimes begin a song with a solo hand drum and the entire band dancing in unison, but usually the dancing was more spontaneous. The surdo players are more likely to dance because their parts play fewer notes and they have more time and attention to dance. A common move is to move the shoulders up and to alternating sides in rhythm with the downbeat. Dancers will often smile toward the people on either side of them as if inviting them to join the dance, and they will usually respond by attempting to mimic the initial dancer's motions, or at least lean in the same direction on the same beat.

For example, The Next Big Thing was one of the bands who danced the most. Sometimes they would all seem to randomly break into unison dance moves, but usually it was a single individual who initiated the dancing. The individual would start dancing, and
then look directly at the person next to them until they caught the other person's attention, and then they would start a more exaggerated elaborate movement—a "Look at me!" dance—until the other person responded and started dancing. This usually continued on both sides of the dance initiator, and worked like positive feedback, until the intensity of the dancing often interfered with the drumming. Most of the dance moves were side-to-side, bending at the hips, while independently moving the shoulders. Sometimes the musicians would stop playing, and just dance, and their arms would swing in large arcs in what seemed to mimic a Candomblé dance. Sometimes they would coordinate a move between two or more dancers. Sometimes two groups of a few dancers would do separate moves. Dance was definitely an important form of ludic behavior for The Next Big Thing.

Dance was generally used to show appreciation for excellent performance. For example, when The New Girls on the Block would play everything correctly, Heather would often start dancing. Once she got extremely animated, jumping up and down, thrashing about, and she pressed herself against the wall, as if to mime being blown away by the band. The dancing made an especially big impression on the group, because she tends to be very critical most of the time. Everyone was smiling when she plastered herself against the wall, and the tension of a difficult rehearsal was reduced.

**Walking Out in Protest**

Walking out in protest is done in a very theatrical way. Often the person who walks out stands just outside the rehearsal room waiting for someone to come get them, and if no one comes to get them they will come back themselves after a few minutes. The threat of walking out, (standing up straight, grabbing sticks, facing the door) will usually get people's attention and often their sympathy.

**Assault and Battery**

Threatening to hit someone that you disagree with is common. And, many will follow through and hit the person on the shoulder or the head with their hand or stick.

For example, in one of the first rehearsals of The Youngsters, the drummers were rotating between different drums, and competing for who would play the better instruments. At one point, a larger boy, Alan was playing the good repique and a smaller boy, Bart, the broken one. When Alan moved to surdo, Bart shifted to the good repique. Another small boy,
Carl moved to play the broken repique for a few seconds and then moved in front of Bart, and they were both playing the same drum for a few seconds until Bart raised his sticks and quickly brought them toward Carl as if threatening to hit him. Carl stopped playing Bart’s drum and moved to the efeitos.

Grace once slapped a back-up singer on the top of the head to get her attention. The back-up singer looked offended for several seconds, which distracted Grace momentarily, but they both went back to singing their parts.

Sometimes the motivation for the violence seemed to be ludic. For example, Slick was featured for a song playing the surdo horizontally, and Tomcat playfully challenged his position with a capoeira attack. He slipped his flip-flop off one foot, and did a benção (a slow front kick) towards Slick, while continuing to play with both hands.

Gerald, leader of The Creative Spirits, was playing atabaque and started to hit the boy next to him on the top of his head, while staying in rhythm (Figure 9). I observed no other conflict or animosity between the two boys, Gerald just started hitting the boy who happened to standing closest to him, and kept hitting for a few measures until the boy moved back out of reach and Gerald continued playing his atabaque part.

Figure 9. Gerald hits boy while in rhythm.

Efeitos players would occasionally play loudly in someone’s ear, which could be very painful, but it wasn’t taken very seriously by the victim.

Violence was prevalent during rehearsals, especially with younger bands, but it was less prevalent in the rehearsal studio than outside. I observed adolescents to be less violent while playing music compared to other recreational activities. Incidents of assault and battery were usually related to struggles for dominance.
DOMINANCE

Dominance can involve both verbal and non-verbal communication, and can be both a form of communication and a problem needing to be solved. This serves as a reminder of the limitations of the categories that I have used to group these leadership patterns. For example, the caixa player for The Super Stars has better rhythm and perhaps a better overall musical sense of the band than the official leader who plays repique and dances exceptionally well. For one song the fundo player was required to play a fast part. The mallets she was using were soft, which is appropriate for most of the fundo parts, but in this case the soft mallets deemphasized the attacks and made the part sound less precise. The caixa player was concerned with the overall sound of the band, and when the band stopped, she motioned to the fundo player to switch to harder mallets, but the fundo player pretended not to see her. The caixa player continued motioning, holding up a pair of harder mallets, and the fundo player gave her a mean look. The caixa player finally walked over to her and they exchanged a few heated words, until the caixa player backed down and went back to her instrument and the fundo player continued with her soft mallets. The caixa player was musically correct but she lacked the authority to tell the fundo player what to do. The official leader could tell the other members of the band what to do without being questioned, and this ability to dominate is distinct from her musical ability.

In practice, people are not generally conscious of making a switch between verbal and non-verbal communication. They have an overall message to communicate and use whatever method they feel will be most effective. The following section looks at communication grouped more by goals than techniques.

PROBLEM SOLVING SITUATIONS

The goal of musical leadership is to use the above communication skills to solve some of the following problems. After an introduction to some of the problems of a sample band, presented chronologically, I try to group the problem incidents of all bands into common categories. The introduction serves as a reminder that leaders are solving multiple problems simultaneously.
Introduction to Rehearsal Problems: The Super Stars Learn a New Song

The Super Stars had been playing for about a year, and Sneezy was showing them the ending to the new song "Betrayal." One of the surdo players just couldn't get the ending right, so Sneezy broke it down into components (Figure 10).

He separated it into two measures, and when the surdo player kept playing the second measure incorrectly, he drilled the second half of the second measure and then joined it to the first half of the second measure. She kept playing something like triplets for several tries, but eventually got it.

While Sneezy was drilling the fundo player individually, the caixa player, who often demonstrated team leadership, worked with the other fundo player, repeating the second measure over and over as if it were a rhythm.

They tried this ending ten days later without Sneezy, and had distinct problems with both the first and second measures. The problems came from the fact that no one was certain enough how it went and that the best musicians lacked the leadership ability to convince the others to do it the way they originally learned it.

The changes to the second measure are an example of strong but incorrect leadership. When they first rehearsed it, a majority of the group omitted the first two notes (Figure 10, second measure, first beat). Debate followed over what the correct version was. The caixa player, who I believe has the best rhythm of the group, remembered it correctly, but lost out to the official leader and repique player who insisted on eliminating the first two notes of the second measure.

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**Figure 10. Rehearsal order of components of The Super Stars ending.**
While rehearsing the first measure, the process they used to arrive at a consensus demonstrates microleadership in music. The repique player drilled it over and over but the surdos kept delaying their entrance, the band couldn't end together on the fourth beat. She sang vocables for the simple version from the last rehearsal, but the rest of the group joined together in rejecting her version, arguing that it shouldn't go that “fast.” She finally left the rehearsal to get Heather to support her version. But Heather was uncharacteristically unable to resolve the problem, and had seemed distracted the whole practice, hardly saying anything. Getting no help from Heather, they continued rehearsing the break, and when the surdos weren’t extremely late, the highs and surdos would manage to come to a consensus and successfully end the measure on the same beat.

The consensus can be analyzed as a participant discrepancy. In Figure 11, I rewrite the first measure of Figure 10, separating the four beats into four measures, and magnifying the new beat into the smallest common subdivision that I could perceive. Then I approximate two more variations, listed in order of how much the surdos delay their second and subsequent hits. I offset the rests to show where the performers are adding space (because it is visually daunting to keep track of the rests, I also include another style of notation of the same consensus version, using arrows instead of rests to show where performers are adding space; it compares well with the simple version at the top of the figure).

The complexity of the notation is a reminder that this is an oral tradition. These variations could also be notated with a ritard over the simple version, but this wouldn't represent the intentions of the musicians. Adding space is usually a euphemism for dragging, but in this case I believe the space comes not from being tired or confused, but from the surdo section’s strong aesthetic belief in how the music should be performed: that it shouldn't go that "fast."

The arrows in the extreme variation show where the final notes of the highs and lows do not coincide. This variation was unacceptable to everyone in the band. The band tolerated flexibility in the interpretation of the time between notes, but they felt compelled to respect the structural elements of turn-taking and unison of the simple version: (low, high), (low, low, high), (low, low, high), low, LOW/HIGH. After playing the extreme version which they recognized as a mistake, the repique player told the surdos that they needed to play it "faster," which meant that the surdos should come in earlier on their second note (first beat,
third 16th note). The surdos did not immediately respond to this request, but after several attempts the group arrived at a compromise, notated in Figure 11 as the consensus. Each of the four beats in the consensus happens to approximate a time signature of 19/64, and the ending may seem like a simple time signature change from 4/4 to 19/64, but the way of arriving at the time signature change involves a negotiation between the highs and the surdos that occurs in the first two beats. The surdos delay their second note by approximately three sixty-fourth notes. The repique and caixa are forced in turn to also delay their second note, however they resist the surdos and only delay it approximately one sixty-fourth note. In the second beat the surdos capitulate to the high’s resistance by reducing their delay to only two sixty-fourth notes. Having established a compromise, they repeat it on the third beat, and they end together on the fourth beat.
By the end of the rehearsal, they had finished the negotiations, resolved the problems with both measures and performed the ending repeatedly without complaining. To my aesthetic, the two omitted notes were not essential, and the surdo delay and response by the highs increased the rhythmic tension and made the song’s ending much more dramatic than the original simple version. The question I couldn’t answer is how intentional these aesthetic changes were. Were they an intentional augmentation of rhythmic complexity to increase the effect of the ending, or were they the consequences of a lack of basic musical education in notation that forces them to re-negotiate everything at each rehearsal, because nothing is written down? In either case, the negotiations provided a large quantity of experience in microleadership. Members of the band make compromises, and come to a consensus over acceptable variations.

A week later Sneezy drilled the ending and confirmed the simple version of the first measure and returned the previously omitted notes from the second measure. The band went back to how they first learned it, although there was still some tension in the first measure.

But, as soon as Sneezy left, they began to deal with a new problem: Where in the song does the ending come? The singer was supposed to sing a specific "oh oh ooohhh" part just before the ending. The drummers criticized the singer harshly for making a minor variation of her part. The drummers apparently used the singer’s part as a cue, but could have also counted measures. The drummers seemed to project their inadequacy onto the singer. Part of the frustration could have come from the drummers’ expectation that the singer should fulfill her assigned leadership role of cueing the entrances of the drummers, which this singer did not do.

The above example demonstrates that problems overlap and that not only the music teacher and the official band leader are involved in solving them. I group examples of problem solving by category below.

**Multi-Tasking**

One of the key leadership traits was the ability to handle simultaneous problems. In groups over ten the leader would often not play. In large groups there would often be more then one leader who would not play. Most leaders in small groups would continue playing while giving directions. Leaders use multi-tasking and code-switching (p. 72) to solve
multiple problems, code-switching refers to the various leadership styles employed, multi-tasking refers to the simultaneity of the problems.

For example, Grace was able to continue singing with excellent rhythm, good intonation, and decent expression, while simultaneously communicating using gestures and facial expressions to specific drummers that they needed to improve their synchronism. She combined contradictory singing and facial expression; a happy song while showing disapproval. In another example, the marcaçao player of The Kiddy Power Band was very active in directing the rest of the musicians with verbal commands and head gestures, while playing with both sticks. During a parade, Wrench alternated between herding people together, helping people with their straps, tuning instruments, criticizing drummers who were dragging, and taking over parts from people who were tired, all while walking at a fast pace.

**Directive Behavior**

I borrow the title of this section from one of the axes of a Situational Leadership model. Directive behaviors include establishing goals and methods of evaluation, setting time lines, and defining roles (Northouse 2004:89). I reduce the scope of the term to: people telling other people what to do.

The most common directive behavior was trying to focus the attention of the group on a specific rehearsal problem. Sneezy would often admonish performers, “You need to pay attention!” This was most important in younger bands because they had more problems organizing themselves. The effective leader in the younger bands was someone who unified people and got them to either review the repertoire or stick with one new song until they learned it. For example, Samuel, the leader and main singer of The Next Big Thing was the one who most often started the group, cued the breaks, and forced the band to drill problems until it could perform them correctly. Directive behavior is involved in other categories of leadership, especially dominance (p. 58), and the quality of leadership (p. 87).

**Synchronism**

Synchronism is important for both the musical changes and the rhythm of a song. The aesthetics of the music of blocos afro value abrupt musical changes (beginnings, breaks, endings), which were short rhythmic patterns that were usually juxtaposed to the continual rhythm of the song, and often in unison or responsorial form (usually alternating between the
surdo section and the highs). One drummer used the word "cleanliness" to describe the precision of synchronism that they strived for. While the adolescents watched other musicians, what seemed to impress them the most was the synchronism and the complexity of the musical changes. I believe the importance of these musical changes is emphasized even more in youth bands from the periphery of the city, because for most of the year their only experience with the blocos afro is through the media. Most blocos afro have an elite group, a "show band," which is responsible for recording and touring. The version of the music of the bloco afro that is disseminated by the media was recorded in a studio or on a stage by a small group of professional musicians who are capable of a larger and more complex repertoire of musical changes than the giant bloco afro that meets seasonally, and includes mostly amateur musicians from the community (it only takes one person to ruin a musical change). The small groups of adolescents often strive for a higher level of professionalism than the larger blocos afro. In most rehearsals over half of the time is spent making sure that every single band member has memorized and can consistently play the musical changes.

During public performances, the synchronism and complexity of the musical changes demonstrates the rehearsal time invested by the group, but what the audience most appreciates is synchronism in the repeated rhythm, which is what motivates people to dance. The audience perceives the aural flow of the music, and acknowledges it visually by dancing. I rarely observed people begin to dance when the band was out of rhythm. Leaders maintain this flow in various ways, most importantly by maintaining the rhythmic structure, which means making sure that everyone is playing their parts within a reasonable tolerance. I occasionally observed leaders unfocus their gaze for a few seconds as if evaluating the synchronism of the group, and then focus their gaze directly on someone who was playing out of rhythm.

While evaluating barriers to synchronism, the leaders are consciously asking why people are getting out of rhythm. Is it a technical problem with a mallet? Is the part too fast for them? Have they eaten today? Are they worried about problems at home? Problems with synchronism are often consequences of other problems mentioned in this section.
Initiating Structures

Band leaders are most likely to be the ones who start the music. Ohio State leadership researchers use the term *Initiating Structures* to describe broad task behaviors such as organizing work, giving structure to the work context, defining role responsibilities, and scheduling work activities (Northouse 2004:66-7). The term *initiative* is also included as a leadership trait in many approaches. I use it here to group literal structures of initiating the music that are a crucial part of leadership. Beginning a song requires leadership initiative and respect from the followers. This respect may come from the individual's charisma or from the leadership roles ascribed to the instrument.

A song can begin by layering in the parts either informally or at set moments along with the lyrics, but songs usually begin with a leader counting "Three, Four!" or "One! Two! Three! Four!" and everyone starts on the first beat of the next measure. Some people lack the authority to start the group, and their “three, four…” has to be repeated several times before the group will respond.

For example, the repique player from The Way of the Drum had so many false starts, that "Three! Four!" became just another way to get people’s attention. Sneezy told him, "you need to get the band together first." So the repique player waved his stick in the air first and then called it in, and most came in correctly. But by the next entrance he didn't get the band together first and he did another false start and half the band didn't come in. They had developed a bad habit. They had changed the meaning of "Three! Four!" The majority of the band refused to concede a strong enough leadership role to the repique player to respect his first call-in; he lacked the charisma to command the entire group to act on his wishes.

Initiating structures are often determined by the leadership roles of the instruments. The New Sensations were arguing over how to start a song, when Grace summarily ended the argument and said: "The repique leads!," and gestured to the repique player to start. The leadership role of the repique is typical of many blocos afro, and the rule in large samba groups from Rio de Janeiro. Some songs have introductions where the singer or the hand drum starts and the rest of the band enters together usually after the first verse of the song. Often the singer will cue the group with increased eye-contact, gestures, and by getting louder.
Teaching

Education was a principal goal of the rehearsal, and the adolescents used various teaching styles, and because education shares many theoretical aspects with leadership in music (Price and L. Byo 2002:336), the adolescents' teaching styles could be seen as leadership styles. Education implies power negotiations, leaders transfer their knowledge to the ones being led, students accept the dominance of their teachers. This was especially true at rehearsals, where leaders would teach people how to play their parts. Good leaders used a variety of teaching skills.

For example, while waiting for someone to open the rehearsal room, The New Girls on the Block were practicing their parts informally, playing on the walls and metal furniture. When the fundo player made a mistake with the beginning to the song “Sweet Dreams,” Mary jumped in and corrected her. But she didn’t work with her long enough for the fundo player to memorize the correct part, she just played it the right way once. This superficial teaching style differed from Grace's, who during the previous and subsequent practices had insisted that the fundo player play the part along with her. Grace had pointed out the specific mistakes, and repeated the beginning over and over. Eventually, Grace solved the problem by having the fundo player play only the first measure of the entrance and then start her regular downbeat and play through the entrance into the regular rhythm. The fundo player never learned the entire beginning, but enough of it not to hold the band back from starting the song. When Grace wasn't there, Mary showed team leadership and made a positive contribution to helping the fundo player realize she was making a mistake, but Grace showed more leadership by working with the fundo player to resolve the overall problem.

Sneezy adapted his leadership style to the needs of each band. For the advanced bands, he mostly left them alone, occasionally he would come in and solo on the djembe, or try to suggest a new song, but he definitely did not micro-manage. For the new bands he took a much more hands-on approach. Once for The Modern Drummers, he interrupted the rehearsal and told them to rest, take a bathroom break, and shake out their wrists.

The NGO leadership styles were compatible with Situational Leadership Theory (Hersey et al. 1977; Northouse 2004:89), transformational leadership theory (Northouse 2004:169-87), and Gomes da Costa's definition of an educator who respects youth as protagonists:
What should the role of the educator be for youth?
The educator should help youth identify the situation-problem and position themselves to face it.
Dedicate themselves to the sense of the group, not lose hope, and never stray from the proposed objectives.
Help the establishment of connections between the members of the group, strengthening the group cohesion.
Motivate the group to constantly evaluate their actions, and when necessary, re-plan them as a group.
Be on constant alert to insure that the initiative of the youth be understood and accepted by other youth and by the adult world.
Carefully maintain a climate of enthusiasm and dedication within the groups.
Collaborate in the evaluation of how actions develop, help the youth to introduce necessary adjustments. (Gomes da Costa 2004)

These very accurately describe the educational philosophy of the NGO, and the music teachers also reflected this philosophy. Below I describe specific categories of educational leadership, including demonstration, repetition, code-switching, positive reinforcement, and scaffolding.

**DEMONSTRATION**

The most common approach to education is demonstration, both by a teacher demonstrating a part to an individual and by a more experienced band demonstrating correct performance to a less experienced band. The teacher will isolate the students having the problem, and stand on the other side of their drum, play their part correctly, then ask them to play it while they observe closely. The close observation by the teacher both confronts the student with the problem and focuses the attention of the entire rest of the group on the performance of the student (see Figure 2, p. 7). Occasionally, this makes the student nervous and prone to repeat the mistake, but more often than not, it creates mounting negative sanctions for failure from the reproach of the teacher and the rest of the band. The teacher may take on an angry tone of voice and a more aggressive posture if repeated mistakes are made. The other band members will often pay attention to the person's mistakes in order to avoid making them themselves, or the other band members may show their frustration with having to wait by withdrawing from the rehearsal, slouching, insulting, and occasionally physically hitting the person when they get it wrong.

Correctly played music becomes a positive sanction that improves performance. When the music is played correctly people tend to smile. When they smile they tend to relax
and play better. But smiling is difficult to interpret as discussed in the section on facial expressions (p. 106).

For example, The Persuasions, a young band, were having difficulty with a new break. They were smiling and goofing around, so Sneezy stopped the rehearsal and gave them a pep talk on taking the music seriously. After the pep talk they played the break slightly better with no smiles. Then an impromptu all-star band cut into their rehearsal to perform for some tourists. They were excellent performers and besides a little bit of downtime in between songs while they talked through the next song, their performance was inspiring. They played a completely different repertoire from The Persuasions. After the all-star band and the tourists had left, The Persuasions continued from where they left off. I expected them to be a little more animated after hearing the pros strut their stuff, but their improvement was remarkable. They performed their entrance cleanly the first time and they were much more cohesive and a few were dancing in unison. This shows the advantages of learning by having superiors demonstrate the correct musical attitude, rather than through analytical explanations, or the emotional pleas of a pep talk. This strategy of demonstration was consciously used by the NGO, in the way they would require younger bands to observe the rehearsals of older bands.

Demonstration commonly occurred among peers: if someone didn’t know their part, the person closest to them was responsible for showing them. For example, several people had missed rehearsals for an all-star band and were less prepared than the rest, including Heather, who didn’t know her part. Wrench, who was positioned next to her, faced her and played her part with more dramatic gestures while also singing the part, until she duplicated it, and then Wrench went back to his regular part. In the same rehearsal Jumpy missed his entrance and Tomcat, who was positioned next to him, leaned towards him and sang his part. After moving to a new song, Wrench gave Jumpy a heads-up, literally raising his head up from concentrating on his own playing, to look directly toward Jumpy and nod abruptly at the point of Jumpy’s entrance. After Jumpy missed the second entrance, Wrench gave him a look of exasperation, rolling his eyes back and tilting his head back. Then everyone stopped playing to debate the entrance, and Jumpy got defensive. In the next song Tomcat hit Jumpy on the shoulder when he missed an ending. The rest of the bands reactions to Jumpy’s lack of attentiveness show an escalation of sanctions: (1) demonstrating the part, (2) a humiliating
look, (3) public analytical discussion, and finally (4) physically hitting him. The escalation showed the frustration of the other band members, but was unsuccessful in correcting Jumpy’s lack of attentiveness.

**REPETITION: REPERTOIRE AND DRILLING**

We're jammin', we're jammin', we're jammin', we're jammin',
We're jammin', we're jammin', we're jammin', we're jammin';
Hope you like jammin', too.

- Bob Marley

At a concert, the musicians are expected to play many novel musical changes in a short time span, but the rehearsal provides a space where repetition is encouraged and this facilitates learning. Repetition on a large scale means reviewing the repertoire, and on a small scale it means drilling the musical changes in a song.

The average band learns about one song a month, so groups that have been together for several years have an extensive repertoire. Most bands are oriented toward perfecting their existing repertoire rather than changing it. They often follow a written set list. Sometimes band members will call out songs, and sometimes the leader will determine the order.

Drilling means to repeat a song or a section of a song until it is performed correctly and sufficiently memorized so that the musicians can recall it at the next rehearsal or performance. The leader will isolate problem spots and organize their repetition. For example, often while Sneezy was drilling a problem spot in a band, an instant after they finished the section, he would say “Try it again!” and the band would start immediately. This cycle would repeat about three times if played fairly confidently, and up to around ten times if there were problems. Usually Sneezy did not allow the same problem to be repeated more than a few times before he would stop the drill and take another approach. The bands got so they knew they would have to stop and repeat a section, to the point where it was sometimes difficult to get all the members to continue the song and play it in its entirety.

Path-goal theory predicts that highly repetitive tasks require leadership that gives *support* (be friendly and approachable, treat subordinates as equals; relationship style) in order to maintain subordinate *motivation*. I didn't observe any increase in supportive behavior on the part of leaders during drills, in fact most of leaders seemed to get more frustrated with
drills, especially when adolescents made the same mistakes over and over again, in parts that were difficult to explain; and in repetitive situations the leaders generally demonstrated achievement-oriented leadership, often saying, "Let's get this right so we can move on." Using path-goal theory one could argue that their productivity could be improved by changing leadership style, but I prefer to explain this as an exception to the path-goal prediction: the tedious nature of the task failed to reduce the motivation of the group members, and boredom rarely became an obstacle that the leaders needed to overcome with a supportive leadership style (I discuss exceptions on p. 54); the more important obstacles were withdrawal or fatigue. The entire band understood the necessity of drilling as the proper path to reach their agreed upon goal of a unified performance (Northouse 2004:123-34).

**CODE-SWITCHING**

I borrow the term code-switching from linguistics where it refers to how multi-lingual speakers switch between languages, depending on the topic and generally at points where the syntax of the two languages coincide. I apply the concept metaphorically to describe abrupt musical changes in leadership style, or specifically teaching style. It is similar to situational leader theories that emphasize that a leader should change their leadership style depending on the situation. Several sources mentioned similar points: that the musical leader needed to fulfill multiple roles (Heiling 2002), and be able to shift between a repertoire of teaching (Kerley 1995:131) or leadership (Corso 2003; Yu 1999:130) styles depending on the situation.

For example, with new bands or old bands working on new songs, Sneezy normally used a very task oriented leadership style, but he would immediately switch to an intensive relationship style if arguments got heated, or the level of frustration reached a certain point; he would generally drill problem spots, but could shift immediately to a pep talk.

**SCAFFOLDING**

Leaders increased the efficiency of the rehearsal by parsing insurmountable problems into manageable pieces. In popular musical terminology this is often called "breaking it down." Scaffolding was common with more experienced teachers. It could take two forms, best described with an analogy to music notation, horizontal or vertical. I refer to horizontal scaffolding as breaking a large sections of time into several smaller ones, such as taking a
four measure change and practicing it one measure at a time, and then two measures at a time and then the entire change. Vertical scaffolding means learning the structure of a rhythm one part at a time, often beginning with a foundation or a clave part and then layering in the rest of the parts until everyone is playing the rhythm together.

Heather, rehearsing a difficult entrance with The New Girls on the Block, broke the part into measures, and rehearsed each separately, before combining them (Figure 12).

Figure 12. The New Girls on the Block, entrance, rehearsal order.

In another example, Phillip, leader of The Drum Time, showed his girlfriend Lea and the other girl in the band, Samantha, a complicated three drum part. He tried getting behind her and actually moving her arms, in what Gregory Bateson called the kinaesthetic type of learning (Bateson and Mead 1942:15-6, 84-7), but it was not very successful so he broke the part into components as described in Figure 13.

Figure 13. Phillip scaffolding a three surdo part.
Scaffolding could also be vertical. For example, in order to teach a new rhythm to The Sun Shine Band, Sneezy layered the parts in, beginning with the oil drum playing a clave part. Figure 14 shows the order the parts are layered in, from top to bottom.

![Diagram of The Sun Shine Band, order of layering-in parts](image)

**Figure 14. The Sun Shine Band, order of layering-in parts**

**Oral Tradition**

It is nothing new to declare that for us music, gesture, dance are forms of communication, just as important as the gift of speech. This is how we first managed to emerge from the plantation: aesthetic form in our cultures must be shaped from these oral structures.

-Eduard Glissant

Música afro, like most music in Salvador, is part of an oral tradition. Only a few of the teachers in the NGO have any training in music notation and those that did, didn't use it to communicate to their students or notate the rhythms they were teaching. The advantages of the oral tradition in música afro are numerous (Guerreiro 2000:271-6), but since this research focuses on problem solving, I concentrate on the problems that stem from the oral traditions, and how leaders solve them. The lack of a notation system doesn’t imply the lack of musical structures, it just means that the structures tend to be more fluid, and more complex (such as the example of microleadership discussed on p. 60-2). The lack of a musical dictionary...
doesn't mean they don’t use language to communicate musical ideas, it just means that they adapt common terms to describe musical concepts.

Continuing from the example of Figure 14, the oil drum player from The Sun Shine Band had to switch between two clave parts (Figure 15) and asked Sneezy if the difference was just dropping the right and left sixteenth notes, before and on the second beat. The figure shows that the claves are totally different after the first beat. Sneezy had no vocabulary to explain the difference, so he couldn’t answer her question, and he was forced to demonstrate them kinaesthetically by actually holding her wrists and moving them to play the part.

![Figure 15. Distinct clave parts for the oil drum player of The Sun Shine Band.](image)

In another example, Kid was rehearsing a difficult entrance to a song (Figure 16), where the musicians could play each fragment correctly but were unsure of the arrangement of the fragments. The surdos began the entrance with an emphasis on the second eighth note, which defined the downbeat. By the second measure the surdos and the singer were unsure where to come in. Kid gave different references for each measure. For the first measure he had a fundo player play quarter notes to show where the surdos started with the downbeat. For the second measure he asked the singer to repeat it over and over. The singer repeated the measure so well that the band laughed and said that he sounded like a broken record skipping. Kid demonstrated how the surdo part related to the song. Then, Kid started a ludic exercise where he sang just the first two or three notes, and stopped to emphasize that the surdos needed to wait until the fourth note to start. He then had the singer try the exercise while he tried to come in correctly. He found the exercise difficult and made as many false starts and missed entrances as the rest of the surdos had. Everyone laughed and relaxed a
little bit. They tried it from the beginning and both the structural explanation and the ludic
distraction helped it sound a little better.

![Surdos' version]

![Kid's version]

**Figure 16. Kid rehearsing entrance with The Last Chance.**

**FORGETTING**

Not remembering how a break or ending goes is a common problem during
rehearsals. An individual may remember something correctly or incorrectly, but in a group,
remembering becomes a negotiation of how to solidify collective memory. Most of the things
that people remember incorrectly they keep to themselves, and no one is the wiser. Because
music in a group relies on synchronism, differences in memory become apparent during
performance. These differences are similar to, but not so glaringly obvious as, taking a math
test, for example, where there may be several tricks to remembering your times tables but the
end result is an absolute answer. Music performed live left space for variations within a
structure, such as solos or participant discrepancies (p. 27). Much of the variation had to do
with obvious physiological aspects, such as the way individual musicians who looked upset
(facial expression and posture) tended to drag the rhythm, and people that seemed excited
(rapid head and body movements) tended rush the rhythm. But, many variations had to due
with differences in memory. During rehearsal they became apparent and the problem needed
to be resolved by the group.

For example, Jumpy started rehearsing the start of a song with The Ultra Kids but
didn’t remember the entrance. He compressed the first and second beat into one beat, but
then had too much space on the fourth beat, and the band didn’t start correctly (Figure 17).

Most of the group protested that Jumpy was incorrect, and several members of the band contributed to suggesting the correct version. After the band had convinced Jumpy of the consensus version, he started the band again, but was faced with the problem that half the band played something in between the first version he had rehearsed and the consensus version. So, Jumpy went down the row of drummers and asked each person to play it separately, until each one could perform the consensus version. Jumpy's compression of rests was a common problem with other musicians.

Figure 17. Jumpy's compression of a break of The Ultra Kids.

COMPRESSED RESTS

Oscar, the teacher from Vienna, pointed out during a meeting that the adolescents in the NGO knew how to play syncopated rhythms but had problems leaving space between beats (Figure 18). My observations agreed with Oscar, in both the NGO and with other blocos afro as well. Without a formal way of counting them, the musicians have a tendency to compress the rests.

Figure 18. Oscar’s example of problems with extended rests.

For example, Gerald, leader of The Creative Spirit, was drilling a song that included a six beat rest between a break and the start of a new section. The majority of the band was unable to keep track of the length of the rest and enter again at the appropriate place. Gerald was forced to count to six out loud and cue the entrance.
In another example, Sneezy was rehearsing the ending of the song “Salvador” with The Next Big Thing (Figure 19). The band had difficulty with the rest on beats two and three before the final tag started on beat four. Sneezy tried playing the bell as a reference and it helped somewhat, although Samuel, the singer, still tended to come in early. Besides not having a clear reference of the space between parts, the full measure of sixteenth notes in the ending compounded the tendency for people to compress subsequent rests, because people have a tendency to confuse note value changes with tempo changes.

![Figure 19. Problems with rests in the ending of "Salvador" by The Next Big Thing.](image)

**CHANGING TEMPOS ALONG WITH NOTE VALUES**

The adolescents (as do most musicologists) tend to say that notes with a shorter duration are "faster," as in eighth notes are twice as fast as quarter notes, even though the tempo is supposed be constant and not going any faster. Without notation and metronomes, tempos and note values are constantly being negotiated by the group, and when phrases shift in note value, there is a tendency to also shift tempo.

Sneezy would occasionally add the downbeat to a break so that the musicians had a reference. Often he would have the fundo player continue playing downbeats through a change, and sometimes he would play it himself as in the following example.

The repique player for The New Sensations had problems fitting sixteenth note triplets into the space allotted in an ending. He seemed to think that the tempo was somehow
different from the rest of the song, and that time was not constrained by the previous beat, and each note should be held a little longer (as in a tenuto). He continually dragged his part, and it affected the entire band, to the point where Sneezy began to play the downbeat on a cowbell and explained the importance of finding the beat and being able to play at different tempos. Figure 20 shows the ending with the repique drag, and the cowbell marking the downbeat.

The repique player continued to drag, and interestingly, he complained that Sneezy was playing the bell too loudly and it hurt his ears. The bell was no louder than any other instrument, and what I think hurt his “ears” was the discrepancy between Sneezy’s very solid rhythm, and the dragging part the repique player insisted on playing. I don’t believe the notes were too fast to physically play, because if that were the case one would expect the surdo players to be the ones with the problems, because it is much harder to move mallets quickly then repique sticks. The repique player’s problem was conceptual, not physical. I believe the bell made him uncomfortable because it forced him to realize his own rhythmic inadequacy and it was psychologically painful to admit that he was wrong.

**TRIPLETS**

The most common rhythmic subdivision comes from playing *two* evenly spaced notes in the space of one, and triplets—*three* evenly spaced notes in the space of one—can be confusing. For example, most of the musicians from The Sun Shine Band were unable to readily distinguish the spacing of sixteenth notes from triplets. Figure 21 shows an ending
where the four sixteenth notes dragged as if anticipating the similar phrase of four triplets. Sneezy tried drilling each member individually, but most of the band kept dragging the sixteenth notes of the fourth beat of the first measure.

**Figure 21. Problems with The Sun Shine Band ending.**

Musicians often confuse triplets with another similar phrase, occasionally called a *hemiola* or *false hemiola*, which also has three notes in the space of one, except they are not evenly spaced but can be understood by subdividing the one note into eight equally spaced notes, where the notes of the hemiola fall on the first, fourth, and seventh ($3 + 3 + 2 = 8$). Fitting a triplet into these same eight equally spaced notes would have the same first note, but the next falls a little before the third, and the last a little after the fifth ($2.6 + 2.6 + 2.6 = 8$). The hemiola is a very close approximation of a triplet, and easily confused. Sometimes the confusion between triplets and a hemiola caused the band to rush, as with an entrance of The Lords of the Drum (Figure 22). The musicians tended to compress the hemiola into straight eighth notes or triplets. After trying several versions, they finally asked Wrench to demonstrate the correct part.

**Figure 22. Consensus and variations of an entrance of The Lords of the Drum.**
Sonority

Leaders often adjust the sonority of the band, and it implies being conscious of the overall sound of the band and a willingness to either direct people or make personal sacrifices. For example, Wrench once stopped an all-star group he was playing with, to comment on the overall sonority of the band, that there were too many metal instruments. Heather seconded his idea, and he moved from the oil barrel to a surdo. Although most of the adolescents considered the efeitos to be the lowest status instrument, Sneezy paid particular attention to them, creating new parts and spending a disproportionate amount of rehearsal time teaching them to the efeitos players.

Leadership Roles of Specific Instruments

Musical responsibilities were partially determined by the role the instrument had in the music. Many of these leadership roles in the bloco afro seem to have been inherited by the organization of the large samba schools in Rio de Janeiro, such as the role of the repique in leading the group. In Rio the whistle plays a crucial leadership role in maintaining synchronism and cueing musical changes, but in the percussion ensembles of Bahia, they rarely use whistles. Leadership roles are more decentralized and they rely on other forms of communication. Other roles seemed to be determined by the cultural symbolism of the instrument, such as Timbalada's use of the hand drum as a symbol of African identity.

In pop bands around the world, the band leader tends to be the lead singer. The singers usually take on the role of what is called the “front man” in the United States (Fox 2005), and this is also true in Salvador where singers are valued as much for their skills as Master of Ceremonies and dance leader (Lima Alves 2003), as for their musical skills of intonation, timbre, rhythm, and expression. In the bands I observed, the singer had the most important role in leading the group. When they are playing a song the musical changes are memorized in relation to the words of song. Musical changes often occur a few measures after the singer's phrase ends. Some sections of a song may have indeterminate lengths that require communication to synchronize the change, and the drummers will often look to the singer to cue the changes.

One question relevant to the hypothesis, is whether there is a causal relation between leadership skills and intonation skills. One could argue that intonation requires a constant
process of adjusting one's pitch to the rest of the group and leading weak singers to follow when they get out of tune, and that these are similar skills to general leadership. This may true in a choir, but in almost all of the bands I studied, there was no other melody or harmony besides the one singer, and thus no one to interact with in terms of intonation. I couldn't find a direct causal relation between intonation per se and leadership, so I asked is the leadership role of singers emergent—developed through positive communication behaviors—or assigned—determined by an ascribed social role (Northouse 2004:5-6) Are good singers made into leaders? Are good leaders made into singers? I found examples of both.

Adolescents who have good intonation are encouraged to sing, and their family and friends boost their self-esteem, and they are automatically put in leadership roles where they eventually develop leadership. Good singers are made leaders even if it conflicts with other social hierarchies, such as young adolescents are put in charge of older adolescents, girls are put in charge of boys. Almost all the times I saw younger children telling older adolescents what to do, was when the younger child was the singer of the band. The Drum Fans had one of the largest age ranges (11-17), and the lead singer and leader of the band was only 13. Many of the singers of mixed gender bands were girls, but almost all the gendered conflicts I observed involving girl lead singers, were complaints that the girl was not being a strong enough leader.

Some singers started as leaders and become slotted into the role of singer. For example, Heather did not have exceptional intonation but was a dynamic leader who used the leadership tools of the singer to reinforce her leadership role. In one rehearsal of The New Girls on the Block, she would take the microphone from Laura, the singer, in order to cue the drummers, and at the end of practice she kept the microphone, and lectured the group with it, even though were in a small quiet room and Heather has a loud voice anyway. Heather used the microphone to reinforce her authority, and would often sing while teaching a change, and occasionally to cover for a singer who hadn't show up.

In 2003, Grace was both a strong a leader and a strong drummer but I didn't observe her sing. By 2005 she had taken a singing class, developed excellent intonation, and established herself as a singer and leader of several bands.

The initiative Grace showed in learning to sing is consistent with how she heavily promoted assigned leadership. She would demand that the rights and obligations of each
instrument be fulfilled. Once, when there was a discussion over who should start, she ended the discussion by stating the convention "The repique leads!" The repique has the right to start the song. When the rhythm was dragging, she cried out, "Where's the fundo?" and began playing the downbeat on her djembe. The fundo has the obligation to maintain the beat.

In the act of deciding whether to continue her djembe part or to cover the fundo part, Grace makes a cost-benefit analysis of the rhythmic structure and the musicians supporting it. She weighs the importance of the adornments of her djembe part against the need for a strong rhythmic structure, and decides within several seconds from when the problem arose that she must sacrifice her part for the sake of the group. To insist that the other members fulfill the role assigned to their instruments, and then turn around and break the role of her own instrument that she is playing may seem like hypocrisy, but Grace's flexibility in decision making comes from a thorough structural understanding of the importance and interaction of each of the parts in the music, and the evaluation of the abilities of each of her fellow performers.

Hitting a drum with a stick makes more noise than hitting it with your hand, and hand drum parts are not usually as important to the structure of the rhythm, but in Salvador they are given a higher status because they are more symbolic of African identity, and partly because they are more technically difficult to play. Hand drum parts were not as important to the structure—when played incorrectly the rhythm doesn't fall apart—and consequently they are one of the few instruments that are expected to improvise. They are often involved in musical changes where most of the band drops out to leave space for the hand drum. Also, Sneezy would often play a hand drum to increase the motivation of bands who seemed frustrated or bored. Although it might be softer, the hand drum had the ability to make both low tones and high tones and could demonstrate or support both surdo and high parts.

Many drum parts were simple but left room for other leadership roles. Many of the repique parts were clave parts that leave space in between hits for hand gestures. The fundo players would often dance, or do tricks while playing. For example, Joey, a fundo player and the youngest member of The Next Big Thing, at first had many problems just staying in rhythm even with a simple part, and when he lost the rhythm he often caused entire songs to collapse. He was very timid, standing as far in the corner as possible, not saying anything. But, as his playing improved, he became more confident, and maintaining his part required
less concentration, and he began to emulate some of the dance moves of Bro, one of the most active dancers.

The efeitos were an assortment of small percussion instruments, sometimes called "extra percussion" in the United States. The term efeitos is short for "sound effects" and this symbolizes their status as something less important than musical instruments. Generally the worst drummers or guest musicians were given the efeitos. In Candomblé drumming the agôgô is the instrument most readily given to people with less drumming experience, but it has a crucial structural role as a foundation part, as double bells tend to have in West African music. Brazilian percussionists, such as Airto Moreira, have gained international renown for their creativity with extra percussion. Jamaican Reggae is known for the creativity and tastefulness of its extra percussion. But, the adolescents viewed the efeitos as the instrument with the lowest status. This led to some problems because many songs started with the efeitos player who was often the drummer with the worst rhythm of the band.

Concluding this section on the leadership roles of specific instruments, I'd like to point out that the ascription of leadership roles to instruments (singers, repique, and hand-drum players are leaders; efeitos and fundo are followers) is limited because musicians would rotate between instruments. Although some adolescents had a set identity, "I am a fundo player," when I asked adolescents what instrument they played, most tended to hesitate and think about it, and answer something like, "Well, I usually play fundo, except I switch around and play a little bit of everything." Older bands especially tend to rotate instruments more, and experienced musicians make it a point to learn all the parts. Older bands respect the leadership roles of specific instruments, and show team leadership by rotating instruments in between songs.

**Position**

Leaders often made conscious decisions about the placement of musicians, but some social relations seemed to be determined based on who you happened to be standing next to.

Rehearsals attempted to duplicate the stage set-up of a public performance. Band leaders generally positioned the most visually important musicians—the singer and the hand-drum player—toward the front and center, and the lowest status drummers—the fundo player, and the efeitos player—to the back and both sides. Leaders would often ask people to
switch places to improve the sound. For example, the left fundo player of The New Land had significantly worse rhythm than the rest of the members of the band, and it seemed an intentional strategy that the leader moved her to the extreme end, and put the strongest marcação player between the weakest link and the rest of the band, as if to defend the rhythm of the central core of the band. My observations disagreed with several psychology studies that "found that in small groups, people sitting on the ends of an inverted ‘V’ shape tend to emerge as leaders more frequently than those sitting further in" (Ford and Davidson 2003:64). I found the leaders tended to be in the middle of the group.

Proximity often ascribed leadership roles. Many of the adolescents seemed to show an arbitrary sense of solidarity to the people near them. Adolescents tended to interact most with the people on either side of them, inviting them to smile or dance, and helping each other with parts. The instruments were usually in a set position before the band arrived and the band usually left them in place when they got there. The position of each musician was determined by what instrument they played, or at least not usually by whether they had a more intimate friendship or kinship with the person next to them. It is logical that the closest people are in the best position to help with problems, because it is easiest to communicate with the people closest to you, through both verbal and non-verbal communication. The way proximity determined leadership roles is consistent with team leadership: leadership responsibilities do not fall on a single individual. For example, with the band The Way of the Drum, made up of younger adolescents who had been playing together for about six months, the repique player had problems with entrances, so the caixa player and marcação on either side of him would help him by giving him visual cues and sometimes showing him his part.

Given the fairly arbitrary arrangement, I found it interesting that the adolescents tended to support those physically closest to them during conflicts. For example, Sneezy showed The Persuasions a new marcação part that was syncopated but spacious. Sneezy left and the band continued to rehearse the new part. The left marcação played the original part, while the right marcação player played an adorned variation of the part. I don’t know whether he heard it in another song, made it up, or was playing the original part incorrectly, but it sounded good; his variation contained all the notes of the original part and both the original and the variation should have been able to work simultaneously (Figure 23), except that the left marcação was definitely confused by what the right marcação was playing, and
was looking over at him, and seemed to be trying to figure out the variation, and possibly attempting to play it. He would stop, and then come back in, and he got lost a few times. Eventually his mistakes dragged down the tempo of the entire band and the song fell apart and everyone stopped.

![Figure 23. The Persuasions' marcação variations.](image1)

Figure 23. The Persuasions' marcação variations. Then, the two marcação players got in a heated debate over what part to play (Figure 24). It was interesting how symmetrically the arguers lined up, especially how the fundo players supported their respective marcação players, literally covering their backs. It was like the tug-of-war game that they play at the NGO. The repique and caixa players attempted to mediate.

![Figure 24. The Persuasions' argument between Marcasões, backed up by respective Fundos, mediated by Repique and Caixa.](image2)

Figure 24. The Persuasions' argument between Marcasões, backed up by respective Fundos, mediated by Repique and Caixa. Most of the musicians tended to support the people next to them, but the more experienced leaders would not restrict their interactions to proximity, like Heather for example, who could successfully communicate across the room, or Sneezy, who was constantly moving around the room to deal with problem spots.
Many Leaders, No Leader, Too Many Leaders

Some problems arose from having no leaders or too many leaders, and many solutions involved many leaders taking responsibility for the group in what has been called *participative leadership* (Northouse 2004:126) and *team leadership* (LaFasto and Larson 2001). This category is also related to dominance (p. 58) and directive behavior (p. 63), and gives examples of successful and unsuccessful consensus decision making.

In the absence of a formal leader, rhythms arise through very subtle negotiations (what I perceived as spontaneous), or through more blatant power struggles. Without a music teacher present, many rehearsals begin as everyone grabs a drum and starts playing whatever they feel like. The only leadership is that someone plays a rhythm that is somehow more attractive, more stable, or just louder than everyone else. People start to lock-on to the rhythm, and a critical mass of drummers form. Anyone who was playing something different is forced to give up their rhythm, follow the majority, and a rhythm is born.

But often the rhythm doesn’t coalesce. The resulting cacophony may be interesting to a researcher like myself who is tantalized by subtle interactions and rapid negotiations of rhythm and power, but to any reasonable audience, and apparently to some of the adolescents themselves, the sound is obnoxious and not tolerable for more than a few minutes. So, eventually one or more leaders starts to tell everyone to shut up. And, when everyone has stopped making noise, the leader might suggest a song, and be able to quickly call in “One! Two! Three! Four!” and a critical mass might start their correct parts, but often people would just continue playing whatever individual parts they were playing beforehand, and the musical chaos would continue for another few minutes.

Each band has a nominal leader and a drum teacher, but typical of small ensembles (White 1972), leadership decisions are made by everyone in the band to different degrees. For example, the fundo plays the simplest part, and is not permitted to adorn it. During the rehearsal of The New Girls on the Block, one of the fundo players invented a dance move for one of the entrances that fit in the space between hits (Figure 25). While staying within the confines of her drumming role, she led the group in a visual capacity.

Later in the rehearsal while Heather, the nominal leader, was working with one girl on her problems, the rest of the band practiced their respective parts, and Grace sat on the floor and showed the fundo player the entrance to "Sweet Dreams," playing on the drum
stand so as not to disrupt Heather as much. Grace didn't wait for Heather to go around and rehearse individually with each drummer, Grace knew the part, knew who didn't know the part, and knew how to teach it, so she took the initiative.

In another example, the fundo player from The Youngsters was generally very sloppy, but soon after getting out of phase (Figure 26), the repique player gave him a very nasty look, and he switched back into phase immediately. The repique player noticed the problem and acted on it immediately.

I observed this kind of decentralized leadership in the professional bands that had originated in the NGO. For example, at a public concert of The Drum Song I noticed a high level of cooperation in solving various problems. The band had problems with the sound system, so the singer held up a cordless mike to different instruments that needed to be amplified, such as the berimbau (a relatively quiet musical bow used in capoeira). In another song, the alfaia player, who was playing a part that was crucial to the song, asked the ganzá player (a less important instrument) to help adjust his strap, and the ganzá player stopped playing and adjusted the strap as inconspicuously as possible and then he resumed playing. Generally, the more experienced bands show more cooperation and team leadership.
Quality of Leaders

Most leaders were given authority because of their musical competence—people accepted their views because they had been right in the past most of the time—but I observed several strong leaders who were incorrect, usually in bands that were just starting out.

For example, for the first rehearsal of a band of young children called The Modern Drummers, Sneezy layered in the different instruments: first he got the fundo going, then the marcação, then the repique, then the caixa. By the time he got to the caixas, the fundos would often have lost the beat, especially the youngest one. The repique player was a strong player but would shift to join the fundos on the beat as soon as they made an error, or the fundos would shift to his part and he didn't realize it was wrong. Once the rhythm got started, Sneezy would leave the studio, and wait outside the door until it fell apart and then he would come back in and get it started again. Occasionally, one of the adolescents would try to give directions to the others to keep it from falling apart, or to get it restarted, but often they were incorrect, especially the strong repique player who insisted on playing the downbeats instead of the upbeats (Figure 27).

![Figure 27. The Modern Drummers problems.](image-url)

The marcação player was strong, and the caixa player fairly good, but they couldn't keep the fundos together, and the repique player distracted them, pulling them toward the downbeat. The youngest one would wander completely off rhythm. Sneezy would try to
correct them, but it would only work for a few seconds. The main problem was that the most confident player, the repique player, would play incorrectly and try to convince the other drummers to follow him. The problem was similar to another band, The New Land, where I observed the strongest drummer giving the weakest drummer an incorrect part (contrary to the above example, she gave her the upbeat when she should have given her the downbeat).

By the following week The Modern Drummers had improved noticeably. When Sneezy left, they could keep the rhythm together fairly well, and they were taking responsibility for keeping it from falling apart, and even starting it up from nothing. But the repique player continued to very confidently show people incorrect parts, which the group would accept until challenged by Sneezy.

I wasn't able to observe whether the members of The Modern Drummers eventually confronted their leader with his incompetence because the band broke-up after only a few more rehearsals. I speculate the incompetent leader may have had something to do with their dissolution. In the older bands, leaders were correct most of the time, and when they made mistakes they were confronted by other members of the band, and leaders tended to be apologetic and tried not the repeat their mistakes. Bad leaders didn't last very long as leaders, because the bands they led would break up, but before they broke-up, the NGO and their peers gave them plenty of opportunities to improve their leadership abilities.

**Attentiveness**

A major complication in problem solving was when individuals would withdraw from the group process of problem solving. At best this delayed the resolution of the problem, and at worst it created a separate problem. Most commonly the withdrawal was passive. Musicians would just lean back against the wall and look bored. But even passive withdrawal caused problems, because the musicians who didn't pay attention to important debates over how musical changes (beginnings, breaks, endings) were being negotiated, were the ones who tended to play it "the old way" after the issue had been resolved. Worse still, musicians would actively withdraw from the problem by acting out and creating distractions.

For example, The Young Perspectives were rehearsing when the marcação player came in late and started playing the nearest drum, a timbal. The caixa player, and leader of the band, motioned for him to go to his regular drum, but the marcação player refused, and
the leader increased the intensity of his motions, becoming more and more angry, until the rest of the band stopped. The leader and marcação player began a heated argument over whether the marcação player should play marcação or stay on timbal. A few seconds into their argument, the fundo player moved to another surdo and started playing it loudly with no apparent rhythm. The noise increased the overall tension in the room, and made it more difficult for the marcação player to verbally explain his position to the leader. Finally, Sneezy intervened and quieted everyone down and argued in favor of the marcação player: that there were already four surdos being played so it wasn’t a bad idea to have someone play timbal. A simple argument about sonority was complicated by the lack of attentiveness of the fundo player.

**Boredom**

Some of the groups have been rehearsing the same repertoire week after week, and although sometimes they were obviously bored, I didn't observe that this lack of enthusiasm during rehearsals caused problems in the group. Even when bored, the musicians were usually able to productively achieve the goals of the rehearsal (reviewing repertoire, learning new songs). I would expect that the emotion of the players would be communicated in the music being played, but from my observations, the quality of the music does not necessarily correlate to their expression. I'm culturally bound to equate boredom with bad music, and it automatically makes me question whether I am correctly interpreting the quality of the music, or the expression on their faces. Both can be very subjective, as I discuss in the sections on facial expressions (p. 54) and repetition (p. 69). Boredom often led to withdrawal, which was a definite problem, but the boredom itself seemed to affect the rehearsal less than I would have expected.

One answer comes from the role that rehearsals have in the broader musical experience. Rehearsals are considered different from public performances, less important, less exciting, and I believe some musicians view rehearsals as necessary evils on the path to stardom. Several factors outweigh the negative effects I would expect boredom to have: (1) the potential positive reactions of the audience to good performances was understood as a direct consequence of rehearsing, (2) the hope of material benefits from the increased professionalism that came from rehearsing, and (3), drummers enjoyed the intrinsic benefits
of the rehearsal most of the time, and understood that boredom would often pass as the band moved on to another perhaps more interesting song.

There were many good leaders who reduced boredom. For example, Heather came late to a rehearsal of The Postures, and there was a noticeable difference in the animation of the band before and after she got there. The way Penny propped up a slouching band member is another good example of leaders mitigating boredom (p. 55).

**Fatigue**

Fatigue is an issue in long rehearsals. Playing at full volume, at a fast tempo, dancing simultaneously, and concentrating on learning new material all lead to more problems toward the end of a rehearsal. Exhaustion in rehearsals was compounded by external factors such as coming to rehearsal straight from school or work, and for most not having money to buy a snack, and for some not having enough food at home. Crowded sleeping conditions, and a noisy neighborhood may also have contributed to fatigue.

For example, in one long rehearsal of The New Girls on the Block where they were learning all new and difficult songs, I noticed a distinct difference between the bands attentiveness between the second and third song. At one point in the second song I noticed that everyone was very attentive (eyes wide open, erect posture, motionless) and it was at the point where they were learning the new parts. This contrasted to when they were learning the new parts to the third song, when about half the group was attentive but the other half showed signs of being tired (leaning against the wall or drum; eyes down, away, or unfocused). There wasn’t a noticeable difference in how interesting the song was, and there had been no major problems or conflicts between the two observations, so I assume that it was just fatigue. The conflict between Heather’s enthusiasm and the rest of the band’s fatigue was growing. She became more frustrated and the performance of the band became more insipid. Both Sneezy and David, another NGO volunteer, tried to convince her to stop, but she pleaded for more time, and they said she could have a few more minutes. She stopped working on the third song, and went back to play the second song, which everyone knew well at this point, and they performed it well, and everyone ended the rehearsal feeling a sense of accomplishment. Sneezy rehearsing a break for The Recyclers divided the break into three sections: measures one, two, and three (Figure 28). The caixa player and one of the surdo
players had problems with the first section but after drilling it a few times they understood the part and played it correctly. The second section was repeated sixteen times and accompanied the singer. The caixa player had difficulty playing the thirty-second notes of the fourth beat and tended to come in late. Sneezy stumped and clapped the downbeat as a reference. For the third section, the repique player, who had not had problems with the previous sections, was unable to perform his solo section. This seemed to be due to the physical limitations of playing a larger group of consecutive thirty-second notes, and not because of any conceptual problem. Sneezy simplified the part to fewer notes in the same space, but the repique player still had problems, so Sneezy further simplified the part, and the repique player was able to play it fairly well. Both the repique and caixa had physical limitations with their respective parts.

![Simplified parts for a break of The Recyclers.](image)

**Figure 28. Simplified parts for a break of The Recyclers.**

**Physical Limitations**

Many of the rhythms require rapid, repetitive movements that pushed the drummers to their physical limits and leaders would address this by: (1) demonstrating that it was humanly possible to play it that fast, (2) rehearsing the part with the individual, (3) reducing the speed of the song, or (4) by sacrificing the individual for the sound of the group and giving them a simpler part or giving their part to someone more capable. Because the drummers could play the parts at slower speeds, I assumed the problem was not cognitive but muscular, a build up of lactic acid which caused cramps and loss of precision. Individual problems soon became group problems, because one musician dragging would noticeably bring the entire band down.
The caixa part for frevo rhythms (Figure 29) was a common problem with most bands and the limiting factor in how fast the songs could be performed. The caixa players must play continuous eighth notes with their right hand at speeds of up to 400 hits per minute. Most players can’t play it that fast for more than a few seconds, but the band leaders would usually push them beyond their maximum continually speed and let them drag the rhythm down slightly until they reached a speed they could hold for the duration of the song.

Figure 29. Frevo.

In another example, the caixa player from The Creative Spirit was asked to play a very fast part (Figure 30), and attempted it several times, but finally smiled embarrassingly and put his sticks down and massaged his arms. Gerald demonstrated the part to him at the correct tempo, but then slowed the tempo down until he could play it correctly.
As an aside, and continuing from the example of problems with fatigue (p. 90-1), The Recyclers had formed less than a month before and had many other simultaneous problems while rehearsing this break, which I include here as a reminder of multi-tasking and code switching. The problem solving included confusion over the rehearsal structure, forgetting, ludic distractions, personal conflicts, and perseverance. Sneezy switched between task and relationship styles of leadership.

There was confusion over which section the band was rehearsing at any given time. At one point the singer proposed another version of the break, but Sneezy quickly said that it was meant for another song. The singer also caused distractions by fooling around with the microphone. Towards the end of the rehearsal the next band was ringing the doorbell to the studio constantly, as if to remind them that their time was up.

Before the practice, the youngest fundo player had started crying while playing a hitting game with the other members of the band, and he was especially resentful of the older fundo player, who apparently hit him harder than he expected. Hanna, the younger sister of the one of the most active NGO volunteers, forced them to shake hands at the beginning of the rehearsal and Sneezy took the older fundo player aside to lecture him. But during the rehearsal, when the older one told the younger one what part to play, the younger one began pouting with his arms crossed in front of his chest. Later he was playing around with strapping tape, putting it over his mouth and trying to get the attention of the other musicians.

The next week, the repique had the same problems with physical limitations in the third section, and Sneezy made the same simplifications. But the band also had different problems. Most drummers couldn’t remember the first section and played several variations (Figure 31). The first marcação player had trouble making a transition between adjacent sixteenth notes and adjacent eighth notes on the third beat (described above in the section on

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Figure 30. Fast caixa part of *The Creative Spirit*.

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Before the practice, the youngest fundo player had started crying while playing a hitting game with the other members of the band, and he was especially resentful of the older fundo player, who apparently hit him harder than he expected. Hanna, the younger sister of the one of the most active NGO volunteers, forced them to shake hands at the beginning of the rehearsal and Sneezy took the older fundo player aside to lecture him. But during the rehearsal, when the older one told the younger one what part to play, the younger one began pouting with his arms crossed in front of his chest. Later he was playing around with strapping tape, putting it over his mouth and trying to get the attention of the other musicians.

The next week, the repique had the same problems with physical limitations in the third section, and Sneezy made the same simplifications. But the band also had different problems. Most drummers couldn’t remember the first section and played several variations (Figure 31). The first marcação player had trouble making a transition between adjacent sixteenth notes and adjacent eighth notes on the third beat (described above in the section on
changing tempos along with note values, p. 76). The repique had the same problem but delayed the last note in order to end at the correct spot. Sneezy drilled the part until everyone could perform the consensus part. But later in the rehearsal, the second marcação played a version that seemed to adorn the consensus part. Sneezy asked the first marcação to play the consensus part for the second marcação player several times, and eventually the second marcação player was able to play it correctly, although later they made the same mistakes.

![Figure 31. More problems with the entrance of The Recyclers.](image)

The youngest fundo player had problems finding the last two beats of the third section (Figure 28, p. 91), playing them early or late. Sneezy highlighted the mistake, demonstrated the correct part, and asked him to repeat it. The fundo player gave Sneezy a blank stare and froze up. The week before Sneezy had defended him when the older fundo player made him cry, but Sneezy wouldn’t tolerate musicians who had problems and gave up trying to solve them. Sneezy was frustrated, at first telling the youngest band member that if he didn’t start playing he would have to leave, then Sneezy softened his criticisms saying that there are many things to learn, and that there are many more breaks to learn in the future.

**Frustration**

Perseverance had its limits, and the inability to resolve a problem occasionally led to frustration, and the expression of frustration often caused a vicious cycle of other problems. Sneezy would occasionally take out his frustration with the problems of one band on the subsequent band to rehearse. For example, after being insulted by the singer of The Wastelanders, he took out his anger on the younger adolescents of The Next Big Thing, rebuking them for having broken mallets, which happens to all the groups, and lecturing
them about taking better care of the drums, which they weren’t abusing more than any other band. On these occasions, Sneezy would usually apologize.

**Ludic Distraction, Ludic Contribution**

I know we’ve come a long way
we’re changing day to day,
but tell me, where do the children play?

-Cat Stevens

Ludic behavior (playing around, fooling around, goofing off, etc.) is part of youth culture and common during the rehearsals; and it had the effects of both creating and solving problems in different situations. Ludic behavior was always an invitation for others to join in the behavior or at least witness it, which implied abandoning or lessening the importance of the task at hand, in this case withdrawing from reviewing the repertoire and learning new songs. But occasionally, ludic behavior had the positive function of abandoning or lessening the importance of the problem at hand, which often, because of frustration, had worked its way into a vicious cycle.

Oscar, the Viennese music teacher, complained that one of the main problems with the adolescents was their lack of discipline. This statement bothered me when I first heard it and I knew it was culturally bound because I had seen many examples of discipline, such as adolescents rehearsing for hours, often repeating the same break dozens of times until every member of the band could play it perfectly. What I didn't understand right away was how Oscar's complaint about discipline was culturally bound. It didn't have to do his European background, or the different cultural approaches to the work obligations stemming from the history of resistance to slavery, or Oscar's more structured music training. Clarice Cohn (2005:45) describes an anthropological approach to studying adolescents that involves avoiding "adultcentrism" by trying to understand adolescent culture from within its own perspectives. What bothered me the most about Oscar's comment was that it was adultcentric. Kids aren't supposed to have discipline. They're supposed to have fun. That's one of the things that makes them kids.

The economic reality of Salvador encourages adolescents to join the work force at an early age to contribute to their family's income, often at the expense of education and leisure activities. Many of the adolescents would come to rehearsal directly from work. This was
tangentially addressed in political struggles for leisure time, and it related to contradictory approaches towards rehearsals. On one hand playing music was fun, but on the other, rehearsals could sometimes be like work. Most of the adolescents found a balance between the immediate pleasure of ludic behavior and the long-term pleasure of organizing a quality musical group. Adolescents who fooled around too much were criticized by their peers, and Sneezy's pep talks often included criticisms of ludic behavior, such as: attendance is mandatory, this is not like playing in a banda de lata in the street, you need to change your life, no fooling around here, inside here you can't just play whatever you want, and don't waste everyone’s time. But these pep talks were balanced by the fact that adolescents who took things too seriously were told to relax. The only general trend I observed was the younger the age of the band members the more ludic behavior, and the longer the band members had been playing in a band the more seriously they took the rehearsals. This meant that adolescents who started very young, and had been with the NGO for several years, tended to fool around less than older adolescents who were just starting to play in a band. This suggests that the experience in the NGO tends to make adolescents take rehearsals more seriously.

The diversity of ludic behavior was limited only by the creativity of the adolescents making up the games. It could be separate from the rehearsal goals, such as playing music that wasn't part of the repertoire, or concurrent with the rehearsal goals, such as playing soccer with a crumpled up piece of paper while singing. And as described in the examples below, it could be a distraction or a contribution to the rehearsal.

Toward the end of a rehearsal of The Modern Drummers after Sneezy had been called away from the rehearsal room to deal with something else, I noted all the different activities that distracted the adolescents from progressing in their rehearsal goals. The singer played with the microphone, raising and lowering the stand. One adolescent lay on the floor and played a drum lying on his back. They tried playing popular songs that they knew from the radio, but only knew fragments. Every once in awhile, someone would try to get the rest of the band to play a certain rhythm, but no one succeeded in beginning a song. They tried what they called a "frevo" which meant everyone playing separate parts as fast they could. Finally after a half an hour, Sneezy came back and got them started rehearsing a fast break.
Another example of ludic distraction was while Jumpy was rehearsing the drummers of The Ultra Kids (p. 74-5), the singer was fooling around with the microphone, so Jumpy told him to stop once, and after the singer kept interrupting him, Jumpy walked over and switched the microphone off.

Cell phones had become a major distraction to music rehearsals by 2005. When they went off the musicians would stop playing in the middle of a song and leave the rehearsal room to take the call. At one rehearsal the marcação player from The Drum Time borrowed the fundo’s cell phone, and sat down to play a game. He was bragging about getting the high score while the band was trying to discuss a musical change. Phillip, the leader, finally grabbed the phone from him and told him to get back to his drum.

Ludic behavior can also make positive contributions to the rehearsal. For example, most of The Leopards had been playing together for about a year but were incorporating Danny, a new and very inexperienced fundo player, into the band. Danny was smaller, younger, and heavier than most of the other band members. The band he used to play with had recently broken-up and he had asked to play with The Leopards, even though they weren’t his close friends or relatives. The band was in a good mood, and Shane, an excellent male dancer, moved from his drum and danced a solo in front of the djembe player who in turn accented his movement with flourishes on the drum. The other band members had seen Danny dance previously and laughed at his concentrated attempts at jerking his shoulders to one side and then the other. So when Shane finished, the marcação player next to Danny motioned for him to go and dance too, and the rest of the band joined in insisting, so Danny left his drum and danced also. The band laughed at the juxtaposition between a lithe excellent dancer and a chubby stiff dancer. They seem to be laughing at him, more than with him, but Danny seemed to appreciate the attention, and when he returned to his drum he played with more confidence and it seemed that he felt more included in the group.

The Next Big Thing was one of the most ludic bands. They were an all-boy band but danced more than most other bands. Dancing was usually spontaneous; they rarely organized set movements for specific songs. Often when Sneezy wasn’t supervising them, they would switch instruments, or someone might start playing the instrument of the person next to them, and that person reciprocate. Samuel, the lead singer once held the microphone out so that a group of three drummers could lean towards it and sing and impromptu song. Rehearsal
would be interrupted at any given moment by a gadget someone brought out into view (Dictaphone, cell phone, camera, electronic game, etc.), by capoeira moves, or someone making Donald Duck imitations. Occasionally, one boy would suddenly drop his drum sticks, pull his t-shirt up over his nose and mouth running toward the exit, followed by the entire rest of the band, except for the boy who had been accused of farting. The fun they were having was very contagious to the audience, and easily made up for what they lacked in synchronism or a large repertoire. They had very little turn-over of membership, compared to other bands who had been playing for as long. They were also one of the most willing bands to volunteer for tasks and responsibilities in the NGO. They were one of the best examples of the positive contributions of ludic behavior.

In another example, Sneezy was rehearsing a difficult new break with The New Sensations with little success, because most of the band members were not synchronized with each other. When Sneezy was called away for a phone call, Katy, the repique player immediately took over and drilled the break several times with no improvement from the rest of the group. Grace, the djembe player, then stepped in to lead the break, but also failed. The group was generally frustrated. Katy picked up some sunglasses that Sneezy's that he had left in the rehearsal room, and put them on and made humorous poses which attracted the rest of the band's attention. I was expecting that the distraction of goofing-around with Sneezy's sunglasses would distract from the group's focus on learning the new break, but a few seconds after Katy goofed-around with the sunglasses, the group tried the break again and played it the best they had ever played it, and basically continued to play it correctly from that point on. Katy is usually serious, reserved, and doesn't fool around during rehearsals, which leads me to speculate that she consciously and very effectively used ludic behavior to relieve the vicious cycle of frustration in the group. She intentionally manipulated group cohesion, unified the group in laughter, and created an observable learning outcome: the group now knew the break and could perform it consistently.

**Attendance and Punctuality**

Attendance and punctuality were serious problems, and leaders were constantly haranguing band members to show up to rehearsal and be on time. Many adolescents lacked the support of their families; and when juggling school, work, and band practice; band
practice was often the lowest priority. Attendance and punctuality were crucial because the music is an oral tradition and the aesthetic of complex synchronized musical changes meant that jamming was not sufficient during public performances. A single drummer could ruin a change for the entire band if they happened to not have been at the rehearsal where it was negotiated and memorized. Many rehearsals were cancelled because not enough people showed up. Sneezy was often frustrated with having to rehearse bands with members missing, and once he threatened that anyone who missed rehearsal should be kicked out.

For example, Heather repeatedly reminded the musicians of The New Girls on the Block about a special Saturday rehearsal. She started reminding them several days before the rehearsal and said that whatever problems they had in their lives, they needed to make sure they got to practice on time. But for all her attempts, she and Laura (the singer) were the only ones there at the appointed time, and the practice didn’t start for another hour. But she didn’t complain; she said she leads by example, and she is resigned to it.

**Technical Problems**

Technical problems with instruments usually stemmed from economic causes—they couldn’t afford new equipment—and leadership solutions showed innovation and cooperation. Mallet heads or stick fragments would occasionally fly off while performing and rehearsing. Some drummers were prepared with a bag of extra sticks and mallets, but most needed to stop playing, recover the mallet head, and repair it quickly; or continue playing with the broken stick. Many drummers who had a stick break would stop other musicians who were playing in order to borrow one. Having two drummers stop often resulted in the collapse of the song.

Most of the solutions were immediate, but good leaders strove for long-term solutions. An example of an immediate solution was during a parade when Tomcat rigged a strap for his caixa from the plastic market bag that he used to carry his drumsticks. Problem solving often demonstrates team leadership by encouraging others in group to contribute to solutions. Corn on fundo had a problem with his mallet, and asked Washington, on efeitos (usually the least important instrument) next to him for tape. Washington took one stick and played Corn’s part while Corn repaired his mallet. After a mallet head flew off in a rehearsal
of The Recyclers and caused a major distraction in the rehearsal, Sneezy included a plea for making quality mallets in a pep talk after the rehearsal.

**Resolving Personal Conflicts**

Personal conflicts between two band members were not commonly expressed in the rehearsal room, but when they were, they usually became a problem that the entire band was forced to deal with, and many problems couldn't be solved within the rehearsal. An example of an immediate solution happened toward the beginning of a difficult rehearsal of The Leopards. After spending 15 minutes trying to perform a single entrance correctly, the entire band was getting frustrated, and after an argument, Washington walked over toward Birdy as if to hit him. But the singer stopped Washington saying, “If you guys start fighting, I’m out of here!” Birdy replied, “Then go!” But they did stop fighting, and the next time the band tried the entrance, they got it right. But this example was an exception to the rule, as most personal problems I observed developed over weeks.

Sneezy said that many adolescents bring the problems in their lives into rehearsals, including sickness in the family, money problems, and stress. Part of his job as leader is as a counselor, and he says that he learned how to counsel from his experiences being a counselor at the NGO, and from the NGO director who counseled him when he was going through difficult times. Counseling, or what could be called a relationship leadership style, is an important function of the NGO volunteers, and to a lesser degree the band leaders and members of band. Most of this counseling took place outside of rehearsals and meetings, away from the pressure of an immediate task, and in groups of two, or as arbitration in groups of three. Unfortunately, I was unable to observe this kind of counseling, but I know it was important because I would observe serious personal problems at one rehearsal and then see that they had been resolved by the next rehearsal. The best explanation I received from interviewing participants in the conflict was that they had gotten together to talk and worked things out. I did observe several meetings and rehearsals where leaders arbitrated personal conflicts, and I assume that the counseling was done in a similar way. In these arbitrations, Sneezy would generally encourage each of the parties to speak uninterrupted to explain their position, allow controlled rebuttal, and encourage them to work out their differences and find a resolution. Often third-parties from the band would add information or contribute solutions.
If they didn't arrive at a solution quickly enough, Sneezy would jump in and suggest one. People could then disagree with him and suggest alternative solutions. Sneezy would usually end the arbitration with a soliloquy on the importance of coexistence and mutual respect, which he often included in his pep talks as well.

**Rehearsal Problems that Result in Meetings**

Personal conflicts in The Wastelanders exacerbated rehearsal problems and were carried over into a meeting. The sister of the lead singer used to date Tomcat, the marcação player, but had broken up with him several months earlier, and was now starting to go out with the band leader, Mike. The typical band leadership conflicts (determining repertoire, musical changes, rehearsal priorities) that a marcação player might have with the band leader were exacerbated by the conflicts of their relation to the sister of the lead singer as ex-boyfriend versus current boyfriend.

The Wastelanders started their rehearsal with obvious problems. They were reviewing their repertoire and playing everything correctly, but without expression. They looked bored. They played through many mistakes without anyone commenting on them. They were fairly cohesive but no one seemed to be enjoying themselves.

Until for about a minute, the band got into the flow and the atmosphere of the rehearsal changed drastically. I didn't understand the cause, but somehow the drummers were focused on the singer, who started singing louder and with more emotion, and started dancing, which is very rare for her because she is very timid. She has excellent intonation, and sounds as if she sings in a church choir. The rest of the band followed by increasing their volume and gestures and started dancing and smiling more.

After the song, Sneezy was rebuking them gently about bad posture when they were interrupted by a group of Italian tourists for whom they were expected to perform. After the tourists left they went back to rehearsing and debating what song to sing next. After a very uncomfortable ten seconds of silence, with many glances thrown back and forth in the room, Mike collects all the drumsticks and they walk out, canceling rehearsal.

Sneezy catches them as they are leaving the NGO building and he seems more frustrated than they are, and moves them to another room for a meeting, and tries to understand and resolve the problem. They pull their chairs around a large table and begin
talking. There are multiple conflicts, and Sneezy tries to guide the conversation to elicit the problems and group them into an agenda. Mike accuses Tomcat of ruining the good vibe of the band, complaining about him behind his back and bragging about being a better drummer than he is. Sneezy interrupts and explains that it is not important who is better than whom.

The discussion moved to problems with the singer. She says she didn't want to sing a song because she doesn't know what the lyrics mean. Sneezy says it's OK not to know what it means but that she should do research and try to find out. The singer responds that she doesn't want to do research about the songs. This angers Sneezy who takes the repertoire very seriously. The singer says she wants to sing about "nice things," that she can't do research because she doesn't have the education.

The singer's position of claiming ignorance as a permanent condition was intolerable to Sneezy's ideology, the goals of the NGO, and the racial-musical-educational project in Salvador.

Sneezy changes the agenda drastically and tells Mike that he needs to make a decision right then and there whether the band is going to continue or not. Mike haws a bit, falls back into attacking Tomcat, which Sneezy stopped immediately. They talked for a while about keeping personal relationships separate from the rehearsal, until the singer said she had to leave. As soon as she left the room, Sneezy immediately suggested that they should throw her out of the band, and the next week she was not at rehearsal, but the tension between Tomcat and Mike continued into further rehearsals.
CHAPTER 4

ADMINISTRATIVE LEADERSHIP

My operational definition of administrative leadership is: the capacities used to facilitate group decisions and actions that are not based on aesthetic performance. The definition has limitations, as shown in the example above of a discussion begun in a rehearsal and continued in a meeting. The difference between aesthetics and administration is really a question of degree: how much aesthetic preference is involved in the subject and act of decision making, and how much coordination is necessary with an aesthetic endeavor that involves people making decisions in a group. I justify the division because the context of most of my observations could be separated into the extreme situational categories of formal rehearsals and formal meetings.

Ideally I would have liked to divide administrative leadership by whether it is informal or formal. I noted that informal decision-making was very important, but unfortunately, I was not able to gather enough data to evaluate its role in leadership. My observations of informal decision-making were very limited because of the short time I spent with my informants and my language deficiencies that prevented me from understanding many of the nuances of conversation. Formal meetings to discuss upcoming events would often be canceled, but the event would happen anyway, which means that the decisions about the event must have been made informally. I know gossip occurred and that it was important. It was very common that when someone left the room, the remaining people in the room would immediately start criticizing them. Unfortunately I didn’t understand enough of the context of the small fragments I overheard to successfully evaluate the role of gossip in leadership. The NGO has an office where volunteers meet continuously to plan various programs, but I spent very little time there. Many of the bands hang out together after rehearsal and critique the rehearsal, and I attended enough of these informal meetings to know they were an important part of administrative leadership.

My observations of administrative leadership focused on problem solving in formal meetings. A meeting is a group of people using predominantly verbal communication with
the explicit goal of problem solving. The meetings I observed could be roughly divided into band meetings and volunteer meetings. The above example of a band rehearsal that became a meeting was common; bands will often step away from their instruments and talk about problems in the band. Many discussions arise out of the need to deal with personal conflicts, or attendance. Some come from specific tasks that need to be dealt with for upcoming performances, while others focused on the aesthetic direction of the group and the repertoire especially about which new songs to learn. Volunteer meetings were organized by the staff or the volunteers, usually to evaluate and plan the various programs and projects of the NGO. The volunteer meetings were more formal and the average age was older—to the point where they would be better described as young adults than adolescents—but I felt justified lumping the two kinds of meetings together for the purpose of this study because many of the volunteers were also involved in bands as leaders and teachers, and attended both kinds of meetings. Also, there were several meetings that combined elements of both band meetings and volunteer meetings, such as meetings to plan events that included staff, volunteers, and the band members who were going to be performing at the event.

I divided leadership traits in formal meetings into the same categories as musical leadership: communication and problem solving.

**COMMUNICATION**

Analytical verbal communication was the predominant activity in meetings, but they also included written communication, visual objects, and to a large degree, non-verbal communication. Emotional communication was present but discouraged.

Written communications during meetings included passing notes to individuals, and presenting texts for the entire group to review such as: agendas, letters and emails to the group, proposals for new programs of partnerships, budgets, and reports. The NGO rarely printed more than one copy of texts because the expense was prohibitive.

By communication with visual objects, I mean the use of pictures or graphics to help explain an idea. The NGO couldn't afford the stereotypical poster board graphic presentation, or a projector for a PowerPoint presentation, but occasionally people would show a sketch of a band logo on a computer screen, or bring in a sample costume to show to the group.
Communication at meetings was nominally analytical, and the emotional part of communication tended to be suppressed, except that meetings were often framed by bonding rituals. For example, at the beginning of the meeting the group might acknowledge important events of meeting participants, such as singing “Happy Birthday” to anyone in the meeting who had a birthday that day, often accompanied by cake and soda. And, to end a meeting they might clap, or stand up and holds hands, and go around and say positive words, and then do a form of the wave, passing a squeezed hand around in the circle. I would be tempted to say that these bonding rituals were an implicit purpose for holding the meeting, except that the meetings normally seemed so disagreeable to all the participants that I believe these bonding rituals served to mitigate the destruction of social solidarity caused by the conflicts brought out during the meeting.

Verbal

Verbal communication in meetings was generally more formal. Sometimes people would speak especially slowly for emphasis. They used longer phrases and more complicated logical arguments than in informal conversation. People would clarify and restate ideas, both their own and of others. Turn-taking in conversation was usually respected but direct interruptions were common.

A regular component of band meetings was the leader's pep talk: an exposition of long-terms goals and ethical values meant to inspire the group to either take small problems more seriously or look beyond small problems toward broader goals. It often including metaphors and personal experience. Generally the higher the status and the more experienced the leader, the longer the speech. The NGO director could maintain an hour long monologue. Sneezy could talk for around a half hour. Most of the young leaders could command only 30 seconds before someone else interrupted them. The function of pep talks often paralleled the Inspirational Motivation factor of transformational leadership that refers to leaders who communicate high expectations to followers using symbols and emotional appeals (Northouse 2004:176-7).

Non-Verbal

Non verbal communication was important in meetings especially as a way to offer immediate feedback while respecting the rule of turn-taking in conversation. Interrupting a
person while talking was considered rude, especially if they were older, and thus higher status, so non-verbal communication served to immediately respond to an idea as the person continued to talk. Important non-verbal communication included: facial expressions, gestures, posture, and getting up.

**Facial Expressions**

The adolescents could show agreement or disagreement by their facial expressions and provide the group with near instantaneous feedback. I didn't observe deception in facial expressions, such as a poker face. There was a tendency for older adolescents to show less exaggerated facial expressions, but I would attribute this to older people being generally calmer and more mature. Reading facial expressions was not something that could be done from a photograph (except for the extremes shown in Figure 32), because one needed to compare the person's face to their baseline demeanor (some people smiled all the time, some people were generally very dour), and how they happened to be feeling that day. Reading facial expressions is somewhat subjective (see p. 54-5), but the communication is instantaneous and provides immediate feedback to the person speaking.

For example, Heather was explaining her position on a complicated issue in a small meeting. She was speaking with eyes unfocussed, concentrating on making her point, and then she paused for a half second to glance at someone who had started to stare at her more intently, and then Heather glanced quickly at the others around the table, and continued speaking in a slightly more emphatic tone of voice. The glance could have been interpreted as Heather asking for the right word, and the more emphatic tone could have come from frustration over not finding it. However in my interpretation, the incident was an example of microleadership at meetings. Heather had been continually reading the entire crowd while speaking, even with unfocussed eyes, to find out how they were reacting to what she was saying. When she noticed strong opposition from the person glaring at her, she paused to determine how much support she had from the rest of people in the meeting, and not finding enthusiastic support, she decided to raise the emotional importance of her point by speaking more emphatically. Heather was continually monitoring the facial expressions of the audience, even while simultaneously concentrating intently on what she was saying, and the pause, to evaluate and respond to a potentially serious objection, took less than a second.
GESTURES

Some gestures may have been involuntary, but many were used consciously to communicate. While speaking, baton gestures were commonly used to emphasize a point and people would strike with a finger or a hand in the air as they spoke. Fidgeting wasn't necessarily an involuntary motion that stemmed from nervousness or having to go to the bathroom during a long meeting, it was often more of an intentional gesture meant to show disagreement with the speaker or boredom with the topic. Fidgeting often became a ludic activity, such as when Wrench started fidgeting with the center plug of a plastic table, taking it out and putting it back in, in different arrangements. Shuffling papers was a very intentional sign that the person wanted the meeting to end.
**POSTURE**

Generally the farther forward someone leaned, the more attentive they were, and the farther back they leaned, the more they showed their withdrawal from the meeting. Slouching showed disagreement with the speaker or boredom with the topic. It could also show power. For example, at one meeting, Johnny, the NGO President sat with an exaggerated slouch with his feet on the table in front of Josephine, the secretary, as in a position of dominance. Most speakers would sit up straight, but Sneezy, for example, tended to lean forward as he spoke, as if engaging the other meeting participants. Slouching and fidgeting both expressed disagreement, and when they often combined, it was interesting to see the contrast of a relaxed bent back sunk into a chair with fidgety hands moving rapidly.

**PROBLEM SOLVING SITUATIONS**

The explicit purpose of most meetings was problem solving itself: to share information, make group decisions, make an “action plan,” evaluate previous actions, make schedules, and assign responsibility. Below I hope to explore some patterns of meta–problem solving, that is, solving problems within the meeting itself.

Most of the meeting topics revolved around distribution of resources, aesthetic direction, and resolving personal conflicts between members. Meetings on the distribution of resources at the NGO followed a common theme of: “We're broke, what do we do now?” Solutions generally included scaling back plans, and visionary pleas for volunteerism. Jumpy described an example of aesthetic decision making in his band:

> We pick the music selection by a vote, or everybody comes to consensus. We start with a dialog: "No, this one here," "This one here is better, it rocks," "This one is going to be better for our group to play," "This one is going to be a little tricky to get the rhythm." But we always improvise beyond the music, and we're not looking to copy it exactly, We're always looking to go beyond the music, to give it a new sense. The lyrics are essential, but we just give it a new harmony, and new arrangements for the music, like the way we mix merengue with axé.

Personal conflicts were usually solved through arbitration of immediate problems; and preventative strategies such as counseling adolescents with potential problems, and constant ideological discourse on the importance of coexistence and mutual respect (described above in musical leadership in the section on resolving personal conflicts, p.100-2).
In the rest of this chapter I present patterns of problem solving including: taking notes, commanding the floor, distractions and withdrawal, solidarity, team leadership, transferring blame, code-switching, pep talks, and triage and reciprocity.

**Taking Notes**

Young people in the NGO used classic meeting skills, but musicians tended to remember information and obligations rather than write it down. Agendas were common. At very formal meetings most volunteers had conspicuous notepads and pens. Comparing musicians to non-musician volunteers, the people who didn’t take notes tended to be the musicians. This suggests that the musicians are not learning meeting skills from playing music, and tends to contradict my hypothesis. Personally, I couldn't imagine myself going to a meeting and not writing down all the obligations I committed to. But notes are not contracts. I've written down thousands of obligations to myself and when it came time to carry them out, I found some excuse to avoid them (colloquially called "flaking"). I am constantly finding old lists of things to do, which have been only half done. In terms of remembering and carrying out obligations, I didn't observe any differences between the musicians and the non-musicians. The musicians were just as responsible in carrying out obligations as the non-musicians. This suggests that although the musicians are not using traditional meeting skills, they are not necessarily less competent at using meetings to accomplish goals.

**Commanding the Floor**

One of the requirements of communication is respect for turn-talking. The NGO didn’t use Robert's Rules of Order, so commanding the floor meant exercising personal power and dominance over the other adolescents who also had something to say. For example, after a difficult rehearsal of The Recyclers (p. 95-7), Sneezy called a meeting and lectured about problems with the band and possible solutions. He stressed making good mallets so the tops don’t fly off. He complained about attendance and that going to the beach is not a valid excuse for missing rehearsal. When some adolescents said that they had had problems with their parents, Sneezy said that he also had problems with his parents when he was young, but that the band needed to practice because they have an important festival coming up. Sneezy asked where everyone lived and suggested that they could get together and practice at
someone’s house. Sneezy left the meeting and the band leader attempted to direct the meeting by reinforcing the things that Sneezy had said, but he was unable to command the same respect from the group as Sneezy had, and he had to raise his voice to get them to pay attention to him, and the meeting broke up without setting the place or time for the needed rehearsal. The failure of someone to command the floor often causes, and is caused by, cross-talking.

Distractions and Withdrawal

Withdrawal from the meeting process was one of the most common problems, and it could take many forms. Helen B. Schwartzman (1989; 1994:79-81) divided meeting forms into "sense-making" and "nonsense-making." I looked at how leaders manipulated nonsense-making into sense-making. Many problems come from multi-tasking in a way that disrupts the meeting such as: starting a side conversation with a neighbor or a cell-phone, leaving the meeting to deal with something else, fidgeting, and playing around. A very small proportion of these withdrawals contributed to the meeting, such as leaving to get someone who needed to address a point in the meeting, calling someone who had information that could resolve an issue, and ostentation withdrawal that was a sign to table a specific issue or reconvene a meeting later when conditions would be better suited to resolve the issue. But most withdrawals were distractions that interfered with the meeting. Leaders tended to withdraw less, and insist that others do the same.

For example, Yaresha, Vice President of the NGO, once moved next to two people who had withdrawn from the meeting, one who was reading a newspaper and another who was cross-talking to the other person next to him. Both distractions promptly stopped. Sneezy would facilitate band meetings mostly by: trying to control the speaking order, letting people finish their point, and not letting people be cut off.

Too Many Leaders: Cross-Talking

Cross-talking means that while someone is talking to the entire group, a second person starts to talk to a third. Interrupting the speaker directly was sometimes rude but usually increased the efficiency of meetings, as long-winded speakers were forced to condense their information or risk being interrupted. Cross-talking is different from interrupting someone because it is not addressed to the speaker or the whole group. Cross-
talking was occasionally used to clarify an issue, what Schwartzman (1994:81) called *footnoting*, someone contributing an interpretation of what the speaker is saying. But usually cross-talking was a distraction and a way to show contempt for the person speaking, what Schwartzman called *side-talk*, someone discounting what the person is saying. Respect for turn taking in conversation is a cultural universal (Moghaddam 1998:10), and the person who intentionally speaks at the same time as someone else often sends a message to the rest of the group that they don't respect that person's right to continue speaking. Most cross-talk was done in a low voice but even that was usually not tolerated by meeting leaders. Many people passed notes while others were talking, and I personally found this very distracting, but everyone else seemed used to it and it was definitely more respectful than cross-talking.

For example, the NGO volunteers David and Hanna called a meeting of The Leopards to discuss how to spend money being paid to the band for two public performances at events promoting environmental education for youth. Along with the money came responsibilities, so after David announced the available money, two main issues quickly arose involving transportation and food. The band needed to decide whether to pay for several taxis or rent a van, and whether to buy food at the event or bring sandwiches. Cross-talking was the main problem with the meeting, and it also contributed to another problem, the confusion over which question was being discussed.

For most of the meeting many people were talking at the same time. They would try to lobby others for attention by raising hands, snapping, standing up, and shouting. One turned around in disgust saying "Fuck this!" During the cross-talk Hanna repeated quietly, "Can I talk" several times while raising her hand, and eventually she got people's attention without shouting. She strongly opposed the taxi idea and said that the band should all go together. Sneezy seconded her position verbally while she was giving arguments for her position, but except for that affirmative interruption, the group respected her turn to talk, her arguments, and her authority in the NGO; so those advocating taxis backed down, and she was able to close discussion on the issue.

Discussion returned to food, specifically when and what to eat for lunch. David tried to stop the cross-talk by shifting the group's focus to someone who hadn't yet spoke—asking Danny for his opinion. Danny, the young overweight boy who had been sitting quietly toward the back of the meeting, said that he wanted *two* sandwiches, which made everyone
laugh. David quickly volunteered to make the sandwiches himself if the band bought the fixings, and everyone agreed. The meeting tapered off with some discussion of whether to include cheese, ham, or both.

Both Hanna and David stopped the cross-talk by focusing the group on a specific issue. Both relied on their authority within the NGO. Hanna had the added solidarity of Sneezy. Robert’s offer of volunteer work gave him more clout and he timed his offer to take advantage of the unity of the group which occurred (possibly intentionally) because of the ludic distraction of everyone laughing at the overweight boy who wanted two sandwiches. The ludic distraction may have also helped eliminate the emotional tension that had built up as the adolescents competed for commanding the floor, and they were able to put the decision into perspective and more readily accept a consensus.

**LUDIC DISTRACTIONS**

People would often disengage from the topic being discussed and pursue another activity, such as fidgeting, doodling, reading something unrelated to the meeting, telling a joke to a neighbor, or practicing a musical part or change.

During one meeting Peter seemed obviously bored and was fencing with another young man using rolled-up posters as swords, until Yaresha banged on the table and shouted: "Pay attention!" Good leaders would mitigate ludic distractions.

When someone’s cell phone went off during a meeting, the NGO had a ritual where they forced the person to put on a ragged pink dress until after the meeting was over. This didn’t seem to solve the problem, because often more than one phone would go off during a meeting. The pink dress became more of ludic distraction than a negative sanction to prevent interruptions from cell-phones.

**COMING AND GOING**

People would come in and out of meetings frequently, and it was a problem because often information was given out and decisions were made without key people involved. It was common for people to get up to stretch during a meeting, but getting up was also a sign that you wanted to end the meeting, as if you were threatening to walk out. For example, toward the end of a meeting where Peter had felt attacked, he stood up impatiently and said, “Let’s finish the meeting!” and started pacing behind his chair. Toward the end of another
long meeting, a series of people started sitting up in their chairs, not as if they were interested in the topic, but as if they wanted to get up and leave. The meeting soon broke up, although important issues were left unresolved. Generally, the more experienced leaders would stay to participate in the entire meeting, and expect everyone else to do the same. For example, when people got up to leave a meeting that wasn’t over, Yaresha would sometimes physically push them back into their seats.

**STAYING ON TOPIC**

People were expected to stay with a topic until a decision had been made, and leaders were vigilant in not allowing people to stray from the topic. Good leaders used an agenda to keep the discussion on track. The agenda could be written, but often leaders structured the meeting in their heads. For example, one meeting of volunteers started well, with the director introducing the broad goals of the NGO and relating them to the immediate decisions that needed to be made at this meeting, but the meeting was interrupted by a phone call. First the secretary got up to answer it, and then she called the director to take the call. Joyce took over as chair and continued the meeting using a scaffolding technique of summarizing what had been decided up to that point and relating it to the decisions that still needed to be made. Unfortunately, she was interrupted by a volunteer from Spain who was organizing a partnership with the NGO giving modern dance classes to the adolescents. Although the organizational issues about the dance classes had been resolved and there were several other unresolved issues left on the agenda, the Spanish volunteer started a long monologue about the political importance of dance in constructing an ideological foundation during the formative years of adolescence. No one objected to the content of what he was saying, but it interrupted the goals of the meeting. Several people around the table tried to communicate this to him using facial expressions but he didn’t respond. Joyce tried to shut him up by relating one of his points to one of the unresolved issues on the agenda but she was unsuccessful. She then stood up, walked around her chair, and sat back down. Then she very conspicuously turned her wrist over to look at her watch. Eventually, in a gap in his monologue, she was able regain command of the floor and efficiently finish the meeting. Attentiveness to the topic was an important leadership skill at meetings.
**Punctuality**

Brazilians in general have a reputation for understanding that obligations have flexible time constraints. Within Brazil, people from Bahia are considered to be even more relaxed than the more industrialized states, such as São Paulo. Arriving late to meetings was the norm, and a serious problem, because when the newly arrived would inevitably try to participate in the meeting without having heard the previous discussion, the early-comers were forced to repeat lengthy information multiple times, and often re-open difficult discussions that had been resolved. In many cases meetings were cancelled altogether because enough important people showed up late, after the people waiting for them had left. The NGO mitigated the problem of cancelled meetings through informal decision making.

Having to repeat the information for new people sometimes served a useful function of summarizing and confirming decisions that had been made. Also, discussion could end on a topic, but later be re-opened, as people disagreed with how a leader summarized the consensus on the topic.

**Solidarity**

Since most decisions were made by consensus it was advantageous to have allies at meetings. Solidarity during music rehearsals could be arbitrary because people’s positions were constrained by the position of their drums, but at meetings people usually decided whom to sit next to.

For example, Shorty had been helping Oscar to prepare a proposal for a special music program, and during the meeting he sat right next to Oscar. He was very quiet but he occasionally gave a brief clarification of something that Oscar said and once finished his sentence with the word he was looking for. He was very close to Oscar in terms of proximity and attentiveness. Toward the end of another meeting, several issues had been left unresolved when Wrench reintroduced an issue with rehearsal scheduling problems. Heather was also concerned with the problem and upset that it had been sidelined, so she gave him a high-five for bringing the subject back to the table.

During an especially bad budget crisis for the NGO in 2003, the main topic of the meeting was where to cut paid staff hours. Yaresha asked the coordinators of the various programs to suggest where they could cut hours, and who could find paid work elsewhere.
She began by politely asking Wrench, one of the youngest and most timid volunteers, about where he could cut hours with his job as director of the music collection, and he responded by proposing reasonable cuts. Then Yaresha asked him to talk about the music collection in general, and Wrench responded by talking about problems that he was having in taking care of the music collection, and encouraging more adolescents to take advantage of it. Then, Yaresha began a long and detailed criticism of all of Wrench’s failings. After the attack, Wrench was physically leaning against Sneezy as if looking for support.

**Code-Switching**

I borrow the term code-switching to refer to abrupt changes in leadership styles. Leaders have a repertoire of communication skills and good leaders can use them consciously, switching styles depending on the situation. Continuing from the example above, Yaresha felt compelled to direct Wrench in the details of his task because of his lack of experience, but when asked to choose the musicians for a special event, Yaresha delegated the responsibility to Sneezy without comment. Yaresha’s shift in leadership styles between Wrench and Sneezy is consistent with the Situational Leadership theory, which recommends the leadership style of **Directing (S1)**, Low Supportive (don't hold their hand) and High Directive (tell them what to do) behaviors in situations where employees have a Low Development (D1) level such as Wrench. Low Development means that the employees have Low Competence and High Commitment. On the other hand, Sneezy shows High Development (D4) level—High Competence and High Commitment—and Situational Leadership theory recommends the leadership style of **Delegating (S4)**, which recommends that leaders demonstrate Low Supportive (don't hold their hand) and Low Directive (don't tell them what to do) behaviors (Northouse 2004:88-91), which is exactly what Yaresha did.

The switch in leadership style could also be in the register (Rector 1994:40-2) of formality. In one meeting of the volunteers, a community member had been invited to present noise complaints about the bands from the neighbors. He arrived in the middle of the meeting and as he entered, all of the band members abruptly changed their posture and language. The change in Peter was drastic. Up until this point he had been slouching with his chair slightly away from the table, tapping a drum part while others were discussing NGO issues. When the community member entered he stopped slouching and drumming and his eyes looked
alert. The code-switch was triggered by a general respect for elders and guests, and an understanding of the seriousness of noise complaints and the need to maintain good relationships with the community. Oscar, the Viennese music teacher, would sometimes lose his train of thought during meetings and an uncomfortable silence would ensue. The people in the meeting treated him with more deference than the local volunteers—pausing would normally lead to cross-talking, increased volume, and stronger gestures as people vied to change the topic—instead, they just waited patiently for Oscar to resume. I observed another abrupt change in Heather, who had just finished a long formal meeting when she was immediately asked by a small group of peers to resolve a problem of a graffittied log book. Heather was so loud and used such vigorous gestures that the person she was talking with, who agreed with what she was saying, asked her to “Speak more softly!” It seemed as if she had been holding back her emotions during the formal meeting and finally was allowed to vent them in an informal meeting.

Team Leadership

Even though most meetings had a chair, leadership was diffused. For example, The Wastelanders had a conflict over a musical issue that led to heated words and two adolescents walking out of the rehearsal. The remainder of the group met to try to resolve the issue (Figure 33).

Figure 33. The Wastelanders meeting positions.
Tomcat was very agitated, and the repique player was contributing to his agitation by taking the position of the adolescents who had walked out. Looking at the sketch, it is interesting how Tomcat, the most aggressive person in the meeting, was immediately surrounded by the most active leaders in the group: Mike, the leader of the band, Heather, an active team leader, and Sneezy, the overall music teacher. Heather, Mike, and Sneezy didn't have a strong opinion about the musical issue that caused the problem, but immediately jumped-in to help diffuse Tomcat's aggression before it caused further problems.

**Transferring Blame**

Self-criticism was very rare at meetings. When problems arose, the causes were often left unexplored. One of the reasons meetings were so disagreeable was because the goal of a meeting was to solve problems. Solving problems often meant attributing a cause to the problem. Attributing causes to problems where self-criticism is rare means that someone is likely to get blamed for the problem. Since no one is really sure going into a meeting what people are going to complain about, there is no guarantee that they won't be the ones blamed for some problem that might be brought up. Harsh criticism and defensiveness were a part of most meetings. Good leaders would attempt to reduce the emotional insecurity of the group, make constructive criticisms, and were more likely to be self-critical.

During a frustrating hour-long rehearsal of The New Sensations, the band was unable to satisfactorily rehearse a single song. The main problem was the caixa player who demonstrated strong incorrect leadership. He was very self-confident and played loudly, but could not keep a steady rhythm. He was sloppy, in the sense that he would smile and seemed to think that he was playing correctly, but he would constantly waver in and out of rhythm with the rest of the band. Overall, he tended to drag, and the rest of the band followed him. Very soon into each of the songs they attempted, several drummers had lost the rhythm, and they had to stop.

Sneezy called for a meeting outside of the regularly scheduled rehearsal time in a separate room with chairs. He started the meeting by asking everyone to talk about the band and to feel comfortable about criticizing the problems.

Interestingly enough, it was the caixa player who was the first to speak and said that the problem with the band was that people fool around too much. Throwing cookies across
the room became the topic for several minutes. Ludic distractions are a major problem with most bands, but from my observations, it was not the problem during this rehearsal. I believe he was transferring blame away from his own faults.

One of the singers mentioned dragging as the problem, but several drummers disagreed and put the responsibility to keeping the rhythm together on the singer. The singer is normally partially responsible for cueing entrances but very rarely has any effect on the rhythm of the drummers because even with a microphone, the singer's volume is much less than the drummers. The drummers who criticized the singer seemed to be transferring blame.

Sneezy tried to minimize the blame transfer and make sure the ongoing problems of the band were addressed. He brought up a separate problem that the band might be too large, with 11 instead of the usual 7 musicians. People in the band were not responsive to Sneezy's point, because it implied kicking people out of the band. The caixa player vigorously disagreed with Sneezy, perhaps fearing that he would be one of the first to go.

**Reciprocity**

The NGO volunteers are constantly making decisions over how to allocate very limited attention and resources. Leadership-member exchange theory defends the benefits of in-groups, or less than egalitarian policies of the leader (Northouse 2004:147-68), and this is useful in explaining preferential treatment in the NGO. Participants who volunteered more in the day-to-day functioning of the NGO received more benefits from the leaders. For example, Sneezy doted on The Next Big Thing, most of whose members were the first to volunteer for cleaning jobs.

As a service organization the NGO nominally practices generalized reciprocity, giving without expecting anything immediately in return. But, there are limits to the altruism of the NGO and in many instances they practice more balanced reciprocity, expecting something in return. Some of those who received fewer benefits accused the NGO of being a "mafia" or an "old boys’ network." The fact that adolescents could complain about perceived injustice while actively participating in the NGO, reflects the function of the NGO as a laboratory for political negotiation and leadership experiments. The preferential treatment caused some resentment, but I didn't hear of anyone who had quit the NGO because of it.
MEETINGS IN THE STREET

NGO meetings have a cultural context that determines how the adolescents organize themselves to make decisions. Below, Sneezy explains some of the context for leadership in meetings, mentioning topics such as: consensus decision making, team leadership, non-hierarchical communication, socialization, mobility, and the surrogate street.

People say that in meetings if you don't say anything, if you don't take part in the meeting, then you're not going to have your issue dealt with. The goal of the meetings is to force people to talk, as you've seen, everybody is together: the administrators, the guy who cleans, the guy who fixes stuff, all of the participants that are part of the team are together. This doesn't happen in other organizations, where the pedagogy group meets only with themselves, or the administrators meet with each other. Our meetings are mixed, everybody's there, and they all say whatever they want to say, and this helps with the information problem, our biggest problem. Communication goes around in a non-hierarchical way. […]

The band is a fantastic space for socialization, because you have to give in to one another. Everybody is different, they come from different families, and in that moment everybody has to share a common objective and work together, because you might find yourself playing way in the back and you wanted to be in the front, you might be playing repique and what you really wanted was to sing, so you always have to give in to the others so things work out, to obey the orders of someone that maybe in the streets might be a total looser, but in this situation is the best musician in the world. If he doesn't play well, everything might not be so beautiful, so the band makes you live in a different socialization. You can put yourself out there, but you can be attacked also.

It's a kind of family where the roles are not well defined, because in a family the roles are well defined: this one's the crybaby, that one never takes a bath, that one is the brother who's always fighting. But in the band, your role is flexible. You can climb, and you can also fall. So I think that it's a social structure with mobility, a family structure with mobility in its roles. […] It helps because you realize that you can be at the bottom or at the top depending on your behavior. In the family you get a format and you stay stuck there, it's very difficult to change. And we know that the environment these kids have for socialization are: street, family, and school. The NGO fits in the environment of the street so to speak. We are a street because we actually came from the street. If you ask a mother where her kid is she'll say, "he is in the street." The NGO is an extension of the street. Is a parenthetical street, I would say a simulated street, a safe street, an organized one. […] it's like those seeds people talk about, those genetically modified seeds, a different street, a better street, but it's still a street. The kids still behave as they do on the streets.
CHAPTER 5

CULTURAL CONTEXT

This chapter is for my findings that didn’t fit into the specific categories of leadership in rehearsals or meetings, but were relevant to the part of my hypothesis that addresses the other possible causes of leadership development that are associated with the musical experience. After a narrative introduction to the cultural context, I group my observations by leadership issues.

The band was in the street sitting on the curb with a pile of instruments waiting for the van to pick them up. Jumpy started jamming on cavaquinho (a small, four-stringed guitar). Samuel tried out several instruments and finally settled on a simple surdo part to reinforce Jumpy's variations. The rest of the band sat and talked. They were tired but excited because they had just finished a three hour recording session. They would have kept going but one three-hour block was all they could afford, and the next band arrived for their scheduled time and kicked them out. The recording studio was located in an older and more affluent neighborhood.

While they were sitting on the curb playing and talking, two boys approached. They were about the same age as the musicians but with lighter skin and dressed in the uniforms of the elite school run by the Military Police. Jumpy gave them a hostile stare, and the other members of the band looked up and joined his stare. The Military Police students looked both scared and jealous. They could feel the hostility of Jumpy’s stare and they moved as far as way from the band as possible, hugging the wall as they passed. But the musical instruments were tantalizing: Why didn’t they didn’t get to play samba at their school? After they passed, Jumpy’s focus returned to the cavaquinho, and people continued their conversations until a van pulled up and they loaded the instruments and crammed into the van until it was full. Those who couldn't fit in the van took off walking back home.

Race and class are intertwined in Salvador. Although the military dictatorship has been officially over for twenty years, the white Military Police students represent the group of people who will take the reigns of power in the next decade and refuse to share that power
with the black musicians. To the white Military Police students, the black musicians represent cultural capital, freedom, dreams of stardom, and a threat to their privilege. The ease to which Jumpy could galvanize the attention of the entire band and create an atmosphere of solidarity among the band members, and hostility toward white Military Police students, reflects many preexisting cultural conflicts.

**PARTICIPATION IN NATIONAL POLITICS**

Nine out ten of the NGO participants take less than 15 minutes to walk to the NGO from their homes, but they are active in national and global issues. For example, two of the bands were invited to participate in a local demonstration commemorating the fifteenth anniversary of the Child and Adolescent Act (ECA). The ECA led to significant advances in the areas of health, education, legal rights, and the prevention of child labor and sexual exploitation. Article Three mandates opportunities and facilities for children and adolescents to enable their physical, mental, moral, spiritual and social development, in conditions of liberty and dignity. Article Four guarantees rights to health, nutrition, education, sports, recreation, professional development, culture, dignity, respect, liberty, and coexistence with family and community. Since the passing of the ECA, government policy has been leaning toward including all marginalized people into society, which includes children and adolescents. Many of these goals have not been met, especially enforcement of child labor laws, and new problems have arisen since, such as drug abuse (Cohn 2005:44; Editorial 2005; Ramos 2005; Rodrigues 2001). Especially important to the NGO are the rights to recreation and culture, because it gives them some legitimation. The adolescents are conscious of their rights and encouraged by the NGO to exert them.

**INTEGRATION INTO THE WORLD MUSIC ECONOMY**

The neighborhood where the NGO was located was peripheral in terms of jobs and educational opportunities, but thoroughly integrated into the economy in terms of consumer products including music. Every small commercial center in Salvador has at least one music store and street vendors sell pirated CDs, and by 2005 they were selling pirated DVDs. About one fifth of the DVDs for sale were of live music concerts. Large shopping malls have ticket booths where middle class adolescents are often lined-up to buy tickets to large stadium concerts. A typical stadium concert had around four bands and were announced on
large billboards lining the major roads, and on the radio, TV, and newspapers. Famous bands will often include supporting percussionists from neighborhoods and music education programs similar to the NGO I observed. The bands will also tour nationally (mostly pagode and axé music) and internationally (mostly blocos afro and axé music). Around one in ten people in Salvador are employed in the entertainment industry (Guerreiro 1999:133). The 2005 carnaval created 220 thousand temporary jobs, over 9 thousand of which were for performers and other artists. It brought 87 million dollars of tourist money into Salvador (Governo da Bahia 2005).

The recording industry determined many musical experiences at the neighborhood level. People all over the neighborhood would constantly break out into singing popular songs. At one rehearsal The Youngsters were practicing fade-outs, where the band gets gradually softer at the end of a song. Fading-out in a large group is difficult, and fading-out two songs in succession is rare in live performances of popular music in Salvador. I believe The Youngsters were mimicking radio stations which often, and easily, fade-out songs. Laura, from The New Girls on the Bloc, brought in a CD of axé music and at the beginning of the practice they all listened to a song, and then orchestrated a música afro version on their drums. Laura and Heather were singing the lyrics directly from the CD insert. Sonny, lead singer of The Young Perspectives, learns songs by watching DVD’s of popular bands that often include subtitles.

The dream of all the musicians is to produce instead of consume some of the billions of dollars associated with Salvador's music, but the music industry relies on reproduction rather than creation. The means of production is a business suit not a drum, and most of the adolescents from the NGO I studied couldn't afford their own drums.

**Professional Aspirations**

All the adolescents fantasized about being pop stars, and the NGO played-up these fantasies to get the adolescents off the streets and give them practical skills. There were enough success stories to maintain the fantasy's credibility. One of the songs that The Super Stars cover is "Fame," the title-track of a U.S. movie and television series about struggling creative and performing arts students, many underprivileged or from broken homes. Once,
Sneezy jokingly introduced me to a recently formed band as a music promoter who wanted to fly everyone to California to record their CD and start a world tour.

Several NGO participants have become professional musicians. Several of the NGO bands were reformed as professional bands who each have a small following in Salvador, and have, or are in the process of, independently producing CDs of mostly original music to be sold locally at concerts. At least one singer became famous for singing backups with an internationally renowned singer from Salvador. She eventually moved to Europe and performs there, and the adolescents speak of her as a kind of folk hero. But, this is one person out of hundreds of talented musicians.

**EDUCATION AND LEADERSHIP**

The NGO uses music to bring adolescents into an organizational setting where they can be exposed to other life-skills that will contribute to their leadership skills. This happens formally and informally. Formally, band members are encouraged to participate in the training programs offered at the same location before and after rehearsals. For example, when one band was waiting for the band before them to leave the practice room, the art teacher corralled them into the art room and led an impromptu workshop on costume design. Informally, the NGO volunteers serve as mentors and counselors, and provide general guidance.

The NGO volunteers are constantly checking on how the NGO participants are doing in school. Sneezy checks the school schedule (some go to night school) of all the musicians before setting the rehearsal schedule for the bands, and will change the schedule as necessary. He also checks their report cards and if they have bad grades he cancels their practices.

Most of the traits in my definition of leadership could also be seen as substantive citizenship: the "capacity to exercise rights to which one is formally entitled" (Glenn 2002:53). The elements of citizenship and pedagogy were very clearly displayed in a poster on the wall of the NGO in the hallway outside the classrooms (Appendix B); in the "Codes of Modernity," the Colombian educator, José Bernardo Toro, advocates a list of educational goals explained as the minimum capacities required for citizenship. Many of the capacities could also be considered leadership traits, especially "The capacity to calculate and solve
problems […] The capacity to analyze, to synthesize and to interpret data, facts and situations […] The capacity to understand and to act in their social context […] The capacity to plan, work and decide in a group." These stated educational goals of the NGO correspond well to other definitions of leadership. Though the most common goal of the NGO is citizenship, the educational programs of the NGO could be viewed as leadership training programs.

**POVERTY**

Poverty often inspires resourcefulness. The poorer neighborhoods of Salvador received less infrastructure from the government so power outages were common. One image I thought symbolic was when one evening the power went out on the block, so the NGO ran extension cords from a nearby building to run the computers, and the vice-president passed the hat to buy candles. The office kept functioning under the cool light of computer screens and the warm light of candles.

Brazil is a wealthy country but the wealth is not evenly distributed. The Northeast is one of the poorer regions of Brazil, and though Salvador has economic opportunities typical of a regional capital, the NGO is only blocks away from some of the most impoverished areas in the region. Many of the extra-curricular education programs are oriented toward improving the economic status of the NGO participants, by teaching home economics, small business skills, and specific job training.

Limited resources affect both meetings and rehearsals. Most staff meetings are financial meetings. Only one or two copies of agendas could be printed and passed around. Office furniture was made of scrap lumber. The drummers used salvaged materials. For example, before practice Laura was scraping the plastic off a pair of drum sticks that she salvaged from a broken cradle from her house. Sneezy’s djembe was made from plastic pipe, and holes in the drum head were repaired with electrical tape.

Poverty and unemployment necessitate volunteerism. The precarious financial situation of the NGO means that its employees were often paid months late, and asked to perform volunteer work, hence I refer to them as *volunteers* in this study. This led to both frustration and a sense of pride. A common complaint at meetings was the difficulty of juggling work, school, volunteer work for the NGO, and music. Band leaders were more likely to do volunteer work for the NGO.
One reoccurring theme in Sneezy’s frequent pep talks to the newer bands was how lucky the band members were to have this opportunity and how there were kids lining up to take their place if they should fail. The theme of competition for limited resources was symbolically expressed in one of the games the adolescents played in the NGO, musical chairs, where a diminishing group of people walk around a circle of chairs and when the music stops abruptly they must run to the nearest chair and sit in it. Each round a chair is taken away so there is always one more player than chairs for them to sit in, and as people are eliminated, the competition gets fiercer. Often people will be sat on by a looser, or shoved off their chair by a winner. This game is symbolic of the situation the adolescents will face in a few years as they compete for jobs where unemployment reaches 50% in many areas and financial aid for college is available for only about 10% of qualified applicants.

**Literal Mobility**

The high cost of transportation was especially hobbling to the adolescents from the NGO. They were divided on whether they supported the September 2003 bus boycott (see p. 35). Many complained that they missed work and school for several days, and many understood the broader issues of the political power of student movement, but all were affected by the fare hike. Soon after the boycott, the members of the NGO were offered free tickets to PercuPan—an annual international symposium and concert on world percussion that is held in Salvador (Risério et al. 2004)—but most couldn’t go because they couldn’t afford the 25¢ bus fare. Many of the problems with punctuality are a consequence of problems of mobility. The drum set player of Jumpy’s pagode band couldn’t come to a crucial rehearsal where a potential sponsor was invited, because his mom hadn’t come home to lend him money for the bus fare. Jumpy was forced to apologize to the potential sponsor and cancel the rehearsal.

**Malandragem**

The resourcefulness of the NGO participants would occasionally take the form of desperation and lack of social responsibility. For example, Corn arrived early to a rehearsal of the band he played fundo for, The Postures. He didn’t have any drum sticks so he took one of the drums off of a homemade drum stand, and pulled the legs off the drum stand. He then tried to get the nails out of the wood by using the drum hardware of a surdo as a claw. He
continued until the surdo posts started bending. He then tried to remove the nails with the hardware of a very expensive and fragile drum-set snare, but luckily Corn didn’t break anything. By this point I was about to switch from observer to participant, and say something, but the was getting started so he gave up and left the nails in place and used the other ends of the drum stand legs as sticks. Once, he must have flipped a sticks over, because I saw him about to hit the drum with the nail end of one of the sticks. Half way through the rehearsal the band stopped because they found a hole in the djembe head. Corn had been playing it previously, but said nothing. At the end of the practice as people were leaving, he held up the drum sticks and asked, “Whose sticks are these?” and when no one answered he walked out with them. By the following week the broken drum stand had been replaced with an older but working one.

It is tempting to attribute Corn’s behavior to Oscar Lewis’ theory of the Culture of Poverty, but malandragem is a more reliable emic concept (introduced on p. 31). The band members often demonstrated malandragem to various degrees, but usually expressed solidarity with the members of their own circle. Corn’s behavior would not have been tolerated had he been discovered. On another occasion while a large group of adolescents were crowding around a small TV, Corn pulled a chair right in front of the TV blocking the view of many people already seated behind him. The adolescents behind him shouted at him and forced him to move. I don't mean to present Corn as one-sided person. I observed him talking care of an infant and during rehearsals he often demonstrated team leadership by showing other people their parts. I don’t think that it is unreasonable to hope that after a little more time at the NGO, Corn’s peers will teach him the acceptable limits of malandragem and the importance of coexistence and mutual respect. The music band provides an environment for social interaction, and the other band members take the leadership role of correcting his behavior and negotiating social norms.

Vandalism

Oscar, the Viennese teacher, complained constantly that the adolescents at the NGO don’t take care of their instruments. This complaint seems universal, most adolescents don't take of their instruments as well as adults want them to. I didn’t find the adolescents at the NGO to be especially prone to destroying instruments. I found distinctions among intentional
vandalism, and carelessness. An example of intentional vandalism was a member from The Temptations who was bored from waiting to play while a conflict between two other musicians was going on and he started to stab holes in a nearby mural with his drumstick.

Careless destruction was more common and often poverty was a contributing factor. Several of the broken drum heads that I examined showed patterns of small repetitive perforations that suggested there was a splinter, tack, staple, or other irregular surface on the striking end of the sticks or mallets. The drummers could not afford store bought mallets and would make their own using thick pieces of wood, upholstery foam, cloth, and tape (electrical, clear, duct, or masking). Occasionally they emulated the construction techniques of industrially produced mallets that included a metal tack or staple just below the striking end of the mallet. The adolescents would often re-use the tape, until it lost its stickiness, so it would unravel while playing and expose the tack or staple to the surface of the drumhead. Also, sticks and mallets would often break during a rehearsal but the adolescents rarely had extras so they would often continue playing, hitting the drumhead with the splintered end of the broken stick.

The drum teachers would regularly examine sticks and mallets and often reject them. Occasionally, one of the band leaders would criticize another for using the wrong stick on a drum. For example, Samuel rebuked a fundo player for playing a djembe with a metal rod. But, usually the adolescents didn’t react until the drumhead broke and then they usually transferred the blame to the person who was playing it previously.

**Violence**

Leaders actively prohibit violence at the NGO, and strive to cultivate an atmosphere of coexistence and respect. Boys in the neighborhood play several violent games. The game “Big Bottle” usually involves adolescents taking turns hitting each other (Santos 2005:268). In the variation I observed, one boy becomes the victim, and all the other boys circle around him and hit him at least once. The hits are usually on the back, sometimes a slap above the forehead, and sometimes using sticks or mallets. If a boy starts crying then everyone points it out and makes fun of him, until he stops, and then they all laugh together. A similar game was recently invented that imitates a Japanese TV series, where the hits mimic a martial arts robot. The goal of these games is to isolate a single boy and cause him pain. This is very
different from the meta-violence of capoeira where pairs of opponents salute before and after entering the ring and are not allowed to hit or kick each other.

Because music is associated with alcohol, it is also associated with violence. Several NGO participants have gone on to play in professional bands that perform at free, public concerts. Of the two free concerts that I observed that included NGO participants, both included drunken brawls that interrupted the music on stage and were broken up by uniformed police, and one ended in a stabbing. The musicians lamented these problems, but the same alcohol sales that incited the brawls, also funded their concerts. During carnaval the problem with alcohol is compounded by competition for limited space and often lead to fights. Goli Guerreiro states that "the music itself is capable of neutralizing the conflicts, through a generally respected ethical procedure. In case of fighting, after the band becomes silent, and they make an argument for peace, the bloco plays a slow rhythm" (Guerreiro 2000:244-5). I observed the NGO bands at the public concerts use a similar procedure to keep drunken brawls from escalating.

On a more individual level, one of the favorite topics of meetings to resolve personal conflicts was the importance of coexistence and mutual respect. Twiggy said that the NGO director was a major influence on his leadership ability, especially in how he taught him how not to be so aggressive when criticizing his followers. The NGO director was constantly breaking up fights and violent games. He would tolerate all sorts of behavior that a typical parent might not, but he would not tolerate violence.

Many of the volunteers described the violence in their neighborhood as a structural consequence of poverty. Their goal was to protect the adolescents from violence, by both immediately suppressing violent behavior in the NGO, and by working long term on eliminating structural violence in the neighborhood by building citizenship and economic stability. Both of these goals contribute to leadership development. Mitigating personal violence implies teaching the skills necessary for mutual respect and coexistence. Mitigating structural violence implies teaching the skills necessary for employment and political organization.
FAMILIES

The family is a likely contributor to leadership development, and the NGO was positioned to strengthen family ties by building citizenship and guiding the process of maturation and independence. My data on kinship and the family was limited to observing brothers and sisters at the NGO, speaking briefly with a few parents, and hearing adolescents talk about their families during interviews. For most of the adolescents, the family was their most important social structure throughout their experience with the NGO. Adolescence is a period of redefining family roles and most adolescents in the neighborhood began contributing to the household economy and exerting a degree of independence. By teaching citizenship the NGO performed several roles sometimes attributed to parents. Citizenship implied taking personal responsibility for many of a parent's concerns, such as: developing mutual respect, legal documentation, staying in school, getting career training, health education, and staying off drugs. The NGO let adolescents organize semi-autonomous recreational activities, and this strengthened relationships within their age group, such as sibling bonds, and provided peer counseling to compensate for deficiencies in the family. The NGO provided a social space for adolescents to negotiate the terms of independence from their families, without leaving the family altogether. Bands were semi-autonomous because many activities were suppressed, such as tobacco use, violent games, and songs with exploitative lyrics. In the neighborhood, family relationships were commonly extended beyond blood or marriage connections, and the NGO took on many family roles.

Siblings

The NGO tended to strengthen sibling bonds. I assume that many older siblings learned leadership behavior while taking care of younger siblings, and I looked briefly for separate patterns of leadership behavior by siblings, but did not succeed in finding any. Over half the bands had a pair of siblings. About one in five musicians had a sibling in the band with them. Most sibling pairs were in the same band even if it meant that one might be too old or too young for the group. The average range of ages in bands with sibling pairs was about six years between the youngest and the oldest, the average range of ages in bands without sibling pairs was only about four years. The average age of sibling pairs was almost always greater than the average age of the band. The only siblings that were separated into
different bands had a sibling in The Over the Tops, one of the oldest bands still rehearsing at the NGO. There were several older siblings that played in other bands that no longer rehearsed at the NGO. Many participants mentioned having cousins in bands and the NGO, but I was unable to quantify this. There are strong sibling bonds in the community. I speculate that parents may be sending older siblings along to take care of the younger one. I didn't observe any increased rivalry between siblings compared to non-siblings during rehearsals, so I assume that playing in a band together helps to strengthen sibling ties.

**Surrogates: Streets and Families**

The NGO both reinforced the family, and let the adolescents temporarily escape from their family. Research on homeless youth in Brazil finds the street as a place of leisure and temporary escape from problems at home (Cohn 2005:31-2,56; Rodrigues 2001).

According to an informal survey in the NGO, four-fifths of the respondents said that if they weren't a part of the NGO, they would probably be on the streets involved in crime. This claim may be exaggerated. I had no control group and I wasn't able to confirm that the NGO kept adolescents off the street. But, neither did I observe anything that would contradict the survey, and it was confirmed in my interviews.

Another finding of the survey was that over nine-tenths of the families interviewed said that their children’s schoolwork had improved after being involved in the NGO. The academic requirements to participate in the NGO skewed my sample towards successful students who were less likely to be on the street, but the academic requirements also functioned as a positive sanction for academic success—the students took school seriously because they wanted to be able to play music in a band. The NGO seemed to have functioned as a surrogate street, providing social and recreational activities.

Aside from fulfilling these recreational needs, several volunteers said that the NGO often functions as a surrogate family and that the volunteers often took on parenting roles such as counseling and discipline.

Family problems came up frequently in meetings and interviews, and a common complaint from musicians was that their family didn't support what they were doing when they first started playing, especially the older musicians who played in the street before joining the NGO. Music was generally *not* the first choice of parents for social activities for
their children. Parents were not star-struck with the dream of their child becoming a famous pop star; the racial–musical–educational project is fine to listen to, but it doesn't mean their child should expect to play drums for a living and join the ranks of impoverished musicians. Some parents may have worried about the association of popular music and drug abuse. Protestant parents tended to view the drumming as Devil worship. Many parents thought it was inappropriate for their daughters to play drum. The NGO's reputation provided legitimization for adolescents needing to convince their parents to allow them to play music. For example, after a meeting trying resolve attendance problems due to lack of parental support, Sneezy recommended that everyone needs to work on getting at least one parent to support their music, and he used himself as an example that it is possible to make a living through music and be an upstanding member of the community.

My contact with parents was skewed towards the most responsible ones, those who would occasionally interrupt rehearsals checking-up on their sons and daughters. One father told Sneezy that two of the band members were fighting during the week, and Sneezy assured him that he would call a band meeting that night, which turned out to be a grueling hour and half meeting where Sneezy led a discussion on the proper behavior in life and in the band. The father told me “The adolescents listen to the drum teacher more than they listen to us parents.”

One single mother said she informally looked after about 30 adolescents in the neighborhood. She knows who has died from drugs, who steals, and who is having problems. She tries to help the adolescents and she appreciates the role the NGO plays in their lives. She interrupted rehearsal checking-up on her son because, despite the fact that she pays for his cell phone for the sole purpose of letting her know where he is, he forgot to call. He was embarrassed by her presence at the practice and asked her to leave.

**Race**

Race is important to leadership because the struggle against discrimination provides a motivation for leadership development. A common strategy of racial domination is to kill the leaders and suppress activities that might train more. Resistance to this strategy can take many forms, and in Brazil religion and art became dominant in the maintenance of African identity, and active resistance to racism. There is long history of white suppression of black
leadership in Bahia, such as the extermination of the quilombos, repression of the 1835 slave rebellion of the Malês (Guerreiro 1999:111) and the 1857 strike (Reis 1997), repression of Candomblé temples accused of communist organizing by the dictatorship in the 1940's (Landes 1994:61), and imprisonment of black leaders during the military dictatorship of 1964 to 1984. Music in Bahia was often subversive. Capoeira has a specific rhythm that is played to warn the participants that the mounted police are coming so they can run away or prepare to fight. The MPB from Salvador was critical of the military dictatorship (Veloso 2002). The first bloco afro parade in 1975 was as much a political demonstration as a cultural event. The NGO and the aspects of African identity that they promote are part of this legacy of cultural struggle that is no less relevant today than when slavery was outlawed 1888, or when the blocos afro commemorated its centennial.

Most of the younger musicians had very little concept of racism. I would like to be optimistic and attribute this to cultural change happening in the next generation, but I think it has more to do with the geographic isolation of youth. Most of younger adolescents are not able to travel out of their very limited circle of family, friends, and school (discussed as literal mobility, p. 125). The older adolescents, especially those who had traveled, knew racism first-hand. Many complained of incidents of racism in Europe. The only adolescent who complained of racism within the NGO, complained that some people didn’t think he was black because he had lighter skin. When the first bloco afro, Ilê Aiyê, was formed, they prohibited people with light skin from participating. They have since lightened their color bar, but continue to stress African identity and its association with dark blackness. The NGO didn’t promote any sort of discrimination against people with lighter skin. One of the political themes of many black political movements that is shared by many musicians is to unify the many social categories of mulatto into a single black identity.

**Fashion**

African identity was often expressed through fashion. One might expect leaders to use more symbols of African identity, but I didn't observe any significant differences between leaders and non-leaders. I did note the leaders tended to be better dressed and better groomed. Dreadlocks and tight braids were popular with the older members of the NGO, many of the younger adolescents dyed their hair blond or bright colors such as yellow or
Relaxed hair was less common in younger girls. Hip-hop fashion was popular. Many boys wore cargo pants. Grace, from The New Sensations wore a dark ski-cap during the day even though the weather was around 80º F and over 60% humidity.

**African Instruments**

Many of the instruments are home-made, often out of materials salvaged from local industries. The visual appearance of the instruments often defaults to a constructivist aesthetic, but the musicians’ preference is to decorate the drums with brightly colored patterns, and often with the name of the bands. Usually, the patterns are made from general geometric shapes, but some resemble patterns I have seen in African art.

One djembe that Sneezy played was tuned with metal rods like a modern conga. This is atypical of traditional African djembes that are usually strung with cord. All the metal hardware of Sneezy’s djembe was covered by extra skin with hair from the drumhead that was folded over the metal. The intentional covering of the metal may represent a preference for a traditional African aesthetic over the constructivist aesthetic.

The hand drum is the most respected because of its association with African identity and because it is considered the hardest to play. It cannot compete in volume with the drums hit with sticks, so it is given solos during musical changes, often the introduction to the song. The deficiencies in volume imply that its inclusion and high prestige comes from its symbolic and not acoustic properties. The group Timbalada especially promoted the hand drum to a place of prominence, in the bloco afro. The NGO bands followed this cultural pattern.

**Diaspora Rhythms**

In making choices about the repertoire, the bands showed a preference toward incorporating the rhythms of other African influenced music. Within Brazil, the bands orchestrated Rio-style samba, frevo, and maracatu. From abroad, they played funk, hip-hop, rap, Rhythm and Blues (R&B), salsa, and merengue.

In a concert by The Drum Song, I was impressed by the way the dancers in the audience would change with the abrupt style changes of the band. In one song the band switched in a one measure break between a Candomblé song in a six beat rhythm sung in
Yoruba, to a popular R&B song in a four beat rhythm sung in English. The dancers in the audience would make the transition without any observable complaint or disorientation.

In all cases the NGO musicians would modify their rhythms to make them more Bahian and more modern. For example, Gerald orchestrated a *xote*, a traditional Northeastern rhythm, for bloco afro ensemble (Figure 34). The traditional percussion section is a single *zabumba* (a bass drum played with a soft mallet on one side and a thin stick on the other) and triangle. The Lovelys performed with three unison surdos, and added a caixa and a fundo. They played the zabumba part on the top on the head with a mallet in the right hand and a drumstick in the other.

![Figure 34. Gerald’s xote orchestration for The Lovelys.](image)

Oscar complained that the musicians couldn’t play even the most basic chocalho part for samba, but I found that often many could play the samba part and occasionally did, but they preferred to play the part with a more samba reggae swing. Figure 35 shows the difference between the parts Oscar demonstrated; I approximated the swing by the moving the notes horizontally in relation to the evenly spaced sixteenth notes on the lowest staff.
Figure 35. Oscar’s different sambas.

The more experienced musicians were conscious of the difference and could demonstrate all three versions. For example, while several drummers were jamming to a samba reggae swing, Sneezy switched the feel to a Rio de Janeiro samba feel, and the musicians followed him and switched to more appropriate parts. Once, Gerald, the leader of The Creative Spirit, after drilling a syncopated break, told the band to play “Without swing!” which meant playing a precise rhythm, as in the straight sixteenth notes of the Figure 35 above.

An aesthetic goal of most of bands was to emphasize sharp contrasts. The contrast could be between different timbres, breaks, or rhythmic styles. Most of rhythmic styles were from Africa or the African diaspora, including the style they call *funk*. Figure 36 shows the drum parts to a song whose lyrics tell a first-person story of the life of a homeless kid. The style alternates between *funk* (measure 3) and samba reggae (measure 5), and includes one or two measure transitions between the styles. The refrain that accompanies the *funk* section is sung in a rap style.

The NGO incorporates various African American music styles as symbols of African identity to promote the self-esteem of their participants who are predominantly African descendants.

**Gender**

The NGO provided a setting for contesting traditional masculine leadership roles, which may have contributed to leadership development. Gender was not a particularly significant factor in leadership styles. Both boys and girls demonstrated the same techniques and capacities for leadership. But gender was a factor in many of the social situations where
power was negotiated and leadership exerted. In the NGO, girls were allowed to participate
in the same recreational activities as boys, but outside the NGO there was a glass ceiling for
young women who wanted to play drums, capoeira, and soccer.

Mass media plays an unsurprisingly important role in the enculturation of gender
roles. For example, a group of adolescents from various bands were watching TV, sitting on
two couches separated by gender, talking about the Margareth Menezes show that was
televised the night before. The girls got up from the couch to demonstrate some of the dance
moves that she performed. The boys sang the rhythm and mimed the part to a fast and
impressive hand drum solo that one of male drummers in her band played.

Most of the bands had about two girls and five boys. About two out of ten bands were
About four out of ten bands were all-boys bands: including The Next Big Thing. The New
Land was the only mixed gender band I observed with more girls than boys: four girls and
three boys.

Most of the girls were singers, and most dancers for bands were girls, and this follows
the pattern of pop-music. Being a lead singer puts the girl automatically in a leadership

Figure 36. Alternating *funk* and *samba reggae* sections in a song about homeless
adolescents.
position (discussed on p. 79-81). There were many excellent male dancers and several which danced more than they played and were not ashamed to be called dancers.

Boys and girls both took costumes seriously, but girls slightly more. Boys tended to be more concerned about accessories like stick bags, and were more often the ones who painted the drums. Girls were generally more concerned with the visual elements of the group, but boys were very concerned with being visually represented—whenever someone took a photograph they would make sure to crowd into the picture.

**Girls**

I observed some minor gendered differences in leadership styles. In order to get their point across, many girls had to: use more expletives, talk louder, play louder, gesture more, and be more aggressive. Heather was the best example. During one meeting, she used dramatic baton gestures with pen and finger. More often than most, she would touch the person she was talking to, and once she leaned over the table and grabbed both of Sneezy's hands to implore him with a point she was making. In order to form a new group, The New Girls on the Block, Heather called a meeting with all girls. She sat in the center with the girls around her. By the middle of the meeting most of the girls seemed bored, many were obviously slouching. Heather's posture became very "masculine," legs spread wide across the seat, one hand on her crotch, the other alternating between large gestures while talking, or leaning forward on the desk while listening. Heather uses expletives liberally, and has a very straightforward demeanor. She says she has always been a leader. I speculate that the exaggeration of her gestures and language were leadership techniques that she had developed to compensate for having her views taken less seriously because she was a girl.

Girls tend to be slightly more concerned with the visual appearance of the group than boys. Girls were more likely to be adjusting their clothes or hair, and often multi-tasking. For example, the fundo player from The Next Best Thing adjusted her clothes during the slower parts of a performance. Heather managed to fix her hair with one hand while playing fundo with the other. During a band meeting, she led a lengthy discussion on the importance of uniforms. The all-girls band, The Super Stars, made their own pants and skirts for a uniform. They once stopped rehearsal in order to put on lipstick.
This concern with visual appearances perturbed Sneezy, who accused the girls of being vain. Sneezy also criticized girls for sacrificing the music for the sake of the visuals when The Super Stars were practicing a complicated choreography routine to accompany a fast break. The routine distracted them from the music and reduced the synchronism. The girls ignored Sneezy’s criticisms and continued to practice the choreography moves, and improved somewhat.

The all-girl bands took the organization of choreographed dance movements very seriously. They discussed the movements, and admonished players who were not dancing. For the New Girls on the Block, Heather promoted discussion of dance and said that all the drummers should be dancing all the time. This is not unrealistic because popular Brazilian musicians from Salvador, male and female, are expected to dance while singing or playing an instrument.

The NGO is proud of its all-girl bands and is ideologically opposed to sexism, but the discrimination of girls is a cultural reality that is also present at the NGO. For example, in a last minute field trip of four boys and one girl of about the same age, the only adolescent who had to ask for her parents’ permission was the girl. In a list of adolescents participating in a special NGO music program, boys were listed toward the top of the list, and girls toward the bottom (26 boys, 13 girls; boys average rank: 4.5, girls average rank: 8.2).

The role of women is changing rapidly and will continue to change in the future. The Cutie Pies was one of the youngest bands (7-10 years old) and an all girl-band. They were constantly underfoot at the NGO, playing hide-and-seek, sneaking into rehearsals, and grabbing unattended instruments. Smoothy taught a class for older adolescents on traditional Candomblé rhythms. Once, members of The Cutie Pies snuck into the class when someone left a door open and started picking up unused instruments and an atabaque that was vacant, and they jumped in and played for a few seconds until Smoothy asked them to stop distracting the class and hold the atabaeques for the people who were learning parts. Toward the end of the class, he let them play the atabaques a little. The girls will probably never be allowed to touch an atabaque that has been religiously consecrated, but at least the physical object has been demystified. Smoothy’s permissiveness separated the music of Candomblé per se, from the gendered religious prohibitions, and made the three atabaques just another set of drums.
Boys

Many conservative religious leaders are threatened by the sacrilege of women playing drums and taking leadership roles in music, and some boys were noticeably threatened by girls who took leadership roles at the NGO. I noticed more dominance displays by boys while girls were taking active leadership roles. For example, at one rehearsal of The Trashcan Troupe, Mary took a more active leadership role than she usually does. She gave someone a high-five when they correctly performed a difficult part. She gave vocal cues for the entrances. She decided which mistakes to practice again, and she called the "One! Two! Three! Four!" to start the song. She said she wanted everyone to bring a new song for the next rehearsal. And, she called out to the rest of band that the rhythm was dragging. All of the rest of the band accepted this kind of team leadership in helping to solve problems, except for the nominal leader of the group. Instead, he withdrew from the rehearsal and toward the end, accused Mary of "talking quickly" which I understood as "Telling me what to do." The friction between the two seemed to be gender based.

At a rehearsal of The New Sensations, Katy and Penny were showing the boy Ronny a difficult repique part that was in the style of Ilê Aiyê (Figure 37). While Katy played it she exaggerated her movements to better show the difference between the rim-shot and the regular tone. Ronny seemed to be concentrating on learning the part.

![Figure 37. Katy teaching Ilê Aiyê style repique part](image)

Legend:  
- ⌉ = left-hand on drum, tone.  
- ⌈ = right-stick on center, accented tone  
- ⌈ = right-stick towards rim, rimshot

But while Katy and Penny were teaching Ronny, the other boys in the band were acting out more than usual. George was playing a flashy part on the surdo as fast as he could (and hence very loud and distracting). Archibald came from the other side of the room and played the same part on the same drum facing George, more as if to say "I can do it and you can't" than to constructively show him how to do it. The dominance displays of George and Archibald were a distraction and could have escalated to a fight. These dominance displays
might be viewed as a form of flirtation—maybe George and Archibald were competing with Ronny for the attention of the girls—but if this were merely flirtation I would expect to see more dominance displays when girls were acting flirtatious such as while dancing. But, the typical boy’s response to girls dancing was to watch and smile, and occasionally dance along. I believe the higher frequency of dominance displays while girls are taking active leadership roles has more to do with boys resisting threats to male privilege than flirting. Whatever the motivation for dominance displays, the rehearsal provides a forum for the negotiation of gender and sexuality.

The difference in attitudes between younger and older boys towards leadership by girls is anecdotal evidence that negotiations of gender are taking place at this life stage. Most of the older boys felt comfortable sharing leadership with girls. In one rehearsal, Grace and Tommy would take turns trading off between two symbols of power, the djembe and the microphone. While the person with the microphone would sing a song, the person with the djembe would play solos and do most of the direction of the band.

Gerald was the drum teacher for The Lovelys, an all-girls band. When Persephone, the caixa player, rejected the part that Gerald had given her and suggested a more active part (Figure 38), the band argued for a moment over the merits of each part, and asked Gerald to resolve the issue. Gerald is often very strict with his arrangements, but accepted the creative license of Persephone, agreed with her suggestion, and it became the new part.

Sneezy’s attitude toward girls is typical of the NGO in the way he actively encourages girls to learn and play drums well, and expects them to behave like boys. For example, during a rehearsal of the Wastelanders, the singer was having problems with the timing of an entrance, so Sneezy gave the band a pep talk about the importance of stage presence and gestures, and he mimicked the singer’s lackluster gestures, and the rest of the group laughed at her. The singer had excellent intonation, but was generally very timid for a lead singer. Sneezy’s criticisms were incisive, but making fun of her served to make her more insecure. For the next song she had to recite a ten-word introduction of the band, but no matter how many times they repeated it or broke it down, she could not get the words right, and the band became increasingly frustrated with her. Sneezy’s humiliation of the singer relieved some of the band’s frustration with her insecurity, but it didn’t make her more secure and caused more problems in the rehearsal.
During a later meeting (p. 102) Sneezy was offended by the singer for not wanting to sing the repertoire that he had promoted, and he asked the rest of the band to kick her out. To me, this seemed a drastic change for the band, because singers with good intonation were rare and a valuable asset to the band.

In a rehearsal of The New Land, Sneezy was obviously getting tired and frustrated and he was strongly criticizing the left fundo player. She was definitely the weakest link of the band, but his aggression didn’t seem proportional to the problems she was having. She wouldn't meet his gaze, and eventually started crying. Sneezy gave a small talk about how no one else was crying when they couldn't do their part, and the importance of not crying.

I think the criticism of the girls in these examples was disproportionately harsh, and may have come from Sneezy’s feelings of unease around some of the typical emotional behaviors of adolescent girls, which may include insecurity, withdrawal, and crying (Table 1, p. 38).

One could argue that Sneezy is merely preparing girls for professional situations where certain public emotional behavior from women is not tolerated, and there are many sanctions in the NGO against public displays of insecurity and withdrawal, in both boys and girls. What seems to frustrate Sneezy most is not musical incompetence or emotional display,
but public displays of giving up, of hopelessness, as seen in his harsh criticism of the little boy from The Recyclers who gave him a blank stare and froze up (p. 94), and wanting to kick the singer out of the band partly because she refused to educate herself.

Another possible explanation for two of the examples above is that Sneezy feels uncomfortable about singing and may overreact when dealing with singers in general. I didn’t observe similar situations of harsh criticism of boys who sang and had similar mistakes to be able evaluate this interpretation.

Sneezy is very much like a young Neguinho do Samba in the way he constantly promotes the idea of gender equality and takes concrete actions to encourage girls to play drums well. He has initiated and supported most of the all-girl bands in the NGO. Sneezy is very understanding when talking to girls individually and many girls come to him for counseling with problems in their lives. I speculate that Sneezy uses his experiences in the NGO to learn to work with girls and negotiate some of his own contradictions about gender inequality.

**SEXUALITY**

The band provides a safe environment for adolescents to negotiate sexual desire. Adolescence is an important life stage in defining sexual roles, and sexuality is an important theme in the lyrics and dances of the pop music they play. The lyrics narrate sexual scenarios, and looking beyond the very salient misogyny and homophobia, they sometimes include didactic messages such as: if you are sexually inhibited you won't have fun in life, if you are promiscuous people won't respect you, if you cheat on your partners they will dump you, if you get pregnant and have a baby you won't be able to party anymore, and if you have sex without a condom you will get AIDS. Many of the dances include pelvic movements that simulate copulation, and I would expect this might reduce the social taboos and apprehensions about sexuality. Soap operas have been used in social marketing campaigns around the world for family planning and AIDS prevention to let viewers rehearse sexual decisions before having to make them (Population Services International 2005). I believe the sexually explicit lyrics and dances allow the adolescents to rehearse sexuality without having to take their clothes off.
The NGO partners with national and regional campaigns that promote: AIDS education, condom distribution, the prevention of the sexual exploitation of minors, counseling on sexual preference, and other aspects of sexual education. The NGO doesn’t censure songs with sexually explicit lyrics played in informal groups, but they actively manipulate the repertoire of the bands to emphasis songs with positive social messages and will prohibit sexually explicit songs at public performances.

I did not find the same homophobia that Rodrigues (2001) found with a drum teacher from Ilê Aiyê. There was at least one gay young man in a position of authority who had come out to most of the members of the NGO, and besides the occasional homophobic joke, there didn't seem any hostility toward gays and lesbians. I assume there were more gays and lesbians but since I didn't specifically study sexuality I don’t know.

Physical affection at the NGO is usually limited to established boyfriend-girlfriend pairs, and those pairs tend to be less affectionate inside the NGO, but flirting is very common. For example, in rehearsal of the Wastelanders, Sneezy suggested that the band go around in a circle taking turns playing two measure solos, and gave several examples of possible variations. Many had problems keeping track of the two measures, and ended their solos early or late, especially Marlene and Mike. Many in the band wanted to work out the solos, and eliminate any improvisation. Tomcat was especially boisterous while suggesting solos for everyone.

Of the five drummers at rehearsal, Marlene was the only girl. When it came time for her turn, all the boys pressed in around her, each giving her advice. She was having problems ending her solo, but no more problems than Mike had and he didn’t receive the same attention. The attention Marlene received from the boys (Figure 39) was beyond what was normally required to help someone with a musical problem, and seemed more to do with sexuality.

Lea the fundo player of The Drum Time was having problems with a difficult surdo part (p. 71). Normally a leader would have given her a simpler part, but Phillip, her boyfriend, spent an extra half an hour after the regular rehearsal drilling the part with Lea and the other girl in the band, Samantha. They probably would have kept drilling it until she had it perfectly but they were interrupted by another band that had a scheduled rehearsal. One of his teaching methods involved the kinesthetic method, where he pressed against her from
behind and physically moved her arms to demonstrate the rhythm. Logically, Phillip only used this teaching method with his girlfriend Lea, and not with Samantha.

One of the NGO participants who went on to perform professionally in a pagode band was constantly solicit dates from all of the young women he passed while walking on the street and would discuss their potential sexual merits after they passed. He said that the girls hang all over him at the concerts where he performs. The way his high status led to more sexual opportunities would provide a model for leadership development, except that his behavior was definitely not typical of the NGO participants. When I asked NGO participants during interviews what they liked better, having sex or playing music, nine out of ten said they would rather play music. It is tempting to make some kind of Freudian argument that the adolescents use music to sublimate their sexuality, but I think the musical experience serves more to negotiate sexuality identity.

**VICE**

The lifestyle of popular musicians around the world is often associated with vice. Brazil has its share of famous young musicians who have died from drug overdoses and media stereotypes tend to exaggerate these sensational tragedies. For example, when the Brazilian singer Cássia Eller died suddenly at age 39, the media proclaimed it a cocaine overdose, until a later autopsy determined that her death was caused by a congenital heart defect (Belo and Landi 2005:33-5).
NGO participants, volunteers, and parents unanimously stated that the NGO music program helps to keep the adolescents off drugs. And, this is a common theme among other art for youth social action groups. When I asked the NGO volunteers to explain the discrepancy between their claim that they prevent drug abuse through popular music, and the stereotype of popular musicians as drug addicts, they said that the stereotype doesn’t apply to them. They explained that the pop stars who had died from an overdose were usually from wealthy backgrounds with no experience with drugs and the problems of addiction, whereas every single one of the adolescents who comes to the NGO has already known someone who has died from drugs. They see the problem every day. Drugs don't have the same connotations of rebellion and exploration that they might in a wealthy neighborhood. The adolescents play pop music, they dream of becoming pop stars, they feel as much stress and alienation as any pop star, but they are also part of a racial–musical–educational project that ideologically condemns drug abuse.

**High Culture Versus Low Culture**

The NGO pushes the adolescents to perform more socially relevant music. In the relation between the NGO and the bands, the bands had the autonomy to decide how to structure rehearsals and who plays which instruments, but music teachers and the volunteers actively manipulated the repertoire of the bands to emphasis socially relevant and aesthetically interesting songs. The music heard inside the NGO was somewhat different from what was heard in the neighborhood outside of the NGO.

For example, as the drummers were gathering at 9:30am Sunday morning to play for the march and rally commemorating the ECA (p. 121), across the street, three men in their twenties were drinking and dancing next to a car parked on the sidewalk with the hatch open and a loud stereo playing a recording of a popular pagode band. Many of the adolescents couldn’t help dancing and singing along with the songs about drinking and casual sex. When the adolescents finished their march in a nearby park they sang the South African national anthem.

The extreme of low culture centered around the most recent popular pagode song repeated every few hours on the radio or repetitively played on CDs (sometimes pirated); blaring on car stereos, or extending to the street from windows and open doors. The pagode
songs had fairly simple and repetitive rhythms and the lyrics tended to be exploitative (Lima Alves 2003).

The extreme of high culture centered around complicated arrangements that incorporated multiple folkloric styles, often with religious associations, with lyrics that criticized social problems and promoted African identity.

Outside the NGO, musicians would often sit in small groups singing, dancing, and clapping to popular pagode songs. Most of the NGO participants who went on to become professional musicians felt lucky to be paid for playing music and didn’t complain about what style they had to play. Jumpy was one of most intellectual NGO participants who went on to join a professional pagode band. In 2003 we had laughed together about how inane pagode was, but in 2005 when I teased him about the fact he was now playing a popular pagode song with a sexual, repetitive hook (“I’ll do you, I’ll do you, I’ll do you, do you, do you, do you, do you, do you, do you, do you, do you!”) he became defensive and rationalized that he plays what the people like to hear. Jumpy wouldn’t think of composing a song like that, but poverty and the music industry force him to perform it.

But, the music industry is not a monolithic corrupting agent. I didn’t find any signs of an impending cultural “gray-out” (Lomax 1977:125), or that the blocos afro "were selling out to the music industry" (Béhague 1998:353). Young black Brazilians have stood in circles singing, dancing, and clapping to popular songs for centuries. Pagode is just another kind of samba from Bahia (Lima Alves 2003). Misogyny in popular music is frowned upon by most, as it is in rap music (Gilroy 1993:83-5). Band negotiations over the repertoire involve broader community debates over identity, aesthetics, politics, and philosophy.

Because the self-identity, political culture, and grounded aesthetics that distinguish black communities have often been constructed through their music and the broader cultural and philosophical meanings that flow from its production, circulation, and consumption, music is especially important in breaking the inertia which arises in the unhappy polar opposition between a squeamish, nationalist essentialism and a skeptical, saturnalian pluralism which makes the impure world of politics literally unthinkable. [Gilroy 1993:102]

The promotion of high culture by the NGO had a noticeable influence on the professional bands. For example, all of the professional bands I observed with musicians from the NGO included a song in their repertoire with at least a two measure break in six beat time (12/8). Six beat time is atypical of popular music, but commonly associated with
African religious music. The professional musicians balance their high culture aesthetics with the low culture of the market.

**Religious Practice**

The band provides a space where adolescents can negotiate their religious beliefs and develop the leadership skill of creating hope in a group. The NGO has many partnerships with religious groups but there are no religious symbols hanging on the walls or religious rhetoric in their documents and they are proud of including adolescents from all different religions. Highly religious songs were absent from band repertoires, but several songs do mention specific African Gods and the generic (Catholic) God. The popular music is so influenced by African religion that it is difficult to separate spiritual beliefs from aesthetic preference; you don't have to believe in a religion to appreciate the beauty of its music. The music coded for a whole set of beliefs and behaviors. For example, Sneezy began playing a bell part common in Candomblé music, and immediately half of the adolescents in the room began dancing an *Orixá* (deity) dance: bent knees, inclined torso, alternating outside arms swing back to one side and then the other, while the hands flare out in time to the beat. These adolescents didn't necessarily go to the Candomblé temples but the rehearsal room was a space where they could manifest an African aesthetic and assign whatever spiritual meaning to the dance that they wanted. Or they could reject the African religious connotation altogether by refusing to dance, which the other half of the adolescents in the room did.

Occasionally the identification with African religion would create conflicts. For example, a group of adolescents were waiting around for an instrument-making workshop to begin and three adolescents started jamming on some unfinished gourds with their hands, and soon one of them started giving formal parts to the other two. Another boy also waiting for the workshop was upset and said: "Stop that Macumba stuff!" *Macumba* is a pejorative term for African religion, usually stereotyped as "black magic" because of the elements of sorcery. The adolescents playing the African rhythm just moved a little farther away from the boy who was complaining, and continued playing.

Apart from its associations with organized African religion, music was a source of personal spirituality and leadership. Several of the adolescents I interviewed used religious metaphors when talking about the importance of music in their lives. Looking at the personal
motivations for a communal activity is relevant to leadership. Normally, the models of *Inspirational Motivation* from transformational leadership would be relevant to religious leadership (Northouse 2004:169-87), but because the NGO directs religious motivation away from any single religion, the NGO is actually discouraging leadership based on religious motivation. Csikzentmihalyi’s (2003) flow approach to leadership is more relevant, in the way that he attributes good leadership to characteristics that could be described as an altered state of consciousness, which is closely related to the element of religious experience that I’m calling “personal spirituality.” In music, this personal spirituality occurs in the context of group problem solving, as shown in the examples of problem solving in musical leadership in Chapter 3. One example of communal problem solving involving an altered state of consciousness is similar to what Victor Turner called “spontaneous communitas,” described as the

> moment when compatible people—friends, congener—obtain a flash of lucid mutual understanding on the existential level, when they feel that all problems, not just their problems, could be resolved, whether emotional or cognitive, if only the group which is felt (in the first person) as “essentially us” could sustain its intersubjective illumination. [Turner 1982:47-8]

The difference between music and spontaneous communitas is that the communitas isn’t necessarily spontaneous. Leaders intentionally cultivate communitas, flow, rhythmic entrainment, and Axé. All of the NGO participants mentioned that music gave them hope. Perseverance was highly valued. Sneezy was tolerant of almost any behavior except for hopelessness. The idea that a good leader can develop the capacity to create hope provides a plausible model for leadership development through music.
CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION: DOES MUSIC DEVELOP LEADERSHIP?

In this final chapter, I discuss the results of my fieldwork in relation to the hypothesis that music develops leadership. Attempting to prove the hypothesis entailed first finding associations between music and leadership, which I do by comparing examples of communication and problem solving in musical rehearsals (Chapter 3) to examples of communication and problem solving in administrative meetings (Chapter 4); then attempting to eliminate all other causes of leadership besides music (Chapter 5); and finally by providing plausible explanations for how music might develop leadership, which I do by comparing my observations to existing models of leadership development suggested by the literature review.

IS MUSIC ASSOCIATED WITH LEADERSHIP?

All of the sources I found that studied leadership and music among young people found associations between their participation in musical activities and their development of increased leadership skills (Corso 2003; McCarthy et al. 2004; Robinson 2003:73; Rothlisberger 1995; White 1998).

My research in Salvador found further evidence for this association, both from interviews and observations. Informants explicitly stated that their experience in the NGO had taught them leadership skills. The NGO participants took school more seriously than other adolescents in the community. The received training in citizenship and other skills related to leadership. They were less likely to become addicted to drugs, alcohol, or tobacco; and less likely to become involved crime. They gained recognition from their parents and from the community. Many young participants in musical organizations went on to organize their own groups as they got older.

One of the limitations of associating music with leadership is that the sample I studied (NGO participants) is not necessarily representative of the population (adolescents in the neighborhood). I am claiming that the NGO develops leadership, but maybe the NGO is just
attracting more participants who are already leaders. Since the NGO only allows adolescents that are going to school to participate, it biases the sample towards adolescents with better academic skills, and presumably better leadership skills.

I mitigate this limitation by considering the initial selection process of the NGO, and the numerous transformative sanctions that tend to change adolescents instead of excluding them. The NGO lets anyone join the group and assigns volunteers to help the adolescents enroll in school and maintain good grades. This suggests that the NGO is not just selecting students with potentially more leadership skills, but is actively transforming the entire population of adolescents in the neighborhood. For example, there was an older boy at the NGO who would jump from activity to activity, attempting to play with all the bands who would tolerate him. He would blurt out his opinion on everything. He was always fidgeting, usually with some electronic gadget. He was an excellent drummer, he learned new material quickly and remembered it, but as soon as the music stopped his behavior was intolerable, and many of his peers shunned him. Had he lived in the United States, he would have almost surely been diagnosed with something like attention deficit disorder and medicated. The volunteers and participants in the NGO didn't kick him out, they criticized his obnoxious behavior immediately after it occurred, and the volunteers found tasks for him so he could feel he had a sense of responsibility and accomplishment.

Another potential sampling error is that bands may fall apart because of poor leadership (such as The Modern Drummers, p. 87-8), which biases my observations toward seeing only bands with good leadership. But I did observe some bands before they were dissolved, and how mediocre leaders are given plenty of constructive criticism in the hopes they will improve their leadership abilities. Also, the NGO uses the dissolution of bands as a threat of what might happen if the band doesn’t improve its leadership.

Evidence that leadership was developed at the NGO came from the longitudinal aspects of the study. I saw change over time: (1) from week to week, (2) by comparing older musicians to younger ones, and (3) between the two phases of fieldwork, described below.

**Changes from 2003 to 2005**

The NGO changed very little from 2003 to 2005, but many individuals changed drastically. Chapters 4 to 6 presented the findings of both phases of participant-observation
grouped by leadership and cultural attributes. Another way to present the findings is to look at how individuals changed over a two-year period. Although the NGO had grown, its daily operations were remarkably similar (which is evidence for its stability and long-term affects on the community). Discussion topics were so similar that if someone were to remove the dates and names from the minutes of a meeting, I wouldn't be able to determine whether it happened in 2003 or 2005.

Although the NGO was relatively stable, it was amazing to see the changes in adolescents two years later. Logically, the younger adolescents changed more than the young adults. Several had gone on to play in professional pagode and axé music bands. One singer had become famous and moved to Europe to teach and perform there. Several members had gone on to college to study subjects such as music, dance, business, education, and tourism. A few had entered the Military Police academy.

Wrench's transformation was shocking to me. He went from being very fidgety to extremely self-assured. In 2003 he demonstrated many musical leadership traits including showing other people their parts, and critiquing a band’s sonority, but his administrative duties were minimal and criticized by the NGO. By 2005, he was taking on numerous administrative duties, and independently discovering and solving problems in the NGO. He used aspects of his shy demeanor to create intimacy in informal meetings, what Northouse would call a relationship style of leadership. He could also lead large groups such as a procession of over 50 drummers, and he could speak out confidently at large meetings.

Other adolescents had matured and transformed as well. Twiggy was taking on greater responsibilities. He was leading bands, working with other NGOs and wanting to start his own NGO. In 2003, Grace had been very conscious of ascribed leadership roles and by 2005 had taken a singing class, developed excellent intonation, and established herself as a singer and leader of several bands. In 2003, Joey, the youngest member of The Next Big Thing, had many problems just staying in rhythm and often caused the entire band to collapse. At first, he was very timid, standing as far in the corner as possible, not saying anything. But, I observed him improve from week to week in the winter of 2003, and he was beginning to emulate some of the dance moves of Bro, one of the most confident drummers. By 2005, he had lost his timidity and was treated as a full-member by the rest of the band despite the age difference. He had also become one of the more active dance leaders.
The development of leadership ability in NGO participants after two years was undeniable, but what caused the changes is debatable. How much did their leadership development have to do with the experience with the NGO, and how much was it due to just the increased maturity that comes with age regardless of any experience with the NGO? Because I lacked a control group I was unable to reliably answer this question based on my observations between 2003 and 2005. However, some of the leadership changes described in Chapters 4 and 5 occurred in the span of a single hour or over the course of a few weeks, and this suggests that leadership development occurred faster in the NGO than what normal maturation would suggest. The example above, where I observe Joey beginning to mimic the dance moves of other band members more and more over the winter of 2003 and then leading dance moves in 2005 supports the position that this leadership development took place at the NGO, during rehearsal. Concurring with my observations, most of the NGO participants and volunteers stated that their changes in leadership development between 2003 and 2005 were a direct result of participation with the NGO.

Comparing Rehearsals and Meetings

I found similarities between how adolescents solved problems in musical situations and how they solved the problems in administrative situations. I compared the kinds of communication used in problem solving, and the categories of problem solving situations. The reliability of my comparisons was limited by the small number of meetings I observed compared to rehearsals. My goal was to evaluate which leadership skills might be transferable from one situation to another. I found similarities in the categories of code-switching, team leadership, attentiveness, respect for turn-taking, consensus, non-verbal communication, ludic behavior, scaffolding, and perseverance.

Code-Switching

Good leaders could switch between leadership styles. I use code-switching to refer to abrupt changes in leadership styles depending on the situation. One might think that older adolescents would exhibit a more consistent leadership style than younger adolescents because they were somehow more mature or less emotionally variable, but I found the opposite. Older adolescents and better leaders demonstrated more variability in leadership
styles. It seemed they had more cognitive skills to analyze a situation and adjust their style of problem-solving accordingly.

In music, code-switching was important in styles of teaching and conflict resolutions. Music teachers and band leaders would adjust their leadership style based on the situation, such as using a task oriented style for new bands, and a delegating style for more experienced bands, consistent with Situational Leadership theory (Hersey 1977). Musicians also code-switched when they returned to playing after serious conflicts. The aesthetic of the music required synchronism between members, which in turn required each individual to listen and respect all of the other musicians who were playing. It could be very difficult for an adolescent to emotionally switch gears after a serious conflict in the band. After a conflict, many of the younger musicians would sulk through an entire rehearsal and play without synchronism, and it was sometimes difficult to even start the band. The good leaders were able to do preventative maintenance to minimize personal conflicts in the first place, and when they did occur, leaders quickly resolved them in the interest of the shared goals of the rehearsal, and would go back to playing as if nothing had happened. The good leaders understood that if they could just start playing, then the intrinsic benefits of the music would help people forget their personal conflicts, and break the vicious cycle.

Leaders have a structural understanding of the necessity of various social roles and are able to move between roles depending on the situation. Code-switching in meetings was also involved in suppressing personal emotions for shared goals, demonstrated in how meeting participants could switch from an informal, street-style of problem solving, to the conventions of a formal meeting, depending on the context, such as in the meeting of peers who drastically changed their posture and language when an older community member joined the meeting (p. 156). Meetings resembled performance situations in the way they required more formal behavior. In music, Grace had a strong sense of the assigned leadership roles of the various instruments, and could abruptly switch her part to maintain the rhythmic structure, if the performance situation required it.

In comparing the meeting skills of volunteers who are musicians to volunteers who are not musicians, the musicians tended to take notes less during meetings (p. 109). This suggests that the musicians are not learning certain meeting skills from their experience playing music, and tends to contradict my hypothesis. I address this contradiction by
broadening the scope of meeting skills beyond the single indicator of note taking. The nominal purpose of note-taking is to help remember information and obligations assigned at the meeting. In terms of remembering and carrying out obligations, I didn't observe any differences between the musicians and the non-musicians. I speculate that perhaps the oral tradition of the music provided adequate training in memorization to compensate for not talking notes at meetings.

My observations and the literature (Corso 2003; Heiling 2002; Kerley 1995:131; Yu 1999:130) find that music leaders have a repertoire of communication skills and good leaders can use them consciously, in both rehearsals and meetings, switching between leadership styles depending on the situation.

**TEAM LEADERSHIP**

Each band has a nominal leader, most meetings have a nominal chair, and both rehearsals and meetings may have strong hierarchies; but team leadership is common and decisions are made by everyone in the group to different degrees. In music, teamwork is continuous. It only takes one person to drag or miss a change to ruin an entire song. Everyone in the band was expected to take leadership responsibilities for maintaining the rhythmic structure during problems and teaching peers who didn't know their part. The goal of a meeting is to reach a consensus that the entire group can act upon. Leaders would defer to people with less status but more knowledge in a certain area.

There were some leaders who didn't switch between leadership styles, but found effective ways to use their own personal leadership style in both musical and administrative situations. For example, the caixa player for The Wastelanders used very subtle performance style changes to direct the band, such as getting slightly louder just before a change, in order to cue the rest of the band who tended to lose track of where the musical changes occurred in a song. In administrative meetings he was generally quiet, and avoided conflicts. He usually showed his approval or disapproval through facial expressions, and when he did speak his comments were short and insightful, and moved the group toward quick resolutions of problems. In my opinion he was one of the most stable members of the band, in terms of musical ability, attendance, and attentiveness. But he wasn’t the official leader of the band
and avoided challenging the leader for dominance (unlike others in the band). He worked in the background, subtly guiding the group in both musical and administrative situations.

**ATTENTIVENESS**

Attentiveness is crucial to both rehearsals and meetings. The need for attentiveness in music is perhaps more obvious and immediate because one mistake can ruin a song, and most songs last three or four minutes and the spacing being hits can be approach one hundredth of a second. In the example of participant discrepancies as microleadership (p. 60-2), I demonstrated the complexities of rhythmic negotiations where the adolescents made split-second modifications to their parts based on interactions with other adolescents. This kind of instantaneous feedback is important in meetings as well, as in the example of Heather reading facial expressions while speaking and modifying the presentation of her idea (p. 106). Attentiveness in meetings allowed the leader to recognize problems and efficiently solve them.

The lack of attentiveness—withdrawal and distraction—was the main cause of problems in both meetings and rehearsals.

**CONSENSUS**

The goal of the rehearsals and the meetings was to arrive at consensus, which was attained by individuals defending their points of view using a variety of analytical arguments and communication skills. In rehearsals, points of view tended to be aesthetic and more fluid, and the defense of aesthetic positions tended to require more performance ability or persuasive skills than analytical arguments. In theory, the meeting process was to share information, present and evaluate solutions, and the group would agree on the most logical solution; but in practice, meetings were not emotionally detached. Meeting participants negotiated power and hierarchies with persuasive communication skills and performance skills. Leadership in both meetings and rehearsals required the ability to struggle vehemently for a position and then quickly capitulate to the group's desire.

**NON-VERBAL COMMUNICATION**

Many of the non-analytical communication skills mentioned above are also non-verbal communication skills. Musicians are generally forced to develop non-verbal
communications skills (facial expressions and gestures) to avoid distracting the audience (Price and L. Byo 2002), and this was especially true in Salvador because the volume of the blocos afro made verbal communication impossible. The same non-verbal skills can be used at a meeting to communicate while someone else is speaking. Many of the performance skills used during meetings could be theatrical such as: facial expressions, walking out, gestures, and fidgeting. The adolescents developed non-verbal communication skills during rehearsals and used them during meetings.

**LUDIC BEHAVIOR**

Finding a balance between task behavior and ludic behavior was part of the process of both rehearsals and meetings. In the formula of U.S. business meeting presentations, presenters are required to tell one joke, no matter how serious the presentation. Often the more serious the presentation the more important the joke. The ludic function of the joke is to unify the group through communal distraction, similar to Victor Turner’s concept of the functions of “antistructure” (Turner 1982:33). With adolescents, ludic behavior is a normal part of their culture. Ludic behavior was usually a distraction from the task at hand, but occasionally it helped to eliminate the vicious cycle of frustration, and facilitate meetings and rehearsals. Good leaders were skilled at both curtailing ludic behavior and judiciously using it.

**Scaffolding**

Leaders used scaffolding to divide large problems into smaller more easily resolved ones. During rehearsals, teachers will parse large musical changes into smaller segments, and rehearse the segments separately before putting them together. During meetings, leaders will often use an agenda to divide large problems into separate smaller items, and group them to increase the efficiency of the meeting.

The skill necessary to identify and direct the group towards resolving the problem at hand is important in both rehearsals and meetings. Leaders use their understanding of the structure of the problem and of the capabilities of their peers in order to make predictions about the social dynamics that will be involved in solving the problem. The main difference is that music has a natural tendency towards chronological problem solving. Bands tended to rehearse the first song on their set list and stop at the first problem and drill that problem until
it is resolved. The more experienced leaders would instead identify the worst problems of the weakest songs, drill those, and rehearse songs without problems as: (1) a warm-up at the beginning of a rehearsal, (2) a cool-down to finish a difficult rehearsal and end on positive note, or (3) after a conflict during the rehearsal to alleviate tension. These band leaders were the ones who were more likely to focus decision making during meetings. At meetings the good leaders would structure the meeting, keep the group on task using an agenda, and mitigate emotional conflicts by warming-up with a pep talk before difficult discussions, and by closing meetings with a bonding ritual.

**Perseverance**

Perseverance was highly valued at the NGO. The main activity of rehearsals was the incessant drilling of sections where mistakes had occurred. Drilling continued until everyone could simultaneously perform the section within a tolerance set by the leader. Consensus decision making at meetings meant that everyone had to agree with the group's decision and anyone could object to a point and filibuster, so meetings tended to be tedious, but people sat through them because they valued organization and self-determination. The one attitude that Sneezy refused to tolerate in the young musicians was hopelessness, the lack of perseverance. I observed these attributes reflected in the administrative tenacity of the NGO to grow and prosper despite constant budget shortfalls, legal disputes, factional conflicts, not to mention the individual problems which the volunteers faced simultaneously in terms of financial problems, family problems, racial discrimination, and overall marginalization. As one of the volunteers said, "Music nurtures hope."

**What Other Cultural Aspects Associated with Music Contribute to the Development of Leadership?**

In order to prove that music causes leadership development I would need to eliminate all the other possible causes for leadership development. Unfortunately, as this section shows, there are other cultural factors involved in the development of leadership, such as race, education, and other recreational activities. Even though I fail to prove causation, the section above does suggest that music is a contributing factor to leadership development, possibly along with the factors described below.
For this section, I ask, as Deborah White (1998:16) does, "What other experiences occurring in a young person's development might affect leadership development? Investigating the role of parents, mentors, schools, athletics, and youth organizations provides another part of the picture." This is similar to what the RAND Corporation asked when justifying the social benefits of arts education: "but is there something different and somehow better about the sense of community gained from creative activity as opposed to other group activities—competing on a sports team, attending religious services, joining a coffee klatch, etc.?" (McCarthy et al. 2004:29). In this section I present aspects of the cultural context which may also cause leadership development, including the racial-musical-educational project in Salvador, and recreational activities.

**Leadership as a Goal of the Racial–Musical–Educational Project in Salvador**

When adolescents in Salvador decide to form a banda de lata, instead of playing marbles or flying kites, they affiliate themselves with a political movement that has been in the vanguard of the struggle for racial equality for the past 30 years. The bloco afro, Ilê Aiyê, began a struggle against racism in carnaval in 1974, which broadened to include many other struggles such as urban redevelopment, and most importantly for adolescents, educational reform. The NGO director stated that one of the functions of the music was as a hook to get the adolescents into the NGO where they would be encouraged to participate in programs that taught citizenship, health education, and job training. Many of the same components of citizenship are included in the development of leadership.

Oppression can have contradictory effects on leadership development. It can provide a motivation for development, a reason to struggle, to organize, to lead people. But oppressors often kill or co-opt leaders, and oppression almost always diminishes self-esteem; having leaders to serve as mentors and having self-esteem are both important for further leadership development. The blocos afro used the celebratory aspects of carnaval to build self-esteem while avoiding repression and training leaders in the skills necessary for economic advancement and political struggle.
**Race**

One of the goals of the racial–musical–educational project in Salvador is to train young leaders to continue the fight for racial justice. Leadership development has been actively suppressed in Salvador, from extermination campaigns against quilombos, strike breaking, repression of Candomblé, capoeira, and the bloco afro. The strategies of control since have included disruption of any forms of organization that might threaten white privilege. Synchronism in music is a public demonstration of organization and is highly valued aesthetically by the audience because it inspires them to dance, but when black people publicly demonstrate their capacity to organize large groups, the political context overshadows the aesthetic context and the music becomes politics. An often cited moment in the history of the black movement in Salvador is the first carnival march of Ilê Aiyê in 1975, when tens of thousands of African descendents marched from the hills of Curuzu to participate in carnival. They were organized, peaceful, and celebratory. It is easy for white people to dismiss the underlying racial injustice that causes riots and looting, because the image of the riot confirms their prejudices. What really scares white people are large organized groups like the Million Man March (2005), because they represent a political threat to white privilege. The spontaneous organization of large groups of people does happen occasionally, but it is usually the result of the perseverance of competent leaders, leaders that political movements consciously develop. Much of the motivation for the leadership training of young black boys and girls doesn't come from the music *per se*. The importance of music in a project of racial emancipation comes partly from the history of denying slaves access to literacy (Gilroy 1993:56-7,74). Music is a somewhat arbitrary symbol of racial identity and organization, and under different historical conditions black movements could have focused on any other symbolic activity such as: dance, capoeira, soccer, theater, visual arts, or poetry. The motivation for leadership comes from the higher cause, the struggle for racial justice.

**Other Social Struggles**

Besides race, the racial–musical–educational project in Salvador involves adolescents in other social struggles, such as the rights of youth, class struggle, feminism, the rights of gays and lesbians, and the disabled. It is difficult for a single issue political struggle to
maintain its focus for 30 years. Seeing the success of Ilê Aiyê, by the 1980s, social movements were allying themselves with the blocos afro, or adopting similar tactics.

The incorporation of women into traditionally male drumming roles is a feminist struggle. Neguinho do Samba told me that when the girls from Didá were walking with their drums through the neighborhood of the Pelourinho to set up for one of their first public performances, a passerby shouted at them: "Hey girls, who are you carrying all those drums for?" Thanks to a decade of Didá, this doesn't happen any more. An example I observed was the very young all-girls' band from the NGO having access to atabaques—traditionally male-only religious drums. Girls are becoming musical leaders, and the struggle against gendered drum restrictions provides a motivation to develop feminist leadership.

**Education**

Education is a primary goal of the racial–musical–educational project in Salvador and it develops capacities in adolescents that are similar to leadership. There is a big gap between the theories of progressive pedagogy in Brazil, and what gets put into practice. Public schools are obscenely under-funded, especially in black neighborhoods. The racial filter that prevents black students from entering the university begins with the substandard education at primary schools. It is compounded by poverty, because even though hard fought battles for racial quotas have succeeded in a few universities in recent years, the expense of entrance exams and applications keep many qualified black students away from the university, even when tuition is covered by a scholarship. Many of the NGO participants could not afford the bus fare to schools outside their neighborhood. Many were forced to leave school to work and support their families. The 2000 census found that blacks were almost five times less likely to get a university education than whites (Brígido 2004).

The racial–educational–musical project in Salvador uses multiple strategies to compensate for deficiencies in public education. On a broad scale it advocates for African oriented legislation, affirmative action, quotas in higher education (Lima 2004), and more public resources for autonomous community schools (Jones De Almeida 2003). On a local level the blocos afro form their own autonomous community schools (Jones De Almeida 2003); or form partnerships with NGOs (Rodrigues 2001), or with public schools.
By improving the quality of education, the blocos afro are indirectly contributing to leadership development. The NGO uses music as reward for staying in school and participating in educational programs where they have social interaction and learn cognitive skills related to leadership.

**Recreational Activities**

Adolescents learn leadership roles through recreational activities besides music, but an important difference is how music promotes non-violent conflict resolution. As we saw in the example of Corn's misdirected malandragem (p. 125), any social activity—even watching TV together—can provide a network of friends and situations for learning social coexistence and other leadership skills. But the passiveness of TV means fewer social interactions. Video games are less passive and multi-player games include some social interaction, but the interaction is more of a simulacrum of social interaction because it is so dependent on the game designers and the machine. Of the other recreational activities popular with adolescents in the neighborhood, the ones with the most potential for leadership development are soccer and capoeira, and both are associated with violence.

**SOCCER**

Soccer is metaphorical violence, and leadership is delegated to a coach. Soccer is the national pastime of Brazil, and everyone in the NGO played. By *metaphorical violence*, I mean that a large part of the ethos taught by soccer is violence, both literal and ritualized (Daolio 2003:169-176). The Brazilian style of soccer tends to emphasize the technical difficulty of the individual star, instead of teamwork and solidarity that is typical of European and other styles of soccer (165). The object of soccer, as in most competitive sports is to defeat the other team, and the communication revolves around aggression. Most of the non-verbal communication is antagonistic, one player trying to get past another. Most of the verbal communication is: "I'm open, pass me the ball."

Daolio argues that becoming proficient at motor skills highly valued by the culture increases self-esteem, and this could contribute to developing leadership. Soccer also provides the individual a collective context to understand their culture's ethos (Daolio 2003:185-8). Adolescents have the same fantasies about being soccer stars as they do pop-
music stars, and talent scouts come often enough to the neighborhood games near the NGO to perpetuate these fantasies.

**CAPOEIRA**

Capoeira is meta-violence, and leadership is delegated to a mestre. By *meta-violence* I mean that playing capoeira is like a conversation about violence; the violence is theatrical. Participants aren’t allowed to hit each other but try to prove that they could if they wanted to. Capoeira acknowledges the prevalence of violence in society, and it emphasizes malandragem (trickiness) and style while coping with violence. Capoeira group are fairly hierarchical and leadership is mostly delegated to a mestre.

There is group interaction from the singing, clapping, challenging, and general camaraderie, but most of the interaction is in pairs of opponents. Much of the group interaction comes from the music that accompanies the capoeira. Many of the skills learned in capoeira, such as dominance and creativity, are important leadership skills.

**MITIGATING VIOLENCE**

Of recreational activities for adolescents in Salvador, music is one of the most non-violent, and leadership is delegated to a teacher. Adolescents play several games where they take turns hitting each other. Soccer is metaphorical violence. Capoeira is meta-violence. Violence is prevalent on TV and in video games. Marbles is very competitive. Even some of the kites are made to cut the other person's kite string.

*Música afro* requires the absence of violence, and minimizes conflict and competition. One of the reasons there were so many meetings about personal conflicts was because they were so disruptive to the music. Sneezy held a one and a half hour meeting of The Young Perspectives because two of the band members had been fighting during the week. The performance capacities of the youngest fundo player of The Recyclers were severely disrupted after he played a hitting game before practice (p. 93-4).

Whereas music, soccer, and capoeira all rely on synchronism between participants, music has more continual group interaction. Capoeira and soccer require a high degree of synchronism in the way players need to improvise and instantly respond to the opponent in front of them, but the interactions tend to be between only two people, and the goal of the improvisation in soccer and capoeira is to trick your opponent. The goal of improvisation in
música afro is to take the structure that the rest of the group has come to consensus on and build a more aesthetically pleasing variation of your part (Guerreiro 2000:274).

Violence is associated with música afro, but the role of music tends to mitigate the violence. Competition does exist within bands and between bands, but it is minimal compared to other ludic activities. Many performances at the NGO were of all-star bands or included special guest musicians. Brazilian pop musicians highly value cooperation; professional musicians often write songs for each other and perform on each others' albums. At public concerts I occasionally observed a dance style that involves mock combat very similar to capoeira and *samba duro* (hard samba). But all of the actually fights were a direct result of drinking alcohol. Unfortunately, alcohol sales are a significant source of income for most concert organizers. Since the bands can't choose their audiences they take an active part in mitigating the violence: stopping songs when fights break out, trying to calm the crowd, giving moral lectures, and playing calming music.

Leaders at the NGO actively prohibit violence, and strive to cultivate an atmosphere of coexistence and mutual respect. Twiggy said that the NGO director was a major influence on his leadership ability, especially in the way he taught him how not to be aggressive to his followers. The NGO director would tolerate all sorts of behavior from the adolescents, which a typical parent would not, but he was constantly breaking up fights and hitting games, and he would never tolerate violence at the NGO.

Of the many recreational activities available to adolescents in Salvador, many have the potential to develop leadership skills, but music is the least violent and involves the most teamwork.

**Summary of the Extra-Musical Factors in Leadership Development**

Extra-musical activities develop different components of leadership. My operational definition of leadership was problem solving in a group. But whatever broad term used—*leadership, problem solving, citizenship*—they all imply a suite of traits, which most leadership theories view as skills that are useful in different situations, and which can be developed through practice. Different activities will tend to develop different leadership skills. School and recreation provide group interaction, and a network of friends to negotiate
social issues. Soccer has some aspects of teamwork, capoeira teaches dominance. All develop attentiveness, perseverance, creativity, and one-on-one synchronism.

The racial-musical-educational project in Salvador develops leadership in terms of motivation and cognitive skills. The goals of racial justice and other social struggles provide a justification for leadership development. History shows the consequences of not developing leadership. Motivation is a critical part of most leadership approaches. The general education that adolescents obtain from school or through extracurricular programs develop a wide range of cognitive skills essential to leadership, such as language, logic, and general problem solving. These extra-musical factors are associated with the musical experience of the adolescents at the NGO, but aren't caused by playing music *per se*.

**HOW MIGHT MUSIC DEVELOP LEADERSHIP IN ADOLESCENTS?**

Tu me dizes, eu esqueço.
Tu me ensinas, eu lembro.
Tu me envolves, eu aprendo.

-Benjamin Franklin

In the previous section I reviewed how extra-musical activities might contribute to leadership development, and in this section I present models for how music *per se* might develop leadership.

There is very little theory on how to teach leadership, and despite the multi-million dollar industry of self-help books and management seminars, most theories of leadership development are experiential, they fall back on the argument that leadership is something you learn by doing, "embedded in experience" (McCauley and Van Velsor 2003:22).

Below I elaborate on some of the models that were implied in the literature review and the section above that found associations between rehearsals and meetings, including: redefining social roles, increased attentiveness, and shared escapism.

**Redefining Social Roles**

Music forces young people to redefine social structures and teach each other leadership skills. Many recent anthropological approaches to studying young people have taken an insider approach, studying youth culture as distinct from adult culture and emphasizing the cultural transmission *between* children (Cohn 2005:34-6). Leadership is not
just enculturated from adults to children through formal education, leadership is also transmitted among peers. This is consistent with an experiential approach to leadership development.

Adolescents at the NGO develop leadership while reassigning the social roles of various musical instruments. Shirley Brice Heath describes how "young artists play multiple roles—both in dramatic personae and also as organizational members—and act with a sense of agency that allows them to think outside given structures" (Heath 2005). Music provokes leadership negotiations similar to other cultural inversions between children and adults (Toren 1993). The structurally defined leadership roles assigned to different instruments need to be negotiated when for example, a low status individual plays a high status instrument. Music tends to disrupt social hierarchies based on visual differences, such as age, gender, and race. Younger singers can tell older adolescents want to do. Girls who sing, or play drums can tell boys what to do. Black musicians can tell white musicians what to do. This disruption forces the hierarchies to be renegotiated, and in the process adolescents redefine leadership roles, and develop leadership skills.

**Increased Attentiveness**

Music develops leadership by increasing the duration and the quality of attention spans. Being perpetually attentive is fine for a Zen master, but most people have a fairly short attention span. Music provokes altered states of consciousness, and music in a group requires an increased attention span to react to the other musicians. Musicians learn how to pay attention to other people for longer periods of time. I observed this while comparing the attentiveness of the same individuals in both rehearsals and meetings. This has been previous described as rhythmic entrainment (Condon 1986), or "flow" in leadership (Csikzentmihalyi 2003), and both describe the state of increased attentiveness that music provokes, and how that state can be employed outside of music, in situations such as meetings.

**Shared Escapism**

Similar to the altered states of consciousness mentioned above, music tends to balance escapism with social engagement. One of the more individual intrinsic benefits of the arts found in the RAND study (McCarthy et al. 2004: xvi,45) was captivation, which is described as the rapt absorption that can connect people more deeply to the world and open
them to new ways of seeing and experiencing the world, and at the same time, allow them an imaginative flight, a departure from their everyday self that enables them to imaginatively inhabit the created reality being presented. This imaginative departure can foster a deep involvement with the concerns and insights of others.

The concept of mobility was important to adolescents in terms of (1) class, increasing wealth, and (2) literal mobility, being able to afford the bus fare and going on tour; but I would also extend its meaning to (3) aesthetic mobility, the desire for escape, freedom, and "imaginative departure" described above. Drugs and alcohol offer this last kind of mobility, but music does it better. I observed many examples of how music prohibits withdrawal from the group. Music encourages shared escapism. But when escapism is shared by a group, it becomes more like the visionary aspects of transformational leadership (Northouse 2004:180-4). Music gives adolescents aesthetic mobility—the ability of imaginative departure—which functions as a vision to facilitate the development of transformational leadership.

A COMBINED MODEL FOR ADOLESCENT LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT THROUGH MUSIC IN SALVADOR

Music develops leadership by providing a communal experience where adolescents can efficiently rehearse negotiations of power in a recreational setting that encourages ludic behavior and mitigates personal conflicts.

Music is well situated to develop leadership because of a combination of factors: (1) it has a strong symbolic connection to African identity, (2) it has a high concentration of social interactions, (3) it is a recreational activity that is compatible with youth culture and provides a setting for ludic activity, (4) it emphasizes consensus decision making and non-violence.

Música afro is communal. Several of the adolescents had their own instruments, some had homemade practice pads, and all had access to the recycled instruments of the banda de lata, but the adolescents rarely practiced their instruments at home. The enjoyment comes from playing in a group, and the adolescents have more fun when the group is autonomous and oriented toward ludic behavior. Some might say that the combination of adolescents, autonomy, and ludic behavior is a good example of stereotypical anarchy, but the aesthetics of the music will not tolerate disorganization. The adolescents learn by themselves that
disorganization sounds bad and isn't fun for very long, and they learn that organization sounds good and is lots of fun. And they will continue playing for eight hours or more, until they are interrupted by neighbors who throw water or tomatoes at them in order to get them to shut up because the evening soap operas are starting. While dodging tomatoes some of the adolescents realize that they have exerted political power and citizenship, standing up for the right of adolescents to leisure activities legally guaranteed by Article Four of the ECA (p. 121), in a similar way that the blocos afro exert their power in the struggle for racial justice.

They also realize that to get to the point where the music is fun they need to have some organization and only very rarely does the music organize itself. The barriers to organization require a whole set of problem-solving skills. Usually it takes someone to step up and start telling people what to do, and this results in negotiations of power such as deciding who should play which instrument and choosing what songs to rehearse. While the music is being played, continual and subtle negotiations of power also occur, such as deciding how fast to play, or where a drum hit fits into the pattern created by the rest of the group. An individual's exertion of power while negotiating often leads to resentment ("You're not the boss of me!")), and the adolescents soon learn that they have trouble playing music when they are mad at someone else in the band, or some else is mad at them. Personal conflicts are a serious problem that need to be addressed and one of the ways adolescents deal with them is by learning how to balance the exertion of power with consideration for others—balancing task and relationship styles of leadership.

For example, if a repique player notices that the tempo is dragging and suddenly starts playing as fast she can, other band members will glare at her because the rest of the group, though perhaps incorrect, has come to a consensus on the tempo, and if she continues at her own tempo the entire structure of the rhythm might fall apart, in which case everyone would blame her for ruining the song, perhaps shouting expletives or even physically hitting her. This fear of blame functions as a strong negative sanction to maintain group conformity, but on the other hand, the adolescents are also just playing around and they don't take it that seriously. The ludic component of music implies that the social consequences of mistakes in music are minimal, compared to say if the repique player were an office manager who suddenly started expecting her coworkers to process her paperwork faster than usual.
Because the music is ludic behavior, the repique player is allowed to experiment, to make mistakes, and learn from her mistakes. The repique player learns from experience that there are more subtle and more effective ways to solve the problem of the dragging tempo, such as playing slightly faster and louder to encourage the entire group to speed up, or playing a solo that is exactly twice as fast and fits proportionally into the tempo of the rest of band. Music develops leadership by providing continual and subtle leadership experiences in the form of negotiations of power, while minimizing personal conflicts through ludic behavior.

**RECOMMENDATIONS**

Further research on this topic might include: a continuation of the longitudinal aspects of this study, similar studies with other NGOs, a more detailed study of bandas de lata, a psychological approach to microleadership in music, and a historical comparison between Salvador and New Orleans.

I would like to stay in touch with the NGO mostly because it is great to hear from friends, but also because the longitudinal aspect of this study would benefit from following the leadership development of the same informants through various life stages.

This study was a very limited participant-observation of a single small NGO among the dozens of similar organizations in Salvador, hundreds in Brazil, and hundreds of thousands in the world. Although globalization continues to accelerate, I believe these local informal voluntary associations will continue to play a defining role in the world. Research topics could include the entire spectrum of cultural traits and social situations; and range in scope from psychology, to internal organization, to integration with community, to regional or global economics. Since most of the groups can't afford to hire consultants in management, public relations, or human resources; ethnographies can have both academic and practical applications. When I first told one of the NGO volunteers about my thesis plan, he said, "Anything that makes us look at ourselves in a different way is good."

Since the banda de lata is such a widespread phenomenon, and there has been hardly any academic study of it, it would be worthwhile to conduct a thorough participant observation with a single banda de lata or perhaps a national comparison. It would be an excellent subject for an ethnographic video.
There is a growing body of unpublished lyrics in the periphery of Salvador that could provide a large data set for textual analysis.

A quantitative psychological study would be useful in exploring microleadership skills in music. It might combine measuring the perception of participant discrepancies with culturally appropriate leadership survey instruments.

Although my comparisons between Salvador and New Orleans were explanatory, a historical comparison between the two port cities might contribute to understanding the relation between early 20th century industrialization and the role of music in the struggle for racial equality, and might compare and contrast: carnaval to carnival, Blocos dos Indios to Indian Krewes, bandas de lata to spasm bands, and pandeiros to tambourines. Musically based racial projects in the United States could be connected to Brazil, and perhaps the Gran Caribe, or Paul Gilroy's Black Atlantic.

**CONCLUSION**

Many social programs in Salvador have a long-term vision of improving the social conditions of marginal youth in the dream of building a better tomorrow. But most of the adolescents I talked to said this was fucked-up because in the future they are not going to be adolescents anymore. What they want is to build a better present. The adolescents differed in immediacy but not in goals from the adult political struggles in Salvador. I borrowed Omi and Winant's paradigm of racial formation to describe the historical context of their struggle as a racial-musical-educational project. This project began a decade or two before they were born, and focuses on long-term change, such as building self-esteem by promoting African identity, and improving educational opportunities to build the economic strength of black neighborhoods. In 1974, the first bloco afro (Afro-centric music and dance organization) began as a protest against racism in the carnaval. By the 1980s it had grown into a broad social movement for urban renewal, starting community schools, and working to increase university enrollment and job training.

The focus on music, a recreational activity, coincides with one of adolescents' political goals, the right to leisure time. As adolescents organize bandas de lata (impromptu street bands with recycled instruments), and begin to solve musical problems, they learn
techniques to overcome broader social problems. A broad goal of the blocos afro and related NGOs is to use music to develop citizenship (what I called leadership) in young people.

The thesis was to show how music develops leadership. To do this I found associations between music and leadership, tried to isolate music from the other causes of leadership, and then I presented models for how music might develop leadership. Though I found several other possible causes for the development of leadership, I found strong associations between music and leadership, and plausible models for leadership development, therefore I suggest that music contributes to the development of leadership among adolescents in Salvador.

My method was to use ideas from the literature review to help interpret the data. I gathered data through participant-observation and interviews in a total of about four months of fieldwork in 2003 and 2005. I observed the rehearsals and meetings of small musical bands at an NGO in Salvador. I focused my observations on finding indicators of leadership, which I grouped into patterns of communication and problem solving. My methodological limitations were typical of an outsider ethnography, and my data on administrative meetings was limited and I lacked a control group of adolescents in the neighborhood who weren't part of the NGO.

I grouped strong associations between musical leadership and administrative leadership into: code-switching, team leadership, attentiveness, consensus decision making, ludic behavior, scaffolding, and perseverance. Code-switching meant that leaders could switch abruptly between leadership styles based on the situation. Most bands and meetings had a single nominal leader, but leadership behaviors were demonstrated by the entire group, similar to team leadership. Attentiveness was critical to what I called microleadership: in rehearsals it was expressed as participant discrepancies (tiny rhythmic negotiations), and in meetings it was expressed as non-verbal communication (reading facial expressions). Consensus decision-making was the broad set of rules on how people related to each other while accomplishing the tasks of both rehearsals and meetings. Ludic behavior was used in all situations to mitigate tedium and personal conflicts. Good leaders used scaffolding to break down large problems into smaller ones; in rehearsals this meant a non-sequential order in rehearsing songs or sections; in meetings, it meant the chair put items in a logical order on
the agenda. Perseverance meant not withdrawing from the long, hot, unpaid, and often bitter meetings and rehearsals.

The other possible causes of leadership development besides music included the racial and educational components of the racial-musical-educational project in Salvador, and other recreational activities. The struggle for racial justice provides a motivation for leadership development. Education provides some of the same cognitive skills as leadership. Soccer and capoeira (a dance/martial art) provide many of the same leadership development opportunities as music, but music per se emphasizes non-violent conflict resolution, which is more useful in most leadership situations; and music includes more continuous social interaction than other recreational activities.

I suggest that music develops leadership in Salvador by providing a communal experience where adolescents can efficiently rehearse negotiations of power in a ludic setting that mitigates personal conflicts.

Further research on this topic might include: a continuation of the longitudinal aspects of this study, similar studies with other NGOs, a more detailed study of bandas de lata, a psychological approach to microleadership in music, and a historical comparison between Salvador and New Orleans.
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APPENDIX A

GLOSSARY
GLOSSARY

Portuguese terms are in italics. I have included common terms that have a specific meaning in this thesis.

*afoxê*: a group of drummers and dancers who are involved in carnaval and syncretic religious ceremonies. Filhos de Gandhy is the most famous afoxê.

*alfaia*: a bass drum used in maracatu.

*atabaque*: a traditional barrel-shaped Brazilian hand drum used in Candomblé and capoeira

*axé music*: a style of pop music, música afro played by trios eléctricos mostly during carnaval.

Axé: a Yoruba word that means magical life force.

*bandas de lata*: tin-can bands, impromptu bands that play improvised drums made from recycled materials, usually empty cans or plastic barrels.

*beat*: a regular unit of time, which could be understood as where you would put your foot down if marching or dancing to the music; usually a quarter note.

*bloco afro* (plural *blocos afro*): large music and dance groups of African descendants who perform during Carnaval.

*blocos do indios*: blocos afro begun in 1950s who dressed as North American Indians.

*break*: a short rhythmic interlude that either interrupts the rhythm or serves as a transition between different sections.

*caixa* (or *tarol*): a high-pitched snare drum, with a shallow metal shell, two plastic heads, and resonating wire or strings vibrate against one head, played with two sticks.

*Candomblé*: a traditional West African religion that influences almost all aspects of Bahian culture, including community organizing, education, health, social welfare, food, clothing, painting, language, architecture, et cetera. Percussion (see Figure 1, p. 5), song, and dance are integral parts in the transmission of Axé. Includes a pantheon of Orixás.

*capoeira*: a Brazilian dance/martial art accompanied by music.

*carnaval*: the Brazilian pre-Lenten Catholic carnival, with many regional, national and African associations.

*cavaquinho*: a small, four-stringed guitar

*change*: an introduction, transition, or conclusion of a section of a song; beginnings, breaks, endings.

*clave*: the syncopated, high pitch parts that the rest of the band uses as a reference to locate their own part within the ensemble; a high-pitched foundation part
**djembe**: a traditional West African hand drum with a bowl plus cylinder shape.

**drag**: to unintentionally slow down the beats

**ECA** (*Estatuto de Crianças e Adolescentes*): (the Children and Adolescents Act), Brazilian legislation guaranteeing the rights to citizenship for minors.

**ECO** (*Escola Criativa Olodum*): (Olodum Creative School), a bloco afro for young people based in the Pelourinho neighborhood, sponsored by Olodum.

**efeitos**: extra percussion: an assortment of small percussion instruments; may include cowbells, wood/jam blocks, *agôgô*, *ganzá/chocalho*; "half moon" tambourine; tambourine, *tamborim*, *xéquere*, etc.; sometimes attached to a frame; played with two sticks

**emic**: from within the culture itself.

**etic**: through cross-cultural comparison.

**forró**: a popular music and dance style from the Northeast, generally more rural than urban.

**foundation part**: a part with the structural role of maintaining the synchronism of the group, usually the fundo.

**frevo**: a very fast carnaval rhythm from Pernambuco, features wind instruments and uses simple drum parts.

**fundo**: the surdo, often lower-pitched, that plays simple repetitive parts, usually with a single padded mallet.

**hand drums**: drums that are normal hit with the hands

**hemiola**: a musicology term that usually refers to playing two notes in the space of three, but is occasionally used in the sense I use it here, sometimes called a *false hemiola*, which is three unevenly spaced notes (3 + 3 + 2).

**highs**: the set of instruments that make a high pitch; everything but the surdos.

**hit**: a drum stick or a hand strikes a drum.

**Ilê Aiyê**: the first bloco afro

**jamming**: playing without fixed parts.

**layer in**: to begin a song by starting with a single part, and then adding parts until everyone is playing.

**ludic**: playful.

**Macumba**: a pejorative word for African religion in Brazil.

**malandragem**: trickiness; important in capoeira and soccer.

**maracatu**: a carnaval music and dance style from Pernambuco

**marcação**: the surdo, often higher-pitched, that plays more complicated parts and occasional adornments, usually with a pair of padded mallets.

**measure**: the amount of time it takes most of the parts to cycle, usually four beats.
**mestre**: (master), the leader of the group or section in capoeira and samba from Rio de Janeiro

microleadership: the management of small and continuous problem-solving in a group

**MPB (música popular Brasileira)**: "Brazilian popular music," poetic, political; combined national folk music with international rock and jazz, started in the late 1960s.

**música afro**: a broad term for the Afro-Brazilian music, but in this thesis restricted to the music of the blocos afro, and adolescents who orchestrated their music in small bands.

**NGO**: non-governmental organization; I studied a sample NGO from Salvador.

**Olodum**: one of the most famous blocos afro, based in the neighborhood of the Pelourinho.

**Orixás**: deities of Candomblé.

**pagode**: a party, place for samba, or a style of samba from Rio de Janeiro; used in this thesis in the sense of **pagode baiano** (Bahian pagode), a contemporary style of samba from Salvador which became popular in the 1990s, characterized by repetitive hooks and low-brow, explicitly sexual lyrics.

**part**: a sequence of hits played by an individual usually repeated after one, two, four, or eight beats.

**Pracatum**: a music school for young people based in the neighborhood of Candeal, sponsored by Carlinhos Brown.

**quilombos**: autonomous communities of escaped slaves.

**repique (or repinique)**: a high pitched drum, with a metal shell, two plastic heads, usually played with two sticks.

rhythm: (1) the capacity to constantly and consistently measure small increments of time, and make minute adjustments in performance accordingly. (2) A rhythm is a group of simultaneous interlocking parts; if it includes singing then it becomes a song. The term

**samba duro**: (hard samba) a music and dance style that involves mock combat similar to capoeira.

**samba reggae**: the most popular style played by the blocos afro.

**samba**: a broad term for many music and dance styles in Brazil.

**solo**: to improvise, intentionally elaborate on a part.

**song**: a series of previously organized rhythms and musical changes usually structured around lyrics.

**surdos**: a low-pitched drum, deep and wide metal shell with two plastic heads played with two padded mallets.
synchronism: the state when most of the musicians are playing their parts at the same tempo and in phase, with a very small tolerance. This implies that most of the musicians are in rhythm, making continuous small adjustments to their own parts.

tempo: the speed of the beats.

timbal (or timba, timbau): a modern conical hand drum, not to be confused with the pair of Cuban drums of the same name.

trios eléctricos: small bands that play on large sound trucks during carnaval.

triplet: a musicology term that refers to playing three evenly spaced notes.

vocables: spoken syllables used to represent drum hits.

zabumba: a bass drum used in various musical styles, played with one padded mallet and one thin stick.
APPENDIX B

CODES OF MODERNITY
APPENDIX B

The following is my translation of a poster hanging on the wall at the NGO, entitled "Códigos da Modernidade." It is a good summary of the NGO's educational philosophy. The original text was written by José Bernardo Toro, a Colombian educator, in 1997. It was translated and expanded by the Brazilian educator, Antonio Carlos Gomes de la Costa, around the year 2000, and printed as a poster by three social action groups: Modus Faciendi, Fundación Social, and the Fundação Mauricio Sirotsky Sobrinho. The poster has since been transcribed and published on several websites.

**Codes of Modernity**

We transcribe the Codes of Modernity, which are, according to Columbian educator Bernardo Toro, the minimum capacities and abilities for productive participation in the XXI Century. They are the following:

1. **Master reading and writing**

   To live and to work in a highly urbanized and technological society in the XXI Century it becomes even more necessary to master reading and writing. Children and adolescents will have to know how to communicate using words, numbers, and images.

   Therefore, the best professors, the best classrooms, and the best technical resources must be designated to the first series of basic education. To know how to read and write already is not just a simple problem of literacy, it is an actual problem of survival.

   All children must learn to read and write with ease in the first series of basic education, to be able to actively and productively participate in social life.

2. **Capacity to calculate and solve problems**

   In day-to-day life and at work it is fundamental to know how to calculate and solve problems.

   To calculate is to settle accounts. To solve problems is to make decisions based on all the dominions of human existence.

   In social life it is necessary to offer a positive solution to problems and crises. A solution is positive when it produces benefits for all.
In the classroom, on the playground, in the administration of the school it is possible to learn to live democratically and positively, solving difficulties in a constructive way and respecting human rights.

3. Capacity to analyze, to synthesize and to interpret data, facts and situations

In modern society the capacity to describe, analyze, and compare is fundamental, so that the person can expound on their own thoughts, verbally or through writing.

It is not possible to actively participate in the life of global society, if we are not capable of manipulating symbols, signs, data, codes and other forms of linguistic expression.

To be productive in school, at work, and in everyday life, students will have to learn to express themselves with precision in writing.

4. Capacity to understand and to act in their social context

The construction of a democratic and productive society requires that the children and young adults receive information and preparation that allows them to act as citizens. To exercise citizenship means:

   To be a person able to convert problems into opportunities.

   The construction of a democratic and productive society requires that the children and young adults receive information and preparation that allows them to act as citizens. To exercise citizenship means:

   To be capable of organizing to defend ones interests and to solve problems, through dialogue and negotiation respecting established rules, laws and norms.

   To create unity of intentions through diversity and difference, without ever confusing unity with uniformity.

   To act to make Brazil a social state governed by the rule of law, that is, to work to make human rights possible for all.

5. To receive the media critically

A critical receiver of communication media (cinema, television, radio, newspapers, magazines) is somebody that does not let themselves be manipulated as a person, as a consumer, as a citizen.
To learn to understand communication media allows us to use them to communicate at a distance, to get basic and professional education, to articulate ourselves on a planetary level and to know other models of living together and productivity.

The communication media are not hobbies. They produce and reproduce new knowledge, ethics and life styles. To ignore them is to live on the sidelines in the spirit of our time.

All adolescent children and educators must learn to interact with the diverse expressive languages of communication media so that they can create new forms of thinking, feeling, and acting in democratic cohabitation.

6. Capacity to better locate, access and use the accumulated information

In the near future, it will be possible to enter the job market without knowing how to locate data, people, experiences, and mainly, without knowing how to use this information to solve problems. It will be necessary to routinely consult libraries, periodical libraries, audio-visual centers, centers of information and documents, museums, specialized publications, and the internet.

To describe, systemize and to distribute knowledge will be fundamental.

Therefore, all children and adolescents must learn to manage information.

7. Capacity to plan, work and decide in a group

To know how to meet, to know how to work and produce as a team, to know how to co-ordinate, this is knowledge that is useful for productivity and fundamental for democracy.

The capacity to work, plan and decide in a group is formed daily through a model of teaching-learning that is autonomous and cooperative (Personalized Education in a Group).

For this method, children learn to organize work groups, to negotiate with their colleagues to select learning goals, to select strategies and methods to reach them, to get the information necessary to solve problems, to define the levels of performance desired and to display and to defend their work.

In Personalized Education in a Group, with the help of technically elaborated study routines, the capacity to decide, plan, and work in groups will develop to the degree that children and adolescents are permitted to continue constructing knowledge.
In these self-activating and cooperative pedagogies, the professor provides orientation and motivation to learn.

Text reproduced from a poster sponsored by Modus Faciendi, Fundación Social, and the Fundação Mauricio Sirotsky Sobrinho

Author: José Bernardo Toro - 1997 - Colombia

Translation [from Spanish to Portuguese] and adaptation: Antonio Carlos Gomes de la Costa
ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Music and Leadership among Adolescents
in Salvador da Bahia, Brazil
by
Arnie Daniel Schoenberg
Master of Arts in Anthropology
San Diego State University, 2005

Using participant-observation in small percussion groups in Salvador da Bahia, Brazil, I examined how adolescents develop leadership skills through music. I compared leadership in band rehearsals to administrative meetings with a sample non-governmental organization that uses music to improve the lives of young African descendants. I focused my observations on communication and problem solving in both rehearsals and meetings. My findings suggest that music contributes to the leadership development of adolescents through the music per se and through its social context. The social context for leadership development includes what I define as the racial-musical-educational project in Salvador and other recreational activities. Music contributes to leadership development by providing a communal experience in which adolescents can efficiently rehearse negotiations of power in a ludic setting that mitigates personal conflicts.

Keywords: music, leadership, adolescence, Salvador, Brazil