

**LYRICS OF NATIONAL ANTHEMS IN LATIN AMERICA SIGNAL AGGRESSIVE
ATTITUDES WITH BUSINESS IMPLICATIONS**

ALFREDO BEHRENS

FIA Business School

Rua José Alves da Cunha Lima, 172

São Paulo, 05360-050

Brazil

January 2013

alfredobehrens@gmail.com

<http://www.fia.com.br/internationalmba>

LYRICS OF NATIONAL ANTHEMS IN LATIN AMERICA SIGNAL AGGRESSIVE ATTITUDES WITH BUSINESS IMPLICATIONS

ABSTRACT

Where patron-client relationships prevail management ought to be different from the one practiced in countries where patron-client relationships are mostly frowned upon. However, this is rarely discussed and this paper attempts to bridge the gap. Some differences between both types of societies, clientelist and not, are related to the nature of the relationship between the leader and her subordinates and this includes the people's attitudes and responses to aggressive behaviors. I focus on leadership attitudes regarding aggression in Spanish and Portuguese speaking New World countries. I argue that their national anthems are permanent symbolic instruments seeking to promote coalescence among heterogeneous peoples and that in that process they replicate cultures, as any business organization would want to. Anthems also define in and out groups and I rank the national anthems according to the profusion of confrontational expressions in them and suggest that the latter matches the countries' behavior in international relations, in the extent of the repression of its people, and shapes business events such as international negotiations or leadership styles within the country. I find that the national anthems of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico and Uruguay suggest that Brazil's anthem is the expression of a people oriented to win-win partnerships while the anthems of Argentina, Chile and Mexico show a people oriented to winner-takes all ones. Uruguay is in a transition zone between both and resembles, in terms of level of aggressiveness, the United States national anthem.

Keywords: National Anthems. Latin America, Leadership. Innovation

LYRICS OF NATIONAL ANTHEMS IN LATIN AMERICA POINT TO AGGRESSIVE ATTITUDES WITH BUSINESS IMPLICATIONS

INTRODUCTION

Because national culture nurtures the organizational culture it should pay to understand how national culture frames attitudes to collaboration or aggression. In Latin America patron-client relationships have for long been seen to predominate (Kaufman, 1974), possibly as an extension of the centralist tradition of the Catholic Church and the unequal distribution of power stemming from the feudal system of the Iberian Peninsula, transferred to Latin America.

Patron-client relationships take place among unequals, and are generally foster dependency (Goodell, 1985). The hierarchical lens sees an exchange of protection by the powerful for loyalty by the vulnerable. However, patron-client relationships may also be functional and help shape both routine activities as well as extraordinary ones (Auyero et al., 2009; Behrens, 2009), and being predominant and functional it would be surprising if they did not permeate private business organizations as well (Behrens, 2009). This is what justifies analyzing patron-client relationships in terms of their impact in managerial practices in Latin America. Because culture takes so long to change, it should pay to work management techniques into patron-client relationships and not attempting to either pretend they do not exist or to prevent them from infiltrating the organization by recruitment policies which end up limiting the talent pool.

Because patron-client relationships work within groups, out-groups must work out their own relationships to survive the competition for scarce resources (Landis, Bennet & Bennet, 2003). Strong in and out groups breed trouble which may mean war at the international level, civil war at the national level. According to Landis et al (2003, 419),

“Hostility towards outgroups help strengthen our sense of belonging...” one might add that it results on lower productivity at the business organization level. Because patron-client relationships feed on inequality, at the workplace they offer ample opportunities for bullying and other forms of aggression which undermine productivity (Georgakopoulos & Wilkin & Kent, 2011; Gardner, & Johnson 2001).

Since the now dominant classes in Latin America descend from the Iberian Peninsula, where they left for the Indies at the same time and after centuries of the Reconquista struggle against Muslim invaders; one would assume that the peoples of the Spanish-speaking countries would be more alike Brazilians than they in fact are.

Because the differences are real and they affect propensities to aggression; which shape important business outcomes such as negotiations or “the way things are done” at organizations, those differences deserve more attention than they have previously received.

I contend that the difference in behavior between Brazilians and the rest of the Spanish-speaking Americas stems from the Portuguese success in discovering the Atlantic route to India, which helped them turn into merchants and develop an orientation to win-win solutions, and bequeathed this attitude to Brazilians. On the other hand, in their quest for a western route to the Indies the Americas distracted the Spanish. In the Americas the Spanish found no commercial flow and when they found gold the Spanish were under no pressure to evolve and remained aristocratic and belligerent, pursuing winner-takes-all relationships, a *societas leonina* (Mousourakis, 2102, 235).

I will seek to show that, organizationally, in Latin America, these different attitudes would give a non-confrontational Brazilian workforce, and a confrontational Spanish-

speaking one. These differences shape the style of collaboration at work, the acceptability of leadership styles, and the styles of relating to out-groups.

I will first deal with the dynamics of leadership as pertinent to hierarchical heterogeneous societies like the Latin Americans are, next I will seek to show the importance symbols have to help coalesce heterogeneous people – then I will resort to the illustrate the difference in aggression levels in the lyrics of national anthems – because they are the expression of the leading structural élite - to illustrate the nature of the differences between Spanish-speaking Americas and Brazil. I will illustrate these differences in international relations and in the repressive attitudes of their peoples, and finally I will illustrate how those differences impinge upon business.

LEADERSHIP AS A DYNAMIC RELATIONSHIP

Leadership is the outcome of a dynamic process, not a static one because it results of interaction during which identities emerge. (Bedeian & Hunt, 2006; Collinson, 2005; Gemmill & Oakley, 1992; Gronn, 2002; Parry, 1998; Uhl-Bien, Marion, & McKelvey, 2007).

Most research on leadership identity concedes that leadership is the result of a process which leads to a crystallization of the identities which then would become ingrained in the personalities, separating leaders from followers (DeRue et al., 2009; Komives, et al, 2005). This is what allows for static perspectives on leadership relationships; whether focused on the leaders (Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995) or on the followers (Collinson, 2006; Kellerman, 2008; Van Vugt et al., 2008).

At a mature stage of the process the leader is more readily identified on account of her place within a structure. Yet the static picture of the hierarchical structure does not explain the becoming into positions of leadership, which occasionally portrays situations where some

people in supervisory positions are not readily recognized as leaders (Ancona & Backman, 2008; Bedeian & Hunt, 2006) while some people in follower positions effectively lead others (Charan, Drotter, & Noel, 2000; Spreitzer & Quinn, 2001).

The reciprocal influencing of people during a process may result in a variety of leadership/follower dyads that may depend more on the phase or task at hand and less on the organizational structure. Studies on team leadership offer a more fluid perspective in leadership, where any team member at one time or another may fulfill the role of leader. Perspectives on this “distributed” form of leadership (Bedeian & Hunt, 2006; Collinson, 2005; Gemmill & Oakley, 1992; Gronn, 2002; Parry, 1998; Uhl-Bien, Marion, & McKelvey, 2007) stem from Selnick (1957).

More recent approaches to team leadership offer a closer understanding of why an success oriented team will want to share distributed leadership as a more effective way to attain a shared goal (Carson, Tesluk, & Marrone, 2007; Morgeson, DeRue, & Karam, 2010; Pearce & Conger, 2003). However, they do not explain why the people making a team recognize themselves as such to the point of agreeing to surrender, even if temporarily, their leadership aspirations in order to meet a common goal.

It is in this sense that DeRue and Ashford (2010) call for approaching the leadership process from a broader context is very promising. These authors argue that self-concept alone do not make leader and follower identities (Day & Harrison, 2007; Day & Lance, 2004; DeRue, Ashford & Cotton, 2009). Instead, they argue that any identity, whether that of the leader or the follower, must integrate three perspectives: a) the individual internalization of the self-concept, b) the relational recognition of roles and c) collective endorsement of the relationship.

The first perspective requires that the process of interaction guides the formation of self-concepts which are internalized in roles. The second that the roles are recognized by the other and the last that the larger group or social body sanctions those roles (Brewer & Gardner, 1996), contributing to the legitimacy of the leader-follower relationship.

This approach helps address the issue of becoming into roles and addresses the tension that may stem from the lack of legitimacy by the broader social context. This is particularly relevant to societies in the New World which have sprung from successive waves of immigrants from different parts of the world, some of them forced as slaves, and which landed on a world which was “New” to the explorers, though not to those who were already there and which were forcibly folded into the workforce.

Allowing for a broader social endorsement opens a more complex process for settling the legitimacy of social roles as those of leaders and followers. It is not only a question of the numbers involved but of the possible greater diversity of cultural backgrounds, as are relevant to the New World.

Society shapes orientations to self-concept (Chiu & Hong, 2007; Kashima et al., 1995). People’s view of the world differs according to the extent in which their societies emphasize the significance of the person or the group (Maznevski et al., 2002; Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952; Triandis, 1994). Where the significance of the group is higher, the importance of interpersonal relationships will be prioritized (Kashima et al., 1995; Triandis et al., 1988) and this will affect the perception, between groups of different backgrounds, of the roles and styles of reciprocity between leaders and followers (Cooper & Thatcher, 2010).

The construction of this broader social context consensus in the New World is an ongoing process which has taken the better part of the last four hundred years, and which has led to the reshaping of national boundaries through wars, to polity boundaries through Civil

Wars and which has spilled over into organizational structures, whether national or business ones.

The degree and ways in which an employee identifies with the organization and its leader influences business performance as it involves the amount of effort deployed, the extent of cooperation at work as well as the workers perception on fairness, trust, support and reward. (Bartel, 2001; Dukerich, Golden, & Shortell, 2002; Mael & Ashforth, 1992). Besides, individuals identify with groups as an outcome of their motives for identification (Dutton, Dukerich, & Harquail, 1994; Mael & Ashforth, 1992).

This is why the focus of this work is to highlight the collective dimension of the leadership process which accomplishes subordination, in order to suggest the underlying forces which promote allegiances that endorse acceptable social roles like leaders and followers. This is the dynamic that results in better accepted organizational leadership processes.

I will first describe the role of symbols in the process by means of which people identify with groups to form tribes. I will then argue that as tribes migrate and fold into others some of their symbols are left behind, but others, are carried on and still permeate how the members of the larger tribe align themselves to the styles of leaders. I will argue that in Latin America, over a century year old national anthems stimulate coalescence and set the path for the style of organizational inclusion. The style of submission of followers - through cooptation or repression - entail different organizational outcomes which are likely to impinge on the size of the organization and on the level of its productivity.

SYMBOLS AND TRIBES

As in Robert Frost's (1964) "Death of a Hired Man"¹ a person belongs to a group in the sense that when he wants to be part of it he cannot be rejected or denied. The group is an identity which the individual carries with him. In this age of mass migrations across cultural and physical distances the group's identity are the creeds, morality, traditions, chants, oaths of dedication to names, region, languages and accents, plus webs of loyalty, ergo culture, that peoples carry with them (Isaacs, 1989, 43). The symbols provide the call which lead to people rallying around the symbolic object. "By shouting the same cry, pronouncing the same words, ... they become and feel as one." (Durkeim, 2001, 175). Symbols are more than ethnicity, for they collectively feed the wellspring of nationalism and its overriding staccato force.

The collective acceptance of the binding elements, as embodied in the group's culture, is at the root of the individual's relationship with hierarchy, as in the King-subject, state-citizen or boss-worker dyad; because the group's culture legitimizes the place of an individual in the group, top to bottom. When diverse groups come together, as in migrations, their identities may collide but find a way of accommodation as long as the benefits compensate the losses, such as in self-esteem in the pecking order ascribed by the new collective group. This accommodation may lead to syncretism in religions, blending the elite's Catholicism with African slave's animistic deities like in Brazil's Candomblé (Bastide, 2001) or Cuba's Santería (Brown, 2003).

Yet, the breakdown of the collective acquiescence challenges to the point of rupture the acceptability of the new order, as in the case of white supremacy in the USA (Roediger,

¹ 'Home is the place where, when you have to go there/They have to take you in.'

2007) or in South Africa (Isaacs, page 44), or in Latin America, where the history of repression may have led to what was called “Societies of fear” (Koonings & Krujit, 1999).

That is when long hidden beliefs and symbols, which remained as an undercurrent for long, emerge with a volcanic force. The hidden undercurrent may find an expression in preferences for the speech pattern and content which is a throwback to the times of the original tribal war-cry.

War cry as a symbol of the tribe

While the war cry is a signal for tribal attack, it is also a symbol of the tribe, a symbol of identity through belonging (Ferguson & Mansbach 1996). Many Arab tribes could be identified by their unique battle cry (Zdanowski, 1994). Central Asian polities under Soviet Rule would keep their unique uran (battle-cry) as a source of identity (Paksoy, 1989). The first crusaders would cry *Deus vult* (God’s will!) in attempting to recover the Holy Sepulcher (Wilson, 2000). A Maori battle cry: “*Nal Nat mate rawa*”, was heard by a contemporary author being cried “exultingly and tauntingly” by a warrior (Maori, 1863). The German tribes fighting the Roman legions would have their own war-cry while the Romans would only issue their war cry when the enemy was within a javelin throw (Campbell, 2002).

The intimate association of the battle-cry with a polity leads authors to consider the battle-cry may have given the name to a people; as in the Celtic *Caledo*, derived from *kal* (Klieforth & Munro, 2004), or Israel, the country, whose name may stem from a war-cry (de Geus, 1976). A shared war cry, sometimes accompanied by flags, the sound of horns, trumpets or drums, by the use of shields showing patterns, all would signal kin (Davies, Krebs, West, 2012) a brotherhood, a tribe, as in a Muslim war cry “*One! One!*” (Khatir, 1998), and was an unambiguous signal of alert for its members, as expressed by a Pakhtun

girl of twelve which “cowers in fear on a string cot” inside her house at the “energetic tattoo” of the war drums in Afghanistan (Hunter & Whitten, 1982).

The war-cry made it through modern times as in “Remember the Alamo” (McClure, 2007), as in “Geronimo” (Trahair, 1994) or as in Kosovo...“... the warrior myth of a warrior tribe...transformed into the war cry of warlike tribal chiefs.” (Čolović 2002, 11).

From ancient times to the present, from East to West, North to South, a war cry has been an expression of identity. Others, like shields, drums, horns or trumpets, may have been harder to travel with. But the intimacy of a tribe’s war cry is portable enough to carry with migrations. The the war-cry may have lost meaning in new lands, but the pitch, rhythm and speech pattern may have remained deeply ingrained in displaced communities. This is hard to prove as it would require the collaboration of sound engineers. Besides, the academic cannon requires publications and print is a poor vehicle for depiction of war cries, making it an inauspicious topic for research. Witness, for instance, the difficulty with which the war cry of some American Indians of the plains is be illustrated in pring: “a high-pitched shrill cry while beating the mouth with an open palm” (Sapir,1990, 434). That illustration is enough to remind of films of cowboys and Indians; but hardly useful to help separate one Amerindian tribe from another.

National anthems in Latin America as war cries

National anthems in Latin America came into being as a result of the independence struggles of the 19th century. The first half of that century welcomed most national anthems which generally show a patriotic eulogization of their recent history which, in the case of Spanish-speaking countries, had Spain as the main enemy. National anthems offer the sense-making metaphors of the social order of that time (Cerulo, 1989).

Table 1.			
Samples of lyrics of national Latin American anthems			
Brazilian	Argentine	Chilean	Mexican
Laying eternally in a splendorous cradle, At the sound of the sea and the light of heaven,/ Shine, Oh Brazil,/ garland of America, Illuminated by the sun of the new world! The most elegant land in the World/ Your smiling, lovely fields have more flowers;/ "Our forests have more life,"/ "Our life" in thy bosom "more love".	But mountain ranges and walls Resound with horrible din:/ The whole country is disturbed with screams/ Of revenge, war and rage./ In the fiery tyrants the envy/ Pestiferous bile spat/ Their bloody flag they rise/ Provoking the cruellest fight.	If the foreign cannon seeks our people, daring, invade;/ We will unsheathe our sharp steel and victory or death confront./ With his blood the proud Araucanian bequeathed by inheritance, their courage;/ and his sword in hand will not hesitate to defend Chile's honor.	Fatherland always, rather than your sons rendered helpless/ And under the yoke, their necks in sway, Our countryside be soaked with blood, On blood their feet trample./ And may your temples, palaces and towers/ Collapse with horrid clamor,/ And their ruins cry:/ This was the country of one thousand heroes.

While a national anthem cannot be called a war cry, they resemble the latter in that they feed the rallying symbol of the tribe. They are statements by means of which a group expresses its distinctiveness with regards to outsiders, contributing to an identity which in

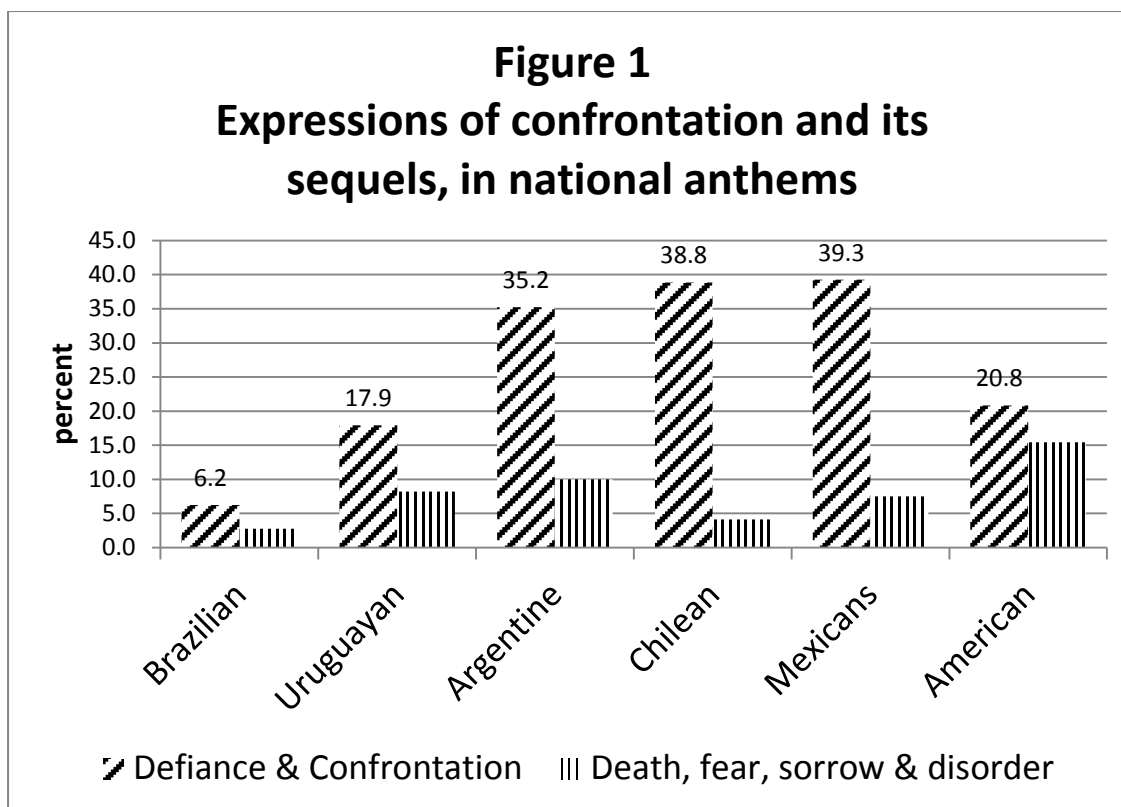
Latin America has superseded regimes, in as much as regimes have changed but anthems have not.

This crystallization of the message may become dated. This was the case of the Argentine national anthem whose original (1813) version, by 1900 was too insulting to the Spaniards which then comprised a large share of immigrants to Argentina. Thus, the Argentines removed the most insulting innuendos from the national anthem, though the allusion to the Spanish “lion” remained.

Still today all national anthems in the region, except the Brazilian one, stress the painstaking struggle for independence and in this sense display an impressive array of confrontational wording. See Table 1 for examples. The anthems play during patriotic festivities, often in civic public events and are sung at school by children.

The fact that Latin American national anthems have displayed such a remarkable permanence in the lyrical repertoire of the region suggests that they might still today contribute to reinforce and show the nature of the peoples, and that different degrees of combativeness, as expressed in those national anthems, might be associated with different proclivities to engage in conflict or defiance, including in business.

To figure out the degree of combativeness the lyrics of selected national anthems I decomposed them into their basic wording and their expressions of defiance and confrontation and organized them as a percentage frequency distribution which I illustrate in Figure 1. There I offer the same for the United States of America (American) for comparison. See Appendix A for the classification of the expressions of the national anthems.



In Figure 1 the Brazilian national anthem expresses the lowest level of expressions of defiance and confrontation and the rest of the graph shows an increasing gradient of combativeness from the Uruguayan anthem to the Mexican one, with the Argentine a close runner-up to the Chilean one. Interestingly enough, the Uruguayan national anthem, as befitting a country inserted between Brazil and Argentina, illustrates a zone of transition between the relatively peaceful Brazilian anthem and the more combative Argentine one. Actually a similar analysis performed on the anthem of the peoples of the South of Brazil (not shown), bordering Uruguay (Brazilian state Rio Grande do Sul), suggests a cultural transition between Brazilian and Uruguayan cultures on combativeness.

Furthermore, Figure 1 also suggests that the anthems which depict a higher percentage of expressions regretting the sequels of war, like death, fear, sorrow and disorder, also limit the propensity of aggressive expressions, as in the case of the Uruguayan and American anthems.

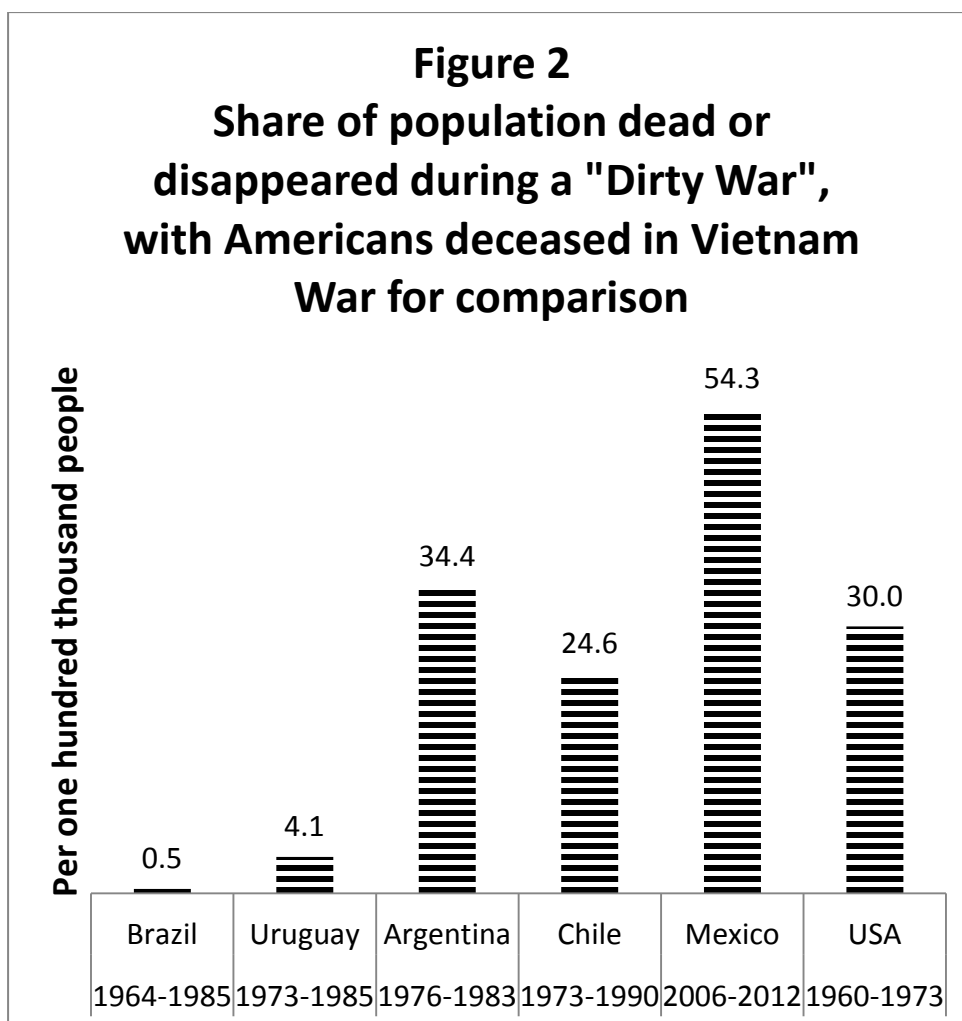
The belligerent attitudes expressed in national anthems are highly symbolic. Winnicott (1984, 84) has stated that "Of all human tendencies aggression, in particular, is hidden, disguised, side-tracked, ascribed to outside agencies, and when it appears it is always a difficult task to trace it to its origins " yet in some national anthems aggression is hardly hidden or even disguised nor the responsibility for it attributed to third parties. In those national anthems expressions of aggression are overt, and the repetition of the anthems may legitimize ruthlessness when conflict arises. If so, one should find evidence that a gradient of belligerent attitudes as shown in the 19th century national anthems may find expression in 20th century confrontations.

FINDINGS

War, however violent, has rules. Yet, when the rule of law breaks down, as during political regimes change; Hobbesian ethics may prevail, as they did during Cold War dictatorial periods in Latin America. Then, military leaders conducted what the Argentine military junta itself referred to as "Dirty War" (Guerra Sucia). Basically, that meant that repression to dissidents would have no limits and may include a long list of human rights infringements including, but not limited to, rape, torture, abductions followed by the disappearance of the victims (Schumacher, 1984).

The total number of direct victims of the "Dirty Wars", depending on the country, is three to five times the number of people murdered or disappeared, but gauging the total trauma would require making some harder decisions on the extent of the violence committed in each country. The trauma and sequels of this type of violence is impossible to measure fully, but some proxy is achieved by drawing a baseline counting of people disappeared or murdered during each period in each country.

At this first approach to the issue I limited the counting to the number of murders and disappearances in each country. Even that is difficult as the victimized societies could only begin to sift truth from hearsay once the political regime had returned to a civilized normality. Even then there has been more than one body count in each country as time allowed to uncover more evidence. To cut the margin of error in this work I have resorted to work with the latest data officially uncovered once normalcy arrived. Appendix B offers additional sources for the reader to understand the complexity of the issue.



Sources for data of Figure 2 are supplied in Appendix B.

Figure 2 illustrates that, with much variation from country to country, the ones with most aggressive national anthems, or with lowest regret of war-losses, like the Chilean anthem (Figure 1), also victimized a larger share of its residents.

The data for Mexico is not strictly comparable. Mexico shows a significant undercurrent of violence throughout the 20th century, from its revolutionary period in the early part of the century through the violent repression of a peaceful demonstration of at the square of Tlatelolco in October 2 of 1968, during which 300 people seem to have died (Clarín, 2008), to the Zapatista movement of the close of the century (Holloway & Peláez, 1998). Yet Mexico did not suffer a regime change during the Cold War. This would have allowed to single out a specific period of civil war, and relate it to the size of Mexican population. The Mexican data shown in figure 2 covers a different period, the morbidity is comparable but the Mexican deaths are not political but related to drug trafficking and its repression.

Nonetheless, even eliminating Mexico from the data, and taking Brazilian morbidity during “Dirty War”, proportionally the lowest of the lot, as a basis for comparison, as in Table 2, shows that “Dirty War” morbidity in Uruguay is eight times the Brazilian one, while the Argentine and Chilean ones are, respectively, about 70 and almost 50 times the Brazilian one. The ranking matches the propensity for aggressiveness shown in the national anthems in Figure 1.

The differences in propensity to aggressiveness, if national anthems are anything to go by, are substantial. Do they play out in the real world, as in international relations or in business?

Table 2	
Morbidity of "Dirty War" compared to Brazil's own	
Country	Index
Brazil	1
Uruguay	8
Chile	48
Argentina	74

Index data was standardized to population Size as per Appendix B.

Aggressiveness in international relations

The last 150 year record of international conflicts fits the national anthem revelations. Chile has been at war with Peru and Bolivia from 1879 through 1884 (Sater, 2008), almost at war with Argentina in 1978 (Clarín, 1999); and Argentina has been at war with Paraguay, 1864 through 1867² and the United Kingdom in 1982 (Gibran, 2008), besides harassing Uruguay on account of border disputes in 2012 (Cronista.com, 2012).

Admittedly these warring examples would not be much when compared to the warring attitudes of European nations; also one should concede that 19th century wars were held at a time that all the New World was consolidating its frontiers. After all, the War of Paraguay (1864-1870) cost about 400 thousand lives but the American Civil War was about 50% higher at about the same time.

Yet even if one were to ignore the South American conflicts of the 19th century, the ones of the 20th century seem too much, particularly on account of their seeming pettiness. Argentina blocks (2012) Uruguay's attempts to dredge a canal barely off its coast; a Papal mediation halted the occupation by Argentina of islands (55⁰⁰s - 55⁰³⁰s) disputed with Chile, which would have triggered a conflict between both countries around (Church, 2011).

² Brazil joined Argentina and Uruguay in the Paraguayan War, but it is usually argued that Paraguay was the aggressor as it first attacked Brazilian territory on its West and its South (Kraay & Whigham, 2004).

Aggressiveness in the business environment

Given the contentiousness expressed in the Argentine national anthem and shown in its relations with its neighbors, it would be likely to show as well in the country's negotiations with the private sector. Indeed, even considering only the last 15 years there is ample evidence of such heavy-handedness as well, particularly when it comes to concessions to utilities such as the reverted privatization of waterworks (Dagdeviren, 2011), or the also reverted oil and gas concession to Repsol in 2012 (Bronstein, 2012), or largest default on foreign sovereign debt in history (Cave, 2001) and the ensuing renegotiation as the one conducted by the late President Néstor Kirchner, which rendered a 70% hair cut to creditors (Bickel, 2005).

Without consultation with Argentina in 2005 Uruguay authorized along the boundary river Uruguay multibillion paper plant investments by Finnish Botnia and Spanish ENCE. Argentina retaliated at the International Court of Justice, blocked the throughway of an international bridge communicating both countries and reportedly also engaged in arm twisting ENCE, which had important business in Argentina (BBC, 2010; Economist, 2006).

When it comes to aggression in business Argentina is not limited to international heavy-handedness, it is also manifest at the workplace making Argentina one of the countries singled out by the International Labor Organization (ILO) as one of the countries with highest rates of assault and sex harassment at the workplace (Bolger, 1998).

Since its re-institutionalization to a democratic regime Chile has shown a softer face to the private sector than Argentina has. There have been protests which were heavily repressed, but nothing comparable to its recent past. However, discontent is mounting as educational and health costs rise and the frequency of protests may end up challenging the right-leaning current president (Economist, 2012).

Yet the current underlying violence at Chilean schools, where up to 85% of students have reported bullying incidents (Pérez & Martínez, no date) and where at least 10% of school aged children reported recurrent bullying (Coleman, 2012) suggests that there is a background legitimation of aggression, be it on adults (i.e. Dirty War) or on children (bullying at school) that has probably spilled over to the workplace where it remains unaddressed possibly because a normal state of affairs implies in organizational aggression.

DISCUSSION

This paper has dealt with organizational aggression and the focus is business, not criminality, where Brazil does not figure as kindly. In fact, United Nations' statistics on criminality point indicate that Brazil has the highest rate of homicides of the countries under scrutiny in this paper. Brazil's 22.4 average rate of homicide per 100,000 for 2005-2009 inhabitants is the highest and amounts to four times the Argentine or Uruguayan average, six times the Chilean one and twice the Mexican one (UNDOC, 2012).

However, the high relevance of interpersonal violence in Brazil is not the subject of this paper. Critics may want to argue that this stance undermines the thrust of the argument upheld in this paper that high aggressiveness in national anthems leads to highly aggressive organizational behavior; others might argue in the contrary, that since interpersonal violence is prevalent among the Brazilian excluded, who do not have much exposure to national anthems, high interpersonal violence in Brazil would uphold this paper's thesis. Both are wrong. Interpersonal violence is of a different nature than what drives a State turning against its own people; besides, the fact that the poor are overrepresented in prisons is more an expression of their the violence perpetrated on them by their tacit social exclusion than something nurtured by the poor, the vast majority of whom wish to lead their lives in peace (Milani and Branco, 2004).

CONCLUSION

The data discussed in this paper supports the hypotheses that national anthems' density in the eulogization of aggression tends to legitimize organizational aggression. Those countries with high aggression density in their national anthems, like Argentina and Chile, also report high morbidity during conflicts as those experienced during the "Dirty Wars" and a higher frequency of international disputes, as well as a higher proclivity to resolve them by the use of force.

Intermediate aggressiveness levels as per national anthems of countries, like Uruguay, or regions, like Rio Grande do Sul in Brazil, also show intermediate aggression levels in terms of morbidity. Something similar was reported in terms of international aggression by the same countries, or even in terms of aggressive stances business stances. While Chile has reported possibly the most business friendly environment, it continues to report high levels of aggression at school; and it would be a surprise if bullying at the workplace did not fester as well.

Organizational cultures draw much of their inspiration and legitimacy from national cultures. Where aggression and promoting underlying winner-takes-all attitudes are seen as legitimate way of entering into partnerships, these partnerships are unlikely to render anything much better than a *societas leoninas*. Such partnerships are doomed by definition.

This work has not proven but illustrated that the different levels of aggression showed by these societies match conventional talk. In fact, this work also suggests that their anthems, seen as war cries, help extend a warring stance well beyond the circumstances that gave place to it.

This work has also drawn lessons which are relevant for other emerging markets. For instance, the Algerian national anthem "Qassaman" could have arguably fitted the fifties, during the war for independence from France. But five to six decades later young Algerians at school still sing "We swear by the lightning that destroys, By the streams of generous blood being shed" / .../ And the sound of machine guns as our melody." This work has drawn the attention to the social and business consequences of such national anthems.

To business, warring national anthems should suggest a risky business environment, and governments interested in supporting higher rates of investment, particularly attracting foreign investment, should consider instilling into their schooling systems teaching the benefits of cooperation and increased levels of trust, also of outsiders, if not also updating the national anthems to portray current circumstances and help build fairer societies where business may prosper in the long run.

REFERENCES

- Ancona, D., & Backman, E. V. 2008. Distributed, shared or collective leadership: A new leadership model for the collaborative era? Paper presented at the annual meeting of the *Academy of Management*, Anaheim, CA.
- Auyero, J.; Lapegna, P.; Poma Page, F. 2009. Patronage Politics and Contentious Collective Action: A Recursive Relationship. *Latin American Politics and Society*; 51(3): 1-31.
- Bartel, C. 2001. Social comparisons in boundary-spanning work: Effects of community outreach on members' organizational identity and identification. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 46: 379-413.
- Behrens, A. 2009. *Culture and Management in the Americas*. Stanford University Press.

- Bastide, Roger. 2001. *O candomblé da Bahia: rito nagô*. Translated by Maria Isaura Pereira de Queiroz. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras.
- BBC. 2010. *Conflicto de las papeleras: una condena moral*. April 21, 2010. http://www.bbc.co.uk/mundo/america_latina/2010/04/100420_2226_la_haya_fallo_papeleras_analisis_fp.shtml Accessed on November 25, 2012.
- Bedeian, A. G., & Hunt, J. G. 2006. Academic amnesia and vestigial assumptions of our forefathers. *Leadership Quarterly*, 17: 190–205.
- Bickel, M. 2005. *Default and Debt Swap in Argentina: Kirchner's fair Haircut*. Transnational Economic Law Research Center, Martin-Luther-University. Germany. <http://telc.jura.uni-halle.de/sites/default/files/telc/PolicyPaper12.pdf> Accessed December 12, 2012.
- Bolger, A. 1998. Eight hours of threats, bullying and assault: Management violence at work. *Financial Times* [London (UK)] 20 July 1998: 13.
- Brewer, M. B., & Gardner, W. 1996. Who is this “we”? Levels of collective identity and self-representations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. 71: 83–93.
- Bronstein, H. 2012. Argentina nationalizes oil company YPF. Chicago Tribune, May 04, http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2012-05-04/news/sns-rt-us-argentina-yfpbre8421gv-20120503_1_argentina-risks-ypf-spain-s-repsol Accessed on December 27, 2012.
- Brown, David H. 2003. *Santería enthroned: art, ritual, and innovation in an Afro-Cuban religion*. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- Campbell. J. B. 2002. *War and Society in Imperial Rome: 31 BC - AD 284*. Hove, East Sussex, U.K.: Psychology Press. ISBN0415278821, 9780415278829

- Carson, J. B., Tesluk, P. E., & Marrone, J. A. 2007. Shared leadership in teams: An investigation of antecedent conditions and performance. *Academy of Management Journal*, 50: 1217–1234.
- Cave, A. 2001. Argentina to default on \$132bn debts. *The Telegraph*, 24 Dec 2001. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/economics/2746711/Argentina-to-default-on-132bn-debts.html> Accessed on January 7, 2013.
- Cerulo, K. 1989. Sociopolitical Control and the Structure of National Symbols: An Empirical Analysis of National Anthems. *Social Forces*, 68(1):76-99.
- Charan, R., Drotter, S., & Noel, J. 2000. *The leadership pipeline: How to build the leadership-powered company*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Chiu, C., Hong, Y. 2007. Cultural processes: Basic principles. In E. T. Higgins & A. E. Kruglanski (Eds.), *Social psychology: Handbook of basic principles*: 785–804. New York: Guilford Press.
- Church, J. 2011. Argentine-Chilean Relations in the Shadow of the Debt Crisis. *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 30(2):148-162. doi:10.1111/j.1470-9856.2010.00444.x
- Clarín, 1999. *La crisis Austral: el conflict entre la Argentina y Chile. Canal de Beagle: Pinochet quería invadir hasta Bahía Blanca*. November, 25, 1999. <http://edant.clarin.com/diario/1999/11/25/i-03201d.htm> Accessed on 25 November, 2012.
- Clarín, 2008. *La Masacre de Tlatelolco, a 40 años de la represión en México*. October 2 of 2008. <http://edant.clarin.com/diario/2008/10/02/elmundo/i-01772499.htm> Accessed on 25 November, 2012.

Coleman, M. 2012. One in ten Chilean children suffer daily bullying, survey reveals. *The Santiago Times*. <http://www.santiagotimes.cl/chile/education/24101-one-in-ten-chilean-children-suffer-daily-bullying-survey-reveals> Accessed on January 7, 2013.

Collinson, D. 2005. Dialectics of leadership. *Human Relations*, 58: 1419–1442.

Collinson, D. 2006. Rethinking followership: A poststructuralist analysis of follower identities. *Leadership Quarterly*, 17: 179–189.

Čolović, I. (2002). *The Politics of Symbol in Serbia: Essays in Political Anthropology*.

London: C. Hurst & Co. Publishers, ISBN 1850655561, 9781850655565

Cooper, D., Thatcher, S. M. B. 2010. Identification in organizations: the role of self-concept orientations and identification motives. *Academy of Management Review*. 35(4): 516–538.

Cronista.com 2012. **La isla Martín García abre un nuevo conflicto entre Argentina y Uruguay**. May 7th, 2012. <http://www.cronista.com/especiales/La-isla-Martin-Garcia-abre-un-nuevo-conflicto-entre-Argentina-y-Uruguay-20120507-0021.html> Accessed on November 30th, 2012.

Dagdeviren, H. 2011. Political Economy of Contractual Disputes in Private Water and Sanitation: Lessons from Argentina. *Annals of Public & Cooperative Economics*, 82(1):25-44. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8292.2010.00428.x

Davies, N. B., Krebs, J. R., West, S. A. 2012. *An Introduction to Behavioural Ecology*.

New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Day, D. V., & Harrison, M. M. 2007. A multilevel, identity based approach to leadership development. *Human Resource Management Review*, 17: 360–373.

Day, D. V., & Lance, C. E. 2004. Understanding the development of leadership complexity through latent growth modeling. In D. V. Day, S. J. Zaccaro, & S.M. Halpin (Eds.), *Leader development for transforming organizations*: 41– 69. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

DeRue, D. S., Ashford, S. J., & Cotton, N. C. 2009. Assuming the mantle: Unpacking the process by which individuals internalize a leader identity. In L. M. Roberts & J. E. Dutton (Eds.), *Exploring Positive Identities and Organizations: Building a Theoretical and Research Foundation*. (pp.217-236). New York: Routledge.

DeRue, D. S., Ashford, S. J. 2010. Who will lead and who will follow? A social process of leadership identity. *Academy of Management Review*, 35(4): 627–647.

Dukerich, J. M., Golden, B. R., & Shortell, S. M. 2002. Beauty is in the eye of the beholder: The impact of organizational identification, identity, and image on the cooperative behaviors of physicians. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 47: 507–533.

Durkheim, E. 2001. *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*. Oxford University Press.

Dutton, J. E., Dukerich, J. M., & Harquail, C. V. 1994. Organizational images and member identification. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 39: 239–263.

Economist, The. 2006. *The Americas: Arm-twisting; Argentina and Uruguay*. Oct 7:68

<http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.london.edu/docview/224015063> Accessed on December, 12, 2012.

Economist, The. 2012. *Progress and its discontents*. April 14th.
<http://www.economist.com/node/21552566>

Ferguson, Y. H. & Mansbach, R. W. 1996. *Politics: Authority, Identities, and Change*.

University of South Carolina Press. ISBN 1570030774, 9781570030772

Gemmill, G., & Oakley, J. 1992. Leadership—An alienating social myth. *Human Relations*, 45: 113–129.

De Geus, C. H. J. 1976. *The tribes of Israel: an investigation into some of the presuppositions of Martin Noth's amphictyony hypothesis*. Assen, Netherlands: Van Gorcum.

Frost, Robert. 1964. *Longer Poems: The Death of the Hired Man*. Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Gardner, S. and Johnson, P.R. 2001. The leaner meaner workplace: Strategies for handling bullies at work. *Employee Relations Today*, 28(2):23-36. DOI: 10.1002/ert.1012

Georgakopoulos, A.; Wilkin, L. Kent, B. 2011. Workplace Bullying: A Complex Problem in Contemporary Organizations. *International Journal of Business and Social Science*, 2(3):1-20.

Gibran, D. 2008. *The Falklands War: Britain Versus the Past in the South Atlantic*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland. ISBN0786437367, 9780786437368

Godell, G.E. 1985. Paternalism, Patronage, and Potlatch: The Dynamics of Giving and Being Given To. *Current Anthropology*, 26(2):247-266.

Graen, G. B., & Uhl-Bien, M. 1995. Development of leader member exchange (LMX) theory of leadership over 25years: Applying a multi-level multi-domain perspective. *Leadership Quarterly*, 6: 219–247.

Gronn, P. 2002. Distributed leadership as a unit of analysis. *Leadership Quarterly*, 13: 423–451.

Holloway, J. Peláez, E. (Eds.), 1998. *Zapatista! Reinventing Revolution in Mexico*, London: Pluto Press.

Hunter, D. E., Whitten, P. 1976. *Encyclopedia of anthropology*. Harper & Row.

ISBN 0060470941, 9780060470944.

Isaacs, Harold R. 1989. *Idols of the tribe: group identity and political change*. Boston, Harvard University Press.

Kashima, Y., Yamaguchi, S., Kim, U., Choi, S., Gelfand, M. J., & Yuki, M. 1995. Culture, gender, and self: A perspective from individualism-collectivism research. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 69: 925–937.

Kaufmann, R.R. 1974. A Critique of Patronage Theory: The Patron-Client Concept and Macro-Politics: Prospects and Problems *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 16(3):284-308. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0010417500012457>

Kellerman, B. 2008. **Followership: How followers are creating change and changing leaders**. Boston: Harvard Business School Press.

Khatir, I. I. U. 1998. *The Life of the Prophet Muhammad*. Reading, UK: Garnet.

Komives, S. R., Owen, J. E., Longerbeam, S. D., Mainella, F. C., & Osteen, L. 2005. Developing a leadership identity. *Journal of College Student Development*, 46: 593–611.

Koonings, K, Kruijt, D. 1999. *Societies of Fear: The Legacy of Civil War, Violence and Terror in Latin America*. London: Zed Books. ISBN1856497674, 9781856497671

- Kraay, H., Whigham, T. 2004. *I Die With My Country: Perspectives on the Paraguayan War, 1864-1870*. University of Nebraska Press. ISBN 0803227620, 9780803227620
- Kroeber, A., & Kluckhohn, C. 1952. *Culture*. New York: Meridian Books.
- Klieforth, L. A., Munro, R. J. 2004. *The Scottish Invention Of America Democracy and Human Rights*. University Press of America. ISBN-13: 978-0761827917
- Landis, D. Bennett, J. and Bennett, M. 2003. *Handbook of Intercultural Training*. London: SAGE. ISBN 0761923322, 9780761923329
- Mael, F., & Ashforth, B. E. 1992. Alumni and their alma mater: A partial test of the reformulated model of organizational identification. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 13: 103–123.
- Maori, Pakeha 1863. *Old New Zealand: Being Incidents Of Native Customs and Character in the Old Times*. London: Smiths, Elder & Co.
<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/33342/33342-h/33342-h.htm>
- Maznevski, M. L., DiStefano, J. J., Gomez, C. B., Noorderhaven, N. G., & Wu, P. 2002. Cultural dimensions at the individual level of analysis: The cultural orientations framework. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management*, 2: 275–295.
- McClure, A. K. 2007. *Colonel Alexander K. McClure's Recollections of Half a Century*. Pasadena, CA: Salem Press Co. ISBN1406759422, 9781406759426
- Milani, F. M.; Branco, A. U. 2004. Assessing Brazil's culture of Peace. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*. 10(2):161-174

- Morgeson, F. P., DeRue, D. S., & Karam, E. P. 2010. Leadership in teams: A functional approach to understanding leadership structures and processes. *Journal of Management*, 36: 5–39.
- Mousourakis, G. 2012. *Fundamentals of Roman Private Law*. New York: Springer. ISBN 3642293115, 9783642293115
- Paksoy, H.B. 1989. *Alpamysh: Central Asian Identity Under Russian Rule*.
Valdosta, GA: Association for the Advancement of Central Asian Research.
ISBN0962137901, 9780962137907
- Parry, K. W. 1998. Grounded theory and social process: A new direction for leadership research. *Leadership Quarterly*, 9: 85–105.
- Pérez, M. P.; Martínez, J. Bullying en Chile II: consecuencias y estrategias de prevención. *Universidad de Chile*. <http://medicinafamiliar.uc.cl/html/articulos/141.html> Accessed on January 7, 2013.
- Pearce, C. L., & Conger, J. A. 2003. *Shared leadership: Reframing the hows and whys of leadership*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Roediger DR 2007. *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*. 3rd edition. London: Verso.
- Sapir, E. 1990. Wishram Texts and Ethnography. In *The Collected Works of Edward Sapir*, Bright, W. (Ed.) Published by Walter de Gruyter. ISBN 3110871645, 9783110871647
- Sater, W. 2007. *Andean Tragedy: Fighting the War of the Pacific, 1879-1884*. Published by University of Nebraska Press. ISBN 080320759X, 9780803207592

Schumacher, E. 1984. Argentina and Democracy. *Foreign Affairs*. Summer 1984; 62(5):pp. 1070-1094.

Selznick, P. 1957. *Leadership in administration: A sociological interpretation*. New York: Harper & Row.

Spreitzer, G. M., & Quinn, R. E. 2001. *A company of leaders: Five disciplines for unleashing the power in your workforce*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Trahair, R. C. S. 1994. *From Aristotelian to Reaganomics: A Dictionary of Eponyms*.

Greenwood Publishing Group, ISBN 0313279616, 9780313279614

Triandis, H., Bontempo, R., Villareal, M., Asai, M., & Lucca, N. 1988. Individualism and collectivism: Cross-cultural perspectives on self-in-group relationships. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 54: 323–338.

Triandis, H. C. 1994. *Culture and social behavior*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Uhl-Bien, M., Marion, R., & McKelvey, B. 2007. Complexity leadership theory: Shifting leadership from the industrial age to the knowledge era. *Leadership Quarterly*, 18: 298–318.

UNDOC, 2012. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. <http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/data-and-analysis/homicide.html> Accessed on January 7, 2013.

Van Vugt, M., Hogan, R., & Kaiser, R. B. 2008. Leadership, followership, and evolution: Some lessons from the past. *American Psychologist*, 63: 182–196.

Wilson, E. O. 2000. *Sociobiology: The New Synthesis*. Harvard University Press.

ISBN 0674000897, 9780674000896

Winnicott, D. D. W. 1984. *Deprivation and Delinquency*. Ed. Winnicott, C. Sheperd, R. & Davis, M. London: Taylor & Francis.

Zdanowski, Jerzy. 1994. Military Organization of the Wahhabi Amirates (1750-1932). In Bidwell, R. L., Smith, R. Smart, J.R. (Eds) *New Arabian Studies 2*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press.

Appendix A.

Classification of expressions in national anthems	
Categories	Words preserved for classification of national anthems
Confrontation	Ablaze, alien, band, battle, battles, beasts, brave, broken, burning, bushing, canon, cervix, chains, clarion, clash, colony, confrontation, conquest, cruel, defended, defile, desecrate, despot, envy, fight, finishes, foot, furor, fury, gall, gird, horrible, , horrid, humiliates, infamy, inflamed, invader, Mars, mouth, name, neck (broken), necks (in sway), no, noise, oppression, oppressor, overcome, pawn, pestiferous, pit, plunge, precursor, quake, ramparts, resonate, revenge, reverberating, roar, robust, rumble, seasoned, shout, snaffle, soldier, sonorous, spat, spread, stain, step on, stones, strong, struggle, surrender, tear, tenacious, thirsty, thunder, tigers, to bow (oneself), tread, tremble, triumph, trophies, truce (no), tyrants, tyrants, undress, victory, vile, walls, war, warlike, warrior, wash, we launch, weapons, yoke
Death	Bloody, blood, bones, collapse, death, die, exhale, helpless, mortal, mourning, ruins, Serious, soaked (in blood), steel, tomb, tombs
Fear	Abysmal, fear, escape, night, shadow, threat, disorder, chaos
Sorrow	Cry, disturb, feel, pain, pain, sad, sadness, stunned
The text analysis of the national anthems required removing all pronouns, place names, numbers, prepositions; what was left was classified into a total of 26 categories of which only the above four were used in this paper. Classification paid attention to the meaning of the word in sentence when more than one meaning was possible.	

Appendix B. Data sources for Figure 2.

Size of population for each country: <http://www.populstat.info/>

Mexico: population data for 2005

USA: population data for 1965,

all others: population data for 1970

Data for number of killed or disappeared:

Argentina:

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Commission_on_the_Disappearance_of_Persons

<http://www.desaparecidos.org/arg/doc/cifras/mili.html>

http://wiki.answers.com/Q/Cu%C3%A1ntos_desaparecidos_hubo_en_Argentina_durante_la_Guerra_Sucia

Brazil

http://portal.mj.gov.br/sedh/biblioteca/livro_direito_memoria_verdade/livro_direito_memoria_verdade_sem_a_marca.pdf

http://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Desaparecidos_pol%C3%ADticos_no_Brasil

http://www.correiobraziliense.com.br/app/noticia/brasil/2012/05/16/interna_brasil,302564/governo-reve-numero-de-vitimas-da-ditadura-e-lista-contem-457-nomes.shtml

<http://www.desaparecidospoliticos.org.br/pagina.php?id=221>

Chile

http://www.bbc.co.uk/mundo/noticias/2011/08/110818_chile_pinochet_victimas_tortura_vh.shtml

<http://www.indh.cl/informacion-comision-valech>

<http://www.cubadebate.cu/noticias/2011/08/18/victimas-identificadas-de-la-dictadura-de-pinochet-ascienden-a-40-280-revela-informe/>

Mexico

<http://www.lr21.com.uy/mundo/1026581-mexico-onu-sumo-3-000-desaparecidos-a-55-000-muertos>

<http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G11/174/95/PDF/G1117495.pdf?OpenElement>

<http://www.proceso.com.mx/?p=300356>

Uruguay

http://www.elpais.cr/frontend/noticia_detalle/2/74460

<http://edant.clarin.com/diario/2000/03/30/i-03201d.htm>

<http://www.fortinmapocho.com/detalle.asp?iPro=1679&iType=128>

<http://www.ultimasnoticias.com.uy/editoriales/22mar2012E1.html>

USA

<http://www.archives.gov/research/military/vietnam-war/casualty-statistics.html>

To a greater or lesser degree, most Latin American countries have benefited from the growth of bilateral trade with China since 2002. Some scholars and recent publications have explored this economic and political interdependence in an attempt to understand (2008; Santiso, 2009), but there have been no specific studies about the consequences for South America as a specific geopolitical block, even though China's trade patterns appear to be much more balanced with South America than with Mexico and Central America, as is shown in Figures. The data presented in Tables 1 and 2 indicate South America's high degree. Latin America has been one of the main areas of expansion of evangelical Protestant Christianity and is, perhaps, the last bastion of a serious Catholic-Protestant divide with the exception, maybe, of Northern Ireland. Ironically, Latin America has become the heartland of Catholicism at the very time that Catholic hegemony there has been eroded. I would suggest that the changes in the religious field of Latin America have had other implications, one of which is pluralization, including the growth of people who consider themselves to have no religion. This implies a painful transition for Latin American states to understanding the new nature of the religious field and how to relate to it.