

"E assim que eu sonho do velho Brasil":

Brazilian Immigrants Maintaining Identity

Through Music in Phoenix, Arizona

by

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ABSTRACT

The number of Brazilian immigrants in the United States has greatly increased over the past three decades. In Phoenix, Arizona, this population increase reveals itself through a greater number of large Brazilian cultural events and higher demand for live Brazilian music. Music is so embedded in Brazilian culture that it serves as the ideal medium through which immigrants can reconnect to their Brazilian heritage. In this thesis, I contend that Brazilian immigrants in Phoenix, Arizona maintain their identity as Brazilians through various activities extracted from their home culture, the most prominent being musical interaction and participation. My research reveals three primary factors which form a foundation for maintaining cultural identity through music within the Brazilian immigrant community in Phoenix. These include the common experiences of immigration, diasporic identity, and the role of music within this diaspora.

Music is one of the stronger art forms for representing emotions and creating an experience of relationship and connections. Music creates a medium with which to confirm identity, and makes the Brazilian immigrant population visible to other Americans and outsiders. While other Brazilian activities can also serve to maintain immigrants' identity, it is clear to me from five years of participant-observation that musical interaction and participation is the most prominent and effective means for Brazilians in Phoenix to maintain their cultural identity while living in the U.S. As a community, music unites the experiences of the Brazilian immigrants and removes them from the periphery of life in a new society.

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my parents for all their love and encouragement, and also to my fiancé, Gabe, for supporting me in this endeavor and for introducing me to Brazilian culture.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Music can help define who we are and where we are from. It can transmit feelings and memories to create connections to something familiar. For immigrants, music plays a vital role in helping to establish and maintain their cultural identity in the new countries to which they emigrate. Although other means exist to establish this link, music presents an abstract and expressive avenue deeply rooted in the human soul. Immigrants use the feelings and symbols contained in their culture's music to associate with their original homes and to maintain their cultural identity in their new homes.

A person's identity is a combination of both individual experiences and societal factors that combine to create a unique sense of self. In groups such as immigrant communities, recognition of common cultural influences and similarities creates a foundation for social life (Turino 2004:8). When immigrants move to a new country, they often seek a community or group with whom they can share their cultural identity and relate through the influential characteristics of their home country. The concept of realizing national identity is important for maintaining self-identity and security while adapting to a new culture.

Brazil is often recognized for its popular music styles and the influence of its music on that of other countries. As with most societies, music permeates Brazilian culture and therefore, plays a key role in the cultural identity of Brazilians in their home country. For the Brazilian immigrant population in the Phoenix area, music also plays a key role in maintaining identity and in sustaining cultural connections to home, even for those permanently living in the United

States. Brazilian music is present at nearly every event within the community and often triggers participation and dancing by a majority of people in attendance. Based on my observations, once Brazilian music starts at a gathering or event, attendees identify strongly with the music and their original culture and tend to “perform” that identification.

I contend that Brazilian immigrants in Phoenix, Arizona maintain their identity as Brazilians through various activities extracted from their home culture, the most prominent being musical interaction and participation. Given my research, I believe three primary factors form a foundation for maintaining cultural identity through music within the Brazilian immigrant community in Phoenix. These include the common experiences of immigration, diasporic identity, and the role of music within this diaspora.

Thomas Turino describes a set of characteristics that defines a diaspora in *Identity and the Arts in Diasporic Communities*. He notes that members of a diaspora share a collective memory of the homeland, they maintain their homeland through financial contributions or other contact, and they carry on continued relations with the homeland (Turino 2004:4). Diasporas also “consist of groups of people in multiple sites, who regardless of geographical distance maintain a common social identification and often concrete link and cultural exchange around the symbol of ‘home’” (Turino 2004:5-6). The Phoenix Brazilian diaspora has only recently fulfilled this characteristic through increased relations with music groups from Los Angeles and Southern California. This is an indication that the Phoenix Brazilian community is becoming a stronger diasporic

entity and may from this point of view be considered a “diaspora” as opposed to an “immigrant community.” I use the terms interchangeably throughout this thesis.

Discussion of Chapters

To establish the theoretical foundation of this thesis, I discuss the three factors mentioned - common experiences of immigration, diasporic identity, and the role of music within this diaspora - in Chapters 2 through 5. In my ethnographic description of the Brazilian immigrant community in Phoenix, and to support my argument of the principal role of music in identity maintenance, I discuss the history of and provide insight into Brazilian immigration to the United States and the Phoenix area. I follow this with a history and overview of the Brazilian immigrant community and the musical groups in the Phoenix area that help define the Brazilian culture in Phoenix. After an overview of the Brazilian population and music scene in Phoenix, I assess the role of music in this community based upon my participant-observations and personal interviews. I conducted mostly semi-formal and unstructured interviews since the Brazilian immigrants made it clear to me that a more informal interview structure, as opposed to formal questionnaires, would be most comfortable for them. Interviewees were open to chatting about the topics I presented in an interview but many also requested not to be identified. In order to protect identities and respect confidentiality, I present information from my interviews with Brazilian

immigrants as generalized statements referring to interview responses throughout this thesis.

My Position Relative to the Phoenix Brazilian Community

I have had the research opportunity of on-going participant observation within certain groups of Phoenix's Brazilian immigrant community for over five years. This opportunity, and thus, the inspiration for this thesis topic, arose from my personal relationship with a Brazilian family for five years. This family consists of musicians who perform with some of the Brazilian music ensembles in the area. Over this period, I have attended a large variety of events hosted by members of the Brazilian community. This allows me to make direct observations of musicians and others in the community and to note defining social structures of the Brazilian immigrant population. On the other hand, it also makes me aware of my bias concerning the performing groups and their members, which I attempt to acknowledge and take into account as I conduct my research.

One defining moment during my participant-observation period occurred when I learned how to dance samba. Samba is a Brazilian musical genre and dance that originated in Rio de Janeiro and has become a symbol of Brazilian culture and national identity (Vianna 1999:8). Such a minute detail as dancing samba may not seem important, but being able to dance samba showed the local Brazilians that I was not only interested in learning about Brazilian culture but also participating in it. Dancing samba is an outward demonstration of appreciation for the culture and shows a "willingness to engage in social

interaction” that Beaudry emphasizes as important for any successful participant-observation (2008:235). At the same time, people I knew in the community paid more attention to me and my dancing, thus strengthening social relations. This plays an important role in research because, as Beaudry states in reference to her fieldwork experience among Inuits, “human relationships rather than methodology [determine] the quantity and quality of the information gathered” (2008:229). Babiracki described the importance of her relationships with members of the Indian communities she was studying in providing access for her research (2008:172-183). As with Babiracki, my participation and personal relationships with members of the community have facilitated my access to information and trust among the community I study (Babiracki 2008:173).

CHAPTER 2: BRAZILIAN IMMIGRATION TO THE U.S.

Immigrant Identity in a New Country

Discussing Brazilian immigration to the United States reveals common experiences among immigrants in assimilating into American culture while still maintaining a Brazilian identity. Brazilian immigrants, as well as immigrants from other countries, encounter difficulties identifying themselves within American categories, especially those outlined by the U.S. Census. As I will explain in Chapter 5, Brazilian music counter-balances the genericized census groupings, unifies the experiences of Brazilian immigrants, and allows them to connect to their original culture in a concrete way.

Ideas of race and ethnicity are contingent upon culture; immigrants enter the U.S. with fully-formed cultural identities and beliefs about race and ethnicity appropriate to the home country. Often these categories, identities, and beliefs differ from those held by American natives. Immigrants face the challenge of maintaining their original identifications and at the same time incorporating themselves into the U.S. social system. While struggling to establish their identity in a new country, immigrants must confront both their “assertive,” internal identification and their “assigned,” external identification (Marrow 2003:428). Immigrants internally identify themselves based upon their original cultural concepts of ethnicity and identity. These personal, asserted identities do not always align with the identity that their new culture externally assigns to them.

Many countries in the world do not share the Black-White binary social system of the United States (Marrow 2003:428). Juan F. Perea defines this U.S.

paradigm as, “the conception that race in America consists, either exclusively or primarily, of only two constituent racial groups, the Black and the Whites” (1997:1219). Conversely, according to Carlos Zubaran, identity is experienced as “fluid and context-dependent, characteristics which cannot be accounted for by the use of fixed categories” (2008:599). Particularly for immigrants, the U.S. Black-White binary system is often inadequate to address the issue of identity.

In comparison, Brazilians generally identify with a subtler continuum of skin colors as outlined in the Brazilian Census. The categories used to denote race (also called *cor* or “color”) in the Brazilian Census are “White”/*Branca*, “Black”/*Preta*, “Brown”/*Parda*, “Yellow”/*Amarela*, “Indigenous”/*Indígena*, and “Undeclared”/*Sem Declaração* (“População” www.sidra.ibge.gov.br/bda/popul, 7 Jan 2012). Brazilians face many of the same issues as other immigrants when determining how their identity will fit into the social categories of the United States. Naturally, they wonder how best to respond to the U.S. natives’ view of Brazilians. Identifying Brazilians and accurately counting them in the U.S. census is confounded by the issue of fitting Brazilians within available census categories – “Spanish/Hispanic/Latino,” “White,” “African-American.”

The U.S. Census Count

The United States census occurs every ten years and attempts to count all persons living in the U.S.: citizens and non-citizens. Information from the census provides support and demographic information for government funding, community programs, education, and more. The U.S. Census Bureau does not

dictate how Brazilians (and other Latin Americans) and instead, instructs them to self-identify, a practice which negatively affects the tallying effort (Marrow 2003:431). The U.S. 1990 Census recorded 94,023 Brazilians in the United States (Zubaran 2008:592). The U.S. 2000 Census recorded 181,075 Brazilians, roughly double the prior census figure (U.S. Census Bureau 2000a). The 2006-2008 American Community Survey of 3-year estimates predicted 339,771 Brazilians in the United States in 2006 (U.S. Census Bureau 2006). The Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs estimated in 2002 that 1.2 million Brazilians lived in the U.S. (Marcus 2009:490). José Carlos Sebe Bom Meihy, a Brazilian historian and author of *Brasil fora de si: Experiências de brasileiros em Nova York* (“Brazil Out of Its Mind: Experiences of Brazilians in New York”), estimates that of the three million Brazilians living abroad, 1.5 million live in the U.S. (Meihy 2004:41). He also argues that numbers of Brazilian immigrants in the U.S. is second only to Mexico, which is home to about eight million immigrants (ibid.). Additionally, Maxine L. Margolis, author of several books and articles about Brazilian immigrants, estimated that about 70% of the Brazilian immigrant population went uncounted in the 1990 Census (1995:56). This huge discrepancy in population estimates, ranging from 181,075 to 1.5 million, highlights the inherent problem with identifying and counting the Brazilian immigrant population.

Census and the “Invisible Minority”

Census data and other statistical information can show increasing immigration numbers, but do not necessarily provide an accurate portrait of the actual number of Brazilian immigrants in the U.S., one reason that Maxine L. Margolis refers to Brazilians as an “invisible minority” in the United States. An accurate count of this population is challenging, particularly for the U.S. Census Bureau, for varying reasons. One of the problems stems from Brazil’s national language. Since Brazil is a non-Spanish speaking South American country, the U.S. Census does not clearly provide an accurate option for Brazilians. Further, existing census categories make it difficult for Brazilians to self-identify while still being able to dictate their country of origin. The use and definitions of the terms *Hispanic* and *Latino*, and the Bureau’s definition of Brazilians also limit Brazilians’ options for census identification. Brazilian immigrants who do not necessarily accept U.S. social categories perhaps feel a need to affirm their identities as Brazilians.

Undocumented persons present a second complex issue. Many Brazilians enter the United States on travel visas, since they are somewhat easier to obtain than immigrant or work visas. In turn, some visitors end up overstaying their temporary visas to remain in the country illegally (Jouet-Pastré 2008:3). Ambiguous self- and external identification and the presence of undocumented immigrants contribute to vague and inaccurate statistical information on the U.S. Brazilian population.

During the 2010 Census, Brazilian consulates attempted to provide guidance about filling out the U.S. census form; however, it is difficult to determine how many Brazilians received the instructions. A U.S. Census 2010 newsletter entitled “Reaching Out to Foreign-Born/Immigrant Populations” briefly mentioned that for the 2010 Census count,

As part of the Foreign-Born Initiative, the Census Bureau is connecting with the Brazilian community, a historically hard-to-count population, which has been rapidly growing since the 2000 Census. (U.S. Census Bureau 2009)

The consulates instructed Brazilians in the 2010 Census to check “No Hispanic Origin,” to select “Other Race” and write in “Brazilian” in the space allotted. While “Brazilian” should not be considered a race, these instructions create an opportunity for Brazilians to express their nationality and to be counted in the census, an option that otherwise would have been lost with the sole selection of a different category. Finally, the problem of choosing not to participate in the U.S. Census due to lack of interest or the desire to not be identified because of questionable citizen status also negatively impacts the overall Brazilian population count.

Hispanic and Latino

Various groups constructed the words *Hispanic* and *Latino* primarily for use within the United States to classify particular people based upon their country or region of origin. Despite their frequent usage, those terms are fraught with ambiguities. *Webster’s Dictionary* defines Hispanic as “of or relating to the people, speech, or culture of Spain or of Spain and Portugal” and also “of, relating

to, or being a person of Latin American descent living in the United States, especially: one of Cuban, Mexican, or Puerto Rican origin” (*Merriam-Webster* 2010). *Webster’s Dictionary* includes in this category people with Portuguese language origins, which would include Brazilians. On the other hand, however, *Oxford English Dictionary* defines Hispanic as “pertaining to Spain or its people; Spanish-speaking, especially applied to someone of Latin-American descent living in the United States” (*Oxford English Dictionary* 2010). The *Oxford English Dictionary* is specific only to those people related to Spain. The United States Census Bureau defines Hispanic as “a person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin regardless of race” but does not include Brazilians within the South American limits (Grieco 2000:2). With the exception of the Portuguese reference in the *Webster’s Dictionary* definition of Hispanic, Brazilians are left out of the boundaries of the Hispanic definition because they speak Portuguese and not Spanish and do not have origins in Spain.

Latino is considered a broader term than Hispanic in many instances. *Webster’s Dictionary* defines Latino as “a native or inhabitant of Latin America; a person of Latin-American origin living in the United States” (*Merriam-Webster* 2010). This definition encompasses a much larger population and geographic area. *Oxford English Dictionary* defines Latino as “a Latin-American inhabitant of the United States” (*Oxford English Dictionary* 2010). In both dictionaries, the definition of Latin America includes both Spanish and Portuguese speaking countries south of the United States (*Oxford English Dictionary* 2012, *Merriam-*

Webster 2012). The United States Census Bureau, however, uses the words Hispanic and Latino interchangeably and, therefore, their definition of Latino is still specific to people of Spanish culture or origin (Guzman 2001:1).

Two issues arise when defining these two words in relation to Brazilians in the United States. The first is that the United States census officially defines Brazilians as both “non-Hispanic” (as of 1980) and “non-Latino” (as of 2000) (Marrow 2003:429). The second is that most Brazilians also do not self-identify with either Hispanic or Latino, despite their frequent external identification as such. Because of the social make-up of the country and Brazil’s strong national pride, a majority of Brazilians self-identify more with their nationality as a Brazilian (not a U.S. census category) instead of an ethnic or racial category, which, as stated earlier on page 10, was emphasized in census form instructions provided by Brazilian Consulates during the 2010 Census (Zubaran 2008:593). Other broad categories in the census, such as Asian, create similar issues for a wide range of people. Regardless of how Brazilian immigrants identify themselves in the U.S. Census, the issue of ambiguous identity in the U.S. continues to influence the need for identity maintenance.

Common Experiences of Immigration

Brazilians find solidarity and maintain cultural identity through the experiences they share with their immigrant compatriots. Common experiences include: the purpose for emigrating, the choice of settlement location, and their continued connection to their cultural identity. When foreigners, such as those

from Brazil, emigrate to the U.S., they are often looking for better opportunities for themselves and their families. Even then, financial and domestic goals for Brazilian immigrants vary, since some choose to migrate permanently to establish a new life, while others migrate temporarily with the intent to send or bring money back home (Margolis 2009:9). As more Brazilian immigrants settle in particular areas, community and group identities form, shaped by both local and homeland factors.

Brazilian immigration to the United States has increased in the decades since 1980, primarily due to changes in the economic and the political climate in Brazil. The mid-1980s was a time of economic recession, thus triggering an exodus of citizens looking for better and more stable economic opportunities (Goza 1994:137). However, reasons for migration are “interrelated, multidimensional, and complex,” so, while many Brazilians seek a favorable financial situation abroad, it would be inaccurate to highlight one main motivation for all Brazilian immigration to the U.S (Marcus 2009:492). Communities of Brazilians have taken root all over the country, with large populations in New York, Boston, Houston, and Miami (Margolis 2009:6). Brazilian immigrants, like those from other countries, tend to move to certain areas in the U.S. where others from their country have previously settled (Margolis 2009:2). Settling in concentrated areas promotes stronger connections with other immigrants and provides networking opportunities for success and support.

Not surprisingly, New York City is home to the largest collective number of Brazilian immigrants, over 50,000 according to the 2000 U.S. Census

(Margolis 2009:3,5). This number, impossible to verify for reasons already discussed, is nearly fifty times greater than the number of Brazilians estimated to be living in Arizona (U.S. Census Bureau 2000b). Newark and other New Jersey cities in the New York City metropolitan area also house Brazilian communities. Boston and Cape Cod are popular destinations for Brazilian immigrants, who make up a substantial portion of the population of some small towns, reaching upwards of 20 percent (Margolis 2009:4). Brazilian populations originally became concentrated in Boston during World War II when American engineers from Boston had traveled to mines in Governador Valadares, in Minas Gerais, Brazil, for mineral extraction. They returned with their Brazilian domestic workers such as housekeepers; later, Brazilian newspaper ads offered jobs in Boston for domestic work to Brazilian women (Jouët-Pastré 2008:4-5). Earlier lusophone settlements of Portuguese and Cape Verdean immigrants in the area offered “immediate linguistic familiarity” which also contributed to the Brazilian population centers in New England (Jouët-Pastré 2008:5). Brazilian immigration has also increased in central and southern Florida and Atlanta as well as West Coast in Los Angeles and San Francisco (Margolis 2009:4).

Prior to this study, the Brazilian population in Arizona had not received much, if any, attention in the discourse on Brazilian immigrants. Reasons include the relatively small size of the population compared to that of New York or Los Angeles, the absence of public visibility created through parades, businesses, concerts, and other events, and the ways Brazilians are spread throughout the Phoenix area, as opposed to population concentrations as in Astoria, New York

City (Margolis 2009:4). Large populations such as that of New York tend to hold parades and events in public spaces for celebrations of the *Carnaval* internationally-famed parades the week before Lent, or during Brazilian Independence Day. While these events still take place in Arizona, they are not widely publicized outside the Brazilian community. Most communication regarding events takes place within the diaspora via email lists and word-of-mouth.

Conclusion: Brazilian Immigration and Invisibility

The number of Brazilian immigrants in the United States has greatly increased over the past three decades. However, the numbers utilized to express this growth generally underrepresent the actual population. The inherent problems with successfully counting the Brazilian immigrant population lie in the limited U.S. Census categories and their inability to clearly recognize Brazilians. Either by limitations through self-identifying within pre-existing categories or through the Census cleaning processes which remove Brazilians who selected “Spanish/Hispanic/Latino,” Brazilians experience challenges in being properly identified by the U.S. Census. They are often not counted as Brazilians and instead are merely put into another overarching category such as “White” or “African-American.” As the U.S. Census Bureau and other groups in the U.S. come to realize the presence of Brazilian immigrants and the prior difficulties in identifying them, Brazilians are receiving more attention and interest, as they did during the outreach of the 2010 U.S. Census in an attempt to more accurately

identify the population. Experiencing an absence of identity definition within American society prompts Brazilian immigrants to maintain their original identity. By sharing the outsider experience, that is, not fitting into U.S. social structures, Brazilian immigrants can create a stronger group identity within their respective immigrant communities. At that point, music takes on a key role in identity maintenance.

CHAPTER 3: THE BRAZILIAN DIASPORA IN PHOENIX

Diasporic Identity

A diasporic community is “characterized by its ability to retain elements of its original culture and identity, while simultaneously embracing elements of the [new] culture” (Éigeartaigh 2007:5). The concept of composite original culture and “home” provides a feeling of security and belonging. Diasporic immigrants construct “home” through memories of the homeland, and they unite by means of common characteristics (ibid.:6). The cultural events members hold in their new communities contribute to the maintenance of cultural identities by connecting immigrants to strong recollections of the homeland.

Thomas Turino states, “identity is the representation of selected habits foregrounded in given contexts to define self to oneself and to others by oneself and by others” (2004:8). In the case of diasporas, immigrant identity often becomes related to the social or cultural identity which is “based on recognized similarities within groups, and...serves as the basis of collective feeling and action” (ibid). Immigrants of different ethnicities participate in activities important to their culture to varying degrees within their individual lives and within their community: Turino states that,

Certain nodes of identity...may be more salient than others within given societies. People tend to emphasize the nodes of identity that are most...influential (abilities, occupation, beauty) in relation to influencing life’s chances. (2004:8)

Brazilian immigrants in the Phoenix area emphasize their identity through all these activities, including interaction with Brazilian music.

Moving to the Desert

Correlating with the national increase in immigration, the Brazilian population grew and emerged publicly in Phoenix's newspapers and events in the early 1980s. Brazilians moved to the Phoenix area for a variety of reasons. During the 1980s and 1990s, Phoenix was a rapidly growing metropolitan area that offered job opportunities and a low cost of living in certain parts of the city. A primary motivation for immigrants' choice of settlement location is a prior connection (Margolis 2009:18). As large numbers of Brazilians moved to Phoenix and Arizona to capitalize on available jobs, a large network of connections developed.

Some Brazilians came to Phoenix without prior connections. Some sought out other local Brazilian immigrants, while others did not. Those who sought out other Brazilians in the community did so in a variety of ways. In the 1980s and 1990s, before the advent of the Internet and electronic social networking, the most common form of communication and advertising was printed media. Some of the earlier Brazilian musical groups that played in the Phoenix area, including Zum Zum Zum and Brasilia, advertised their local restaurant performances in various newspapers (see Chapter 4). Interested Brazilians attended these events expecting to see other Brazilians. These performances served as magnets and centralized gathering places for the Brazilian immigrant community in Phoenix.

Interviews with Brazilian immigrants suggest that during the mid to late 1980s, members of the Phoenix Brazilian community held musical performances and private parties, formed soccer teams, and cooked traditional foods. As the

diaspora grew, so did the importance of the shared collective memory, a characteristic of a diasporic community (Turino 2004:4). Local Brazilians sought to reconnect with Brazil through social relationships with other Brazilians. However, no formal Brazilian organization yet existed in the Phoenix area. The Brazilian Institute of Arizona and their bi-monthly mailed newsletter, which first appeared in 1990, provided more structure for the community. This growth in infrastructure continued throughout the 1990s and into the 2000s.

Coming Together: The Brazilian Institute and the 1990s

Brazilian community organizations in Phoenix originally provided business and social connections to Brazil. As time passed, local Brazilians desired more of a social organization through which they were able to advertise and hold events. These events, which usually offered live Brazilian music for entertainment, allowed them to connect with other local Brazilians and enabled them to maintain their identities.

The Brazilian Institute of Arizona was the first formal organization representing the Brazilian immigrant population in Arizona. Sueli Cristina Bonaparte, the Founding President of the Institute, created the Brazilian Institute of Arizona in 1990, primarily to establish connections, both socially and economically, between Brazilians in Arizona and those back in Brazil. Bonaparte came to Arizona when her husband received a job offer in the area. Since she had experience working in communications in São Paulo, she proceeded to establish the Institute. As I have learned through interviews, the Institute ultimately

disintegrated when it deviated from the original intentions of the organization and became more socially oriented.

The original purpose of the Brazilian Institute of Arizona (BIA) is summarized in an early pamphlet.

- The mission of the Brazilian Institute of Arizona, Inc. is to encourage and support programs and services which will contribute to the mutual growth, development and understanding of Brazil and the United States.
- In order to achieve this mission, the Brazilian Institute of Arizona, Inc. provides a wide range of programs and services related to Brazilian-American relations.

The BIA published a bi-monthly newsletter called *Brazil Hoje* (“Brazil Today”) that summarized, in English, the “news of Brazil in the fields of business, economics, politics, education, and culture” (“Pamphlet,” *The Brazilian Institute of Arizona, Inc.*). The Institute held U.S.-Brazil business forums, cultural and business orientation programs for families transferred to Brazil or the U.S., offered a business Portuguese language program for non-Portuguese speakers, and held various cultural programs. Membership also included access to a network of contacts in Brazilian and American companies with interest in Brazilian-American relations (*ibid.*). This organization maintained the homeland relationship through business connections and relations with Brazil, both of which, as I stated on page 2, help define a diaspora (Turino 2004:4).

Throughout the life of the Brazilian Institute of Arizona, and as the Brazilian community grew and changed, the local immigrants sought to hold parties and social gatherings among themselves. The Institute changed hands after Bonaparte moved to New York around 1993 to work with the Brazilian-American

Chamber of Commerce.¹ At that point, the purpose of the Institute changed considerably, driven by the social desires of the local Brazilians. The new leaders of the Institute also did not have the same business and foreign-relations knowledge as Bonaparte, and the community, at this point in time, sought more social interaction among other Brazilian immigrants in Phoenix. The Institute continued to hold events, but de-emphasized Brazilian-American business relations in favor of providing social events and music—an avenue for promoting the formation of the diasporic identity of the immigrant community.

After the Brazilian Institute of Arizona faded from the scene in the mid-1990s, local Brazilians realized that social events within the community were desirable in order to connect with other Brazilian immigrants. During the interim between the waning of the BIA and the establishment of the next organization, Brazilians maintained contact with one another by holding parties in their homes, in place of the large events previously held in hotel ballrooms sponsored by the Brazilian Institute.

The Next Phase: Casa Brazil

As a way to support and maintain the homeland, a key characteristic of a diasporic community, Brazilians in Phoenix needed an organization that fulfilled this purpose but also met more of the social demands of the community (Turino 2004:4). In 2003, three Brazilian women living in Phoenix created Casa Brazil

¹ Sueli Bonaparte received the Foreign Policy Association Meritorious Honor Award for her service as the Executive Director of the Brazilian-American Chamber of Commerce, Inc. of New York City in 2010 (“Sueli Bonaparte,” www.brazilcham.com, 2010).

(“Brazil House”), a non-profit organization, still in existence, that raises funds to “help the children of impoverished towns and villages of northeastern Brazil” (“Casa Brazil” www.casabrazil.org). According to its website, Casa Brazil raises over \$20,000 a year for food, clothing, and educational materials (ibid.). Similar to the diasporic purpose of the Brazilian Institute of Arizona, Casa Brazil supports Brazil through financial contributions and charity work (Turino 2004:4), but they gather this support through social events.

Casa Brazil raises money for its cause through annual events including a *Feijoada* celebration of the traditional dish called *feijoada*, made black beans and rice, a *Carnaval* party, an annual luncheon, and other affairs. At all of their events, Casa Brazil features Brazilian music performances, from soloists and duos to the large Brazilian bands in Phoenix. Casa Brazil helps Brazilians maintain their identity by hosting social events with music and food. However, according to some local immigrants including some who associate with Casa Brazil, this organization has the reputation of being more for the elite and established Brazilians in Phoenix. A majority of the events require large sums of money to participate, particularly when compared to other less expensive events organized for the Brazilian community. These costs deter some people from participating. Like most charitable organizations, Casa Brazil seems to have a core group of benefactors that consistently attend the events and donate.

The core group of Brazilians, and some Americans, who attend Casa Brazil events with regularity tend to be middle-aged and older people (40s-60s) who have lived in Arizona for a number of years. They are primarily upper-

middle- and upper-class citizens, and are socially tightly integrated. This group comprises a few overlapping groups of friends and can be somewhat exclusive due to their long-standing relationships. As demonstrated by their enthusiastic dancing and participation in musical performances, this elite group of Brazilians benefits directly from Casa Brazil events in maintaining their Brazilian identities. These Brazilians that have lived in Phoenix the longest and are financially successful form almost a sub-diaspora within the greater diaspora. Brazilians associated with Casa Brazil demonstrate a social hierarchy within the Brazilian diaspora in Phoenix that reflects the longevity and potentially, the maturation of the diaspora.

Other Presentations of Brazil in Phoenix

Another important factor in Brazilian immigrant identity maintenance is validating the presence of Brazilian culture in Phoenix. This validation comes from the visibility of the Brazilian population to non-Brazilians. As I discuss in Chapters 4 and 5, large music events contribute most constructively to the population's visibility. However, other smaller-scale representations of Brazilian culture in Phoenix make the Brazilian population visible.

The most popular Brazilian-owned businesses are restaurants. Appeal to a wide demographic is essential to success; only two Brazilian restaurants in the Phoenix area have survived for a long period: Fogo e Brasa (now called Brazilian Bull) and Rio Sabor Restaurant, which closed in 2009. Another international chain of Brazilian steakhouses, called Fogo de Chão, was established in

Scottsdale around 2009 and is considered “fine dining” with excellent service. Three other Brazilian restaurants did not experience the same success: the *churrascaria* Braseiro, and two smaller restaurants: Café Brasil and Capri Café. During their existence, mostly during the 1990s, these restaurants hosted events and musical performances for the local Brazilian community and served as centralized locations for Brazilians to gather.

Another facet of Brazilian culture popular among both Brazilians and Americans in Arizona is the martial arts dance form *capoeira*, which originated as entertainment and self-defense practice for the slaves in colonial Brazil. *Capoeira* is accompanied by music, which connects the form to Brazilian musical identity. Participants learn to play various Brazilian percussion instruments such as the *pandeiro* and *berimbau*, a musical bow played by striking the bow’s wire string with a stick. Arizona has two primary *capoeira* schools, Capoeira-Brasil Arizona and Axe Capoeira. Arizona State University offers a *capoeira* course as a dance credit and ASU also has an extracurricular *capoeira* club. Axe and Capoeira-Brasil Arizona perform music and martial arts demonstrations frequently at the various Brazilian events. The apparent affiliation of each club with particular people and groups (to be discussed in the following “Social Structures” section) determines the events at which they are asked to perform.

Each *capoeira* school also has an affiliated Brazilian dance group: Axe Capoeira has Axe Folclórico while Capoeira-Brasil Arizona has the SambAZ and Maculele dancers. Axe Folclórico is a group of dancers that perform traditional Afro-Brazilian dances such as samba, *maculele* (a Brazilian form of dance using

sticks), *coco de roda* (a two-beat song and dance from the beach regions of Northeastern Brazil), and *colheita* (a dance performed at the bean harvest in rural Brazil), all accompanied by percussion. The SambAZ and the Maculele dancers also perform samba and Afro-Brazilian dances such as the *maculele*. The *capoeira* schools include both Brazilians and Americans who are interested in Brazilian culture, martial arts, and dance.

Arizona State University also offered dance classes in the 1990s and early 2000s with a Brazilian emphasis. Pegge Vissicaro, Professor of Dance and Director for the Office for Global Dance Research and Creative Partnerships at ASU, previously taught a course entitled “Dances of Brazil and the Caribbean,” which highlighted several different dances from various regions of Brazil. This course provided an opportunity for students to learn about Brazilian dance and music cultures. All the students that took the class were non-Brazilians and many were from outside of the dance department but were interested in Brazilian and Caribbean cultures (Vissicaro 2012). Similar to *capoeira* courses, this Brazilian dance class allowed non-Brazilians to experience and participate in Brazilian cultural activities in Phoenix.

Providing services and businesses rooted in Brazilian culture is another way for local immigrants to share their culture, maintain their cultural identity, and earn a living. Arizona has a number of Brazilian businesses such as restaurants and waxing salons. Some of the local businesses have successfully appealed to Americans and others have not. While these businesses contribute to the visibility of the Brazilian population, Brazilian culture is still not very

prominent among the general population in Phoenix. Unless they are connected to the Brazilian community through *capoeira*, Casa Brazil, or another organization, most people living in Phoenix are unaware that Brazilians comprise a substantial subgroup.

A Changing Brazilian Presence in Phoenix Since 2009

A number of factors have contributed to changes in the structure, function, and cultural presence of the Brazilian diaspora over the past three years. The most obvious factor is population growth within the community. More Brazilians means more potential attendees for events and possibly more social group divisions based upon status, age, gender, and social participation, discussed in the next section.

Another important factor that has affected the diaspora of Brazilians is the American economy and the recent nationwide recession. Although some Brazilians who were involved in real estate investments in Arizona were financially devastated by the housing collapse, others were more indirectly affected, the most obvious casualty being the demise of expensive Brazilian social gatherings held at peoples' homes. This caused the most noticeable change in how the Brazilian community functions because the nature of the Brazilian gatherings changed. Brazilian organizations and event hosts took on the financial burden and obligation of continuing these social gatherings using other venues, often including restaurants, clubs, or lounges.

Migrating away from personal, private locations with limited accessibility opened the door for more competitive, public events, creating greater visibility for the Brazilian community. Over the past three years, the number of Brazilian events in the Phoenix area has increased annually. Three or four *Carnaval* parties take place now as opposed to the single party of earlier years. In 2012, three Brazilian *Carnaval* celebrations occurred: one hosted by Casa Brazil at a bar-lounge in Scottsdale, another hosted by “DJ Seduce” (Miguel Ivery) held at 910 Live in Tempe (discussed in detail in Chapter 4), and a third led by “Porangui” and Grupo Liberdade Ensemble at a night club in Scottsdale. All three events were well attended due both to the larger number of Brazilians in attendance and the promotion of Brazilian culture and music aimed towards Americans. Although some people may have attended one, two or all three *Carnaval* celebrations that occurred on varying weekends, each event drew a slightly different population based upon the existing social structures of the diaspora, explained in the next section. The greater presence of Americans at these events is evidence of greater cultural outreach on the part of the Brazilian community since the 1990s.

Social Structures within the Brazilian Diaspora

Through five years of participant-observation, I have learned how complex and interwoven social structures can be in the Brazilian community. Clear subgroups, or cliques, exist within the population; however, as with all social structures, boundaries are often blurred. The clearest divisions relate to age, social class, and the amount of time one has lived in the United States.

I observed a clear divide, which would be expected, between the older generation, often with families, and the younger generation of Brazilians, mostly single and in their 20s or 30s. This is not to say that animosity exists between the two groups but rather that Brazilians in their 20s would rather spend time with friends of their own age than with Brazilians in their 40s and 50s who are married with children. Some have commented that the younger Brazilian crowd tends to be more inclusive, bringing other South Americans and Americans into their social groups. It is difficult to know whether this results from a stronger South American identity, a less concrete Brazilian identity, or simply the social drive to find friends with shared interests. Since they are young, these immigrants may place a higher value on assimilation or perhaps their cultural identities are not as defined or formed as those of the older generation. This would be an important subject for future investigation.

Another division that may also correlate with age is social class, which is more amorphous than age alone. The social class divide is more noticeable among the upper class level. One group of Brazilians has lived in Arizona for at least ten years its members are financially stable. The relationships among members of this group are long-running and established. I have encountered what seems to be an even more affluent group on a very few occasions. Many of the people in this group belong to international households (i.e., Brazilian married to a U.S. citizen) with at least one partner employed as doctors and lawyers. I cannot comment much beyond their existence due to my limited access to and knowledge about

their activities in the Brazilian community. I have attended two small house parties hosted by this group of people.

Location does not play a large role in the structures of the Phoenix diaspora because no Brazilian-concentrated neighborhoods exist. The Phoenix diaspora, therefore, differs from some others in which geography plays a greater role in keeping the community together. Most Brazilian events are centrally located, providing access to all. However, one group of Brazilians, the only one that I have found in Chandler, is exceptionally cohesive as a result of living relatively close to each other.

Membership and involvement in the various Brazilian organizations provide a further social division that has become more apparent over the past few years. These divisions are important because they define who attends or performs at certain musical events and dictate which events Brazilians favor when attempting to maintain their identities through music. Since some minor rivalries exist among the various *capoeira* schools, music groups, and events hosts; each organization or group appears to align itself with a particular host and entourage. These affiliations have become more apparent in recent years and the networking involved links certain performing groups with specific events and host organizations. Casa Brazil events tend to bring in musicians from outside Phoenix and draw older, more established Brazilians to the event. Almost completely disassociated from Casa Brazil, non-Brazilian DJ Seduce (see Chapter 4) hosts his own events at nightclubs, attracting both the younger population and a large portion of the older Brazilians. DJ Seduce works with particular local musicians

and *capoeira* schools that he favors at each of his events. Part-Brazilian Poranguí (Poranguí McGrew), another musician and more recent event host, is associated with yet a different set of musicians: his own group, Grupo Liberdade, in particular, and another *capoeira* school. Poranguí is not as closely connected with the Brazilian immigrant population as Casa Brazil or DJ Seduce. Poranguí's events attract some younger Brazilians, but very few of the older ones. I discuss the events and affiliations of DJ Seduce and Poranguí in greater detail in Chapter 4.

The Brazilian event arena has become competitive over the past few years as tensions grow and change among the different group affiliations in the community. These divisions arose as presenters became aware of opportunities to capitalize upon hosting Brazilian events. Minor conflicts have also occurred between various people in the groups, causing greater divides in the affiliations. As the Phoenix population grows, the Brazilian events become more lucrative ventures. At the current time, Casa Brazil, DJ Seduce, and Poranguí represent the factions among the existing groups within the community. Some people and groups cross categories, including some of the hired samba dancers and several favored musicians who play with various groups at the events. The community divisions reveal not only that music is important to maintaining identity among Brazilians, but also the other Brazilians and non-Brazilians with whom they experience the musical and cultural connection to home.

Modes of Communication Among the Brazilian Community

With the help of technology, communication among the Brazilian immigrant community has expanded and become more far-reaching. Since free social networking sites and email are now available, advertising for events within the community is much easier than in the past. One of the primary forms of communication is a group email list, used to advertise events or other pertinent information within the community. However, since the only way to find out about the email list is by word of mouth, people need to be introduced to it by someone within the community. The electronic mailing list, maintained by Dinorah Hazen, has about 800 subscribers, Brazilians and non-Brazilians, and sends approximately 120 emails each year.

Brazilians also network and share information through various Facebook Pages and Groups. Several of these are intended to represent the population in Phoenix and Arizona, such as “Brazucas do Deserto - Arizona’s Brazilian Community and Friends,”² “Phoenix AZ – Brasileiros,” and “Brasil Phoenix.” The local *capoeira* and dance groups also have their own Facebook pages for posting events and updates. Orkut is another social networking website that is very popular in Brazil and which allows Brazilians in the United States to maintain communication with family and friends in Brazil and in Arizona locally.

² “*Brazucas*” is a self-description used by some Brazilian immigrants in the United States (Jouët-Pastré 2008:3).

Events in the Community

The number and frequency of events grew along with the increase in the Phoenix Brazilian population and the number of Brazilian music groups. The Brazilian community organizes a variety of events throughout the year, most of which, if not all, feature live music. I discuss the Brazilian ensembles and musicians in Phoenix in Chapter 4 of this document.

I first began attending Brazilian concerts and events in early 2007, and at that time one or two events per month typically took place. Since 2007, I have noticed an increase in the number of events to a consistent two or three per month. These events include those hosted by Casa Brazil, large concerts put on by DJ Seduce or Poranguí (discussed in Chapter 4), and smaller ensemble concerts at local restaurants or small venues. Months with more events include September because of Brazilian Independence Day, and March due to *Carnaval* celebrations. On nights or weekends when no formal concert or event is scheduled, Brazilians have barbeques, or *churrascos*, at their homes. These casual gatherings are not advertised via group email, but rather by word of mouth. They typically and understandably have shorter, more exclusive guest lists because some of the larger events in the community now attract 500 or more people. These smaller gatherings also include music provided by local musicians who bring their instruments and are complemented by others joining in on various ad-hoc instruments (see further discussion in Chapter 5).

Every year, Casa Brazil hosts several fundraising events, previously mentioned on page 22. DJ Seduce, who entered the Brazilian event scene two

years ago, typically hosts a Brazilian Day event in September and a *Carnaval* event in February or March. His events take place at a large club in Tempe and attract about 1000 guests. He features numerous Brazilian performers at his events, which include bands, DJs, dancers, and *capoeira* groups. Poranguí and the Musical Instrument Museum (discussed in Chapter 4) host cultural events similar to those of the other hosts but seem to pull in a larger non-Brazilian population, possibly due to different affiliations and their advertising outside the Brazilian community. Brazilians have held other types of events in the past, such as picnics or soccer games, but the large parties with live music seem to be well attended and enjoyed at the current time, and thus occur more frequently.

Conclusion: The Phoenix Brazilian Community

Although widely dispersed, the Brazilian community in Phoenix is a tightly knit group seeking to maintain relations with their home country through social connections with other Brazilians. Most events and gatherings serve to reinforce these connections and relationships. The Brazilians appreciate outsiders experiencing and enjoying facets of their culture as well. Often, the desire to connect with other Brazilians and to share similar interests produces an essentialized representation of Brazilian culture within the diaspora. Immigrants come together to share their Brazilian identity and perhaps to lament less favored aspects of Brazilian culture that are still considered strong cultural representations. For example, I have heard some Brazilians say that they did not actually listen to nor like samba music when they lived in Brazil, but because it

helps them connect with other Brazilians in Phoenix and represents Brazilian culture, they have since changed their opinion.

After living in the United States for several years, the Brazilian immigrants seem to lose touch with the regional and individual identities that they held previous to immigrating and begin to favor the generalized conception of Brazilian culture as a whole. This generalized conception is comprised of cultural pillars such as samba music, *Carnaval* celebrations, *feijoada* and *churrascos*, and soccer. By generalizing and essentializing Brazilian culture, much of it musical, immigrants are more able to construct a shared group identity among themselves, a key component of a diasporic community.

Referring back to Turino's characteristics of diasporas discussed on page 2, the Brazilian community in Phoenix formally stays connected to Brazil by way of organizations such as Casa Brazil, which fundraises for a poor community in the northeast of Brazil. Members of the Phoenix diaspora also continue relations with Brazil through ways such as engaging in businesses activities, maintaining contact with family and friends, and returning to Brazil to visit, and other such means. They share a collective memory of Brazil, which is most publicly visible through their cultural and social connection with music. Singing along to popular music from Brazil and revering the great composers and performers of that country reveals the ability of music to trigger memories and shared feelings within the diaspora (Lornell 1997:18). This is why music has played such a large and important role over the years for the Brazilian immigrant community in Phoenix.

CHAPTER 4: MUSIC IN THE PHOENIX DIASPORA

Music in Diasporas

Music can be a symbol of tradition, nationalism, and heritage, among other things (Lornell 1997:19). Alan Merriam states in *The Anthropology of Music*, “Music can be assigned...symbolic roles in society and cultures, roles in which the music itself is taken to symbolize values and even passions of the most specific yet most general nature” (1964:241). Migrants take these values and symbols of their music with them to a new country and use them to relate and connect to home. When music is present in diasporas, community performances and concerts help contribute to creating, maintaining, and transferring of individual identity as well as fostering group identity of the whole community (Lornell 1997:17). Often, diasporic communities become so focused upon music and a few other defining aspects of culture, that they in effect, essentialize the original culture down to a few key components. Music is ubiquitous enough to seem clichéd; still, it is a profoundly important component of Brazilian diasporic communities.

Brazilians and Their Music

Brazilians commonly regard music with such pride that it is clearly a defining part of the culture. The use of music as a propaganda tool to promote nationalism and Brazilian pride largely stems from the political influence of Getúlio Vargas’s government in Brazil in the 1930s. Vargas used samba and other Brazilian music to promote nationalistic messages over the radio (McCann 2004).

The rise in popularity of samba and its link to Brazilian national identity is similar to the history and role of *merengue* in the Dominican Republic. Much like samba in Brazil, *merengue* helped unify a country, but shrouded underlying racial and class tensions (Austerlitz 1997:10). By securing their bond to national identity early in their existence, samba and *merengue* have remained culturally central, both within their countries of origin and as international representations of the cultures to which they belong. Like *merengue* for Dominican immigrants (Austerlitz 1997:11), samba is important to Brazilian immigrants as an effective vehicle for demonstrating loyalty to their homeland.

The two most popular ways to employ music in maintaining cultural identity are personal listening to recorded music or watching and participating in live music performances. A third way is creating and performing music - one reason some Brazilians in Phoenix established their own ensembles. Personal listening is typically a solitary activity or done with a small group of friends or family. How and when the individual obtains the recorded music is also important to the experience. Some people bring recordings, which they have owned for many years, with them during their migration. Brazilian music may not have been as important to the personal identities of some immigrants before leaving Brazil. These immigrants, however, find this music after living abroad and listen to it to maintain their cultural identity. One local musician in Phoenix who performs samba explained that she learned how to play guitar while living in Brazil, but never actually listened to much samba until moving to the United States. After immigrating to Phoenix, the iconic music became a stronger symbol of her

heritage and gained a more prominent role in her musical experience. In both situations, personal listening experience contributes to the immigrant's individual identity, regardless of whether the immigrant already has a connection to the music or secures that connection after migrating.

Appreciating live music with others by watching, dancing, singing, or tapping a foot contributes to a stronger group identity among immigrants. Brazilians engage in what Christopher Small calls *musiking*, or “[taking] part, in any capacity, in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or practicing, by providing material for performance (what is called composing), or by dancing” (1998:9). Brazilians who take part in a live music performance are essentially declaring “This is who we are” (Small 1998:134). They are forming a group identity, comprised of individual identities, by relating to others present and building relationships through the nonphysical and physical bonding that occurs with a music performance and dancing.

Thomas Turino reinforces the concept of a physical bond that occurs during music and performance events. In his discussion of music and identity in diasporas, he states,

group performance experiences tend to have very powerful somatic and emotional affects precisely because they are the experience of a special kind of physical bond with others. Participatory music, dance, chanting, and marching offer this potential for creating a concrete sense of identity more than all other art forms. (Turino 2004:18)

The live Brazilian music events in Phoenix, particularly those that draw a large attendance, clearly demonstrate the physical bond and identity affirmation aided by music and dancing.

Brazilian Music in Phoenix

Especially after the influx of Brazilian immigrants in the 1980s, Brazilians in Phoenix have expressed the desire for live Brazilian music. Though the demand has always been high, the quality of the performances naturally varies from amateur to professional. A majority of musicians who perform Brazilian music in Phoenix were not musicians in Brazil and learned to play after moving to the U.S. Often, this desire to play stems from the appetite for music within the entire Brazilian immigrant community.

A number of music groups have arisen and transformed their membership and identity over the past 35 years. Ensembles favored by Brazilian immigrants typically play popular Brazilian music, including sambas made famous by current artists and *Música Popular Brasileira (MPB)*, a wide-ranging genre of non-electronic music stemming from the 1960s in Brazil that contains uniquely Brazilian influences in the rhythm and lyrics. In addition, a few Brazilian ensembles that maintain their audience outside of the Brazilian population often perform *bossa novas* and older samba pieces. These types of performances draw a crowd with interests in jazz and world music and do not always appeal to the Brazilian immigrants.

The local Phoenix bands perform at the various events more often than guest bands from other places. Many Brazilian immigrants prefer these groups, some of which have been in existence for years, because they often know the members well. However, since the local groups are not always of the highest musical quality, event coordinators have recently begun to bring in outside groups

for some of the larger events, usually from Los Angeles or other parts of Southern California, to provide a greater variety of Brazilian music. For example, a Los Angeles band performed *samba pagode* at two events last year because the genre of music, a simplistic and percussion-based style of *pagode* with added hand drums and the *cavaquinho* (small 4-string ukulele-like lute), is currently popular in Brazil (McGowan 2009:51). The Phoenix groups do not perform *pagode* because no one in this vicinity has learned to play *cavaquinho* and the extra percussion required for this type of music. Another factor that has caused outside groups to be invited to perform in Phoenix is that most of the local musicians, even given access to electronic media, are relatively disconnected from current trends in Brazil and are challenged to develop a musical understanding of the *pagode* genre. The outside groups provide the audience with variety and, by performing current popular Brazilian music, often provide a more current cultural link to Brazil. The longer immigrants live away from their homeland, the more detached they become from the current trends of the homeland. Developing an awareness of current events by watching the news or listening to a trendy style of music helps keep the cultural link alive and flourishing.

The First Wave of Brazilian Music in Phoenix: 1980s-1990s

With the Brazilian immigrant population and demand for music increasing in Phoenix in the 1980s, locals formed music groups to provide entertainment. In the first wave of Brazilian music in Phoenix, two local music groups dominated the scene in the 1980s and early 1990s: Brasilia and Zum Zum Zum. These two

groups provided music and entertainment at local restaurants and at Brazilian events, such as *Carnaval*. Brasilia was a group comprised of mostly non-Brazilian musicians and had a singer, pianist, bassist, and percussionist. The only ongoing Brazilian member of the group was the main percussionist. Often, other Brazilians would join the group to play some basic auxiliary percussion instruments valued in Brazilian music. The female lead singer was American, the pianist was French, and the bassist was Mexican. However, having a Brazilian percussionist seemed to be key to the group's success, along with the musical talent of the other members. In Brazilian music, the beat and rhythmic "groove" are considered the most integral feature of the music, sometimes called the "rice and beans." Brasilia was a successful group with a professional level of musicianship. They typically played *bossa novas*, samba, and the songs of Elis Regina, a highly regarded and talented singer famous for discovering new composers and performing their songs (McGowan 2009:85-85). Regina's great vocal abilities and excellent intonation are difficult to replicate but were a highlight of Brasilia's performances in Phoenix. The group disbanded in the early 1990s when the lead singer moved to New York. The Brazilian percussionist continued to play with the other group in existence at the time, Zum Zum Zum.

Zarco Guerrero, a well-known mask maker, and his wife, Carmen, formed Zum Zum Zum, which included a larger number of Brazilians. The instrumentation consisted of guitar, vocals, vibraphone, bass, drum set, and Latin percussion. Zarco played guitar and sang lead vocals, while Carmen played the vibraphone and sang back-up vocals. This husband and wife duo that created Zum

Zum Zum have been consistent members of the group, while numerous other musicians have joined for periods of time over the years. Though Zum Zum Zum was often mentioned in the *Brasil Hoje* newsletters from the Brazilian Institute of Arizona, they did not play exclusively Brazilian music; they played other world music as well, primarily Mexican and some Cuban music along with a few Brazilian tunes. Now mostly inactive, they played at some of the early *Carnaval* celebrations hosted by the Brazilian Institute. According to one subject, some within the Brazilian immigrant community did not always approve of their repertoire variety.

Since Brasilia and Zum Zum Zum were the only two musical groups providing Brazilian music during the 1980s and 1990s, they experienced relative success within the Brazilian immigrant community. Consequently, the Brazilian immigrants were willing to sacrifice quality for the basic existence of live music groups. After both groups faded from the music scene in the mid- to late 1990s, several years passed before another Brazilian music group emerged to fulfill the demand. Even in the early 2000s, few professional Brazilian musicians lived in Phoenix. Amateur musicians seeking to reconnect with their Brazilian heritage supplied the music, albeit with little actual musical training.

The Second Wave of Brazilian Music in Phoenix: 2003-Present

In 2003, after several years without a consistent supply of live Brazilian music, a second wave of music groups took over the Brazilian music scene. The group organization was relatively casual at first; the goal of this group of friends

was to learn how to play popular Brazilian tunes so they could provide live music to the community. This ensemble was loosely called Som Brazil, or “Brazilian Sound” despite the English spelling of Brazil (which Brazilians spell as *Brasil*). The name later solidified when the group performed more steadily. Most, if not all of the Brazilian immigrants in this group learned to play their respective instruments after moving to the U.S. and were not musicians while they lived in Brazil. One of the members of the group, a Brazilian/American young man born in the U.S., recalls that the early rehearsals of the group were long and intensive. They spent several hours listening to recorded versions of songs and attempting to learn to play them. However, since many members were amateurs on their instruments, this task of learning music from a recording was quite difficult. At this time Som Brazil only rehearsed when an event was imminent. The membership was not always consistent from one event to the next, and the members have changed over the years as well. The group primarily plays *Música Popular Brasileira* (MPB). They played *Forró*, northeastern Brazilian country music, each year at the *Festa Junina* (“June Festival”) celebration in the winter during the existence of the event from 2001 until 2011. Som Brazil still exists and performs more regularly today. They have very recently (January 2012) changed their name to Radio Brazil.

Som Brazil began playing in 2003, but shortly after, in 2004, was overshadowed by the presence of a professional Brazilian musician in the Phoenix area. “Caji da Bahia” (Carlos Santos), a talented guitar player and singer, played in the Phoenix area from 2004 until 2008 when he left Phoenix to return to Bahia,

Brazil. In order to form an ensemble for performances, Caji often had to work with whoever was available in the area. He taught and trained several musicians himself in order to obtain the sound he desired. Notably, he taught Jayme, the percussionist in Som Brazil/Radio Brazil, the basic rhythms of different Brazilian styles since Jayme had not learned to play music when he lived in Brazil. Some of the musicians originally involved with Som Brazil, Jayme for example, played with Caji because Caji was in greater demand and provided more steady gigs. Caji also had musical connections outside of the Brazilian immigrant community and worked with other professional musicians on public performances and CD recording sessions. Caji became well known not only in the Phoenix Brazilian community but also in the broader musical community of greater Phoenix. He featured area musicians such as Dom Moio, the jazz percussion professor at Arizona State University, on several shows and on his self-titled CD, "Caji da Bahia." Caji was successful not only because of his talents but also because of his versatility and ability to perform as a soloist as well as with larger ensembles. Som Brazil is limited to playing only as a large group of five or more musicians, primarily because of their instrumentation needs and lack of musical confidence. Since Caji is much more musically experienced, he presented a larger repertoire of songs at his shows, appealing to different audiences, including samba, *samba de roda*, world music, Bob Marley cover songs, and even his own compositions.

Som Brazil and Caji da Bahia provided the Phoenix area with live Brazilian music for several years. During this time, smaller events at restaurants and private homes dominated the event calendar. Since Casa Brazil was the only

Brazilian organization at the time, very few large-scale elaborate events took place in Phoenix. The community, and thus the music, was relatively contained. The musical events provided the Brazilian immigrants with opportunities to socialize and take part in Brazilian gatherings. However, with the exception of some of Caji's performances, these events did little to promote Brazilian culture to a wider audience.

The Current Music Groups

The increase in the number of Brazilians in the Phoenix area has created a demand for more musicians and music groups. Brazilian immigrants created several groups because of this desire for live music. Several non-Brazilian outsiders have realized the lucrative potential of providing entertainment for this population. It is much easier now to find events capturing Brazilian culture and offering live music due to the extensive advertising and the networking capabilities of the Internet. Two to three Brazilian events typically occur each month in Phoenix, ranging from large parties with DJs and live bands to smaller duos or trios performing a lunch set at various venues around the Phoenix valley. The following sections are descriptions of the five most prominent Brazilian music groups in the Phoenix area, the types of music they play, where and how often they perform, and other details about the groups' composition.

Tera Crisalida

Singer and guitar player, Tera Crisalida performs around the Phoenix Valley, most often as part of the Tera Crisalido Trio. She also performs in solo, duo, or full band settings. Crisalida was born in the U.S., but her mother was Brazilian and her father was raised in Brazil. She has spent some time living in Brazil as well, experiencing the culture and the music. Crisalida typically performs *bossa nova* and samba, mainly from the late 1950s and early 1960s. Americans and other people interested in Latin jazz styles are the primary audiences who attend performances of this genre of music. Crisalida confirmed that she performs mostly for people other than Brazilians in Phoenix, in part because of the genres she prefers to play.

Crisalida and her group, consisting of Crisalida, a bassist, and a percussionist, play mainly in coffee house settings two to three times per month. Crisalida explained that she favors these types of venues because they allow her to explain the stories behind the music she performs. While Crisalida does not necessarily perform for the Brazilian immigrants in Phoenix, she affirmed that music was important to Brazilians.

That is an understatement...the culture is so musical and rhythmic that it is rare not to see a guitar player or small band on every street corner celebrating something. I think music is a part of every occasion in Brazil. (2012)

She emphasized that the presence of Brazilian music in Phoenix is important for the Brazilian immigrants because it helps “*matar as saudades*” or “kill the longing” for Brazil.

Guitar player and singer, Amanda Soares, and percussionist Johnny Finn formed the Samba Project as a duo in 2009. Soares, a Brazilian from Belo Horizonte in Minas Gerais, learned to play the guitar while living in the United States in 2001. She moved back to Brazil for a short period of time and learned to play more Brazilian music before returning to the U.S. in 2003. Finn is an American and has played percussion for years, focusing on world music. He lived in Bahia, Brazil for a year and played music professionally in Bahia with many accomplished musicians. The two were a successful duo in the Phoenix area for about two years. Finn recently moved to the East Coast to take a university teaching position. The group carries on, but in a slightly different form. Soares now brings in other musicians to fill out the group, such as a bass player and one or two other percussionists. The Samba Project appears quite frequently in the valley.

The Samba Project, despite its name, plays a variety of Brazilian musical styles, which vary according to the audience and venue. They perform *bossa nova*, samba, *MPB*, *samba-reggae*, a combination of samba and reggae that came out of Salvador in the 1980s (McGowan 2009:245), and other music genres. The group plays at restaurants, bars, and malls and has recently played at larger cultural presentation venues such as the Musical Instrument Museum, ASU's Kerr Cultural Center, and Scottsdale Center for the Arts. Depending on the booking, the Samba Project plays for both Brazilian and American audiences. They are often contracted for a Brazilian event or to advertise shows to the Brazilian community, but they also play for wider audiences at events such as the Sunday

A 'Fair outdoor concert series at the Scottsdale Center for the Arts. Soares has made an effort to make her music available to people outside the Brazilian community, thereby contributing to the outreach by Brazilian immigrants to others. Soares feels that Brazilian immigrants in Phoenix appreciate the Samba Project's performances and that it makes the Brazilians feel as if they are back in their homeland (2012).

DJ Seduce

Although he is often taken for a Brazilian because of his African-American and Mexican descent, Miguel Ivery, otherwise known as "DJ Seduce," has been involved in the music scene in Phoenix since 2001. Aside from being a DJ, he also books gigs for other music groups, plans and holds large events, and has his own record label, Afro:Baile Records, an independent Brazilian record label. DJ Seduce became interested in Brazilian music and culture in 2002 and has gained more prominence in the Brazilian community over the past decade. When DJ Seduce spins, or DJs, at a Brazilian event, he plays a large variety of music from samba, *samba-reggae* (defined on page 46), funk, *bossa nova*, and other styles. He has the advantage of being able to reproduce music that is currently popular in Brazil, which other bands may not be able to replicate. For instance, DJ Seduce has brought the new trend of *funk carioca* from Rio, an a dance genre driven by an electronic beat to the Phoenix area. DJ Seduce spins Brazilian music on a weekly basis as a part of his set at the Crescent Ballroom, a lounge in downtown Phoenix that offers live music daily.

DJ Seduce's relationships with local music venues and musicians allowed him to begin hosting large Brazilian events. After being involved with the Brazilian music community on a smaller scale, for example, spinning a short set at the annual *Festa Junina* celebration, it became apparent that the local Brazilian community could benefit from large-scale events at more spacious venues, and that the venture could be profitable. Two events DJ Seduce annually hosts which have existed for three years now are Brazilian Day Arizona in September and Carnaval do Brazil in February or March each year. The scale and number of attendees at these events have steadily increased over the three years of their existence. The most recent Carnaval do Brazil held in February 2012 drew in over 1000 guests. DJ Seduce is effective in advertising his events by taking advantage of social networking sites, the Brazilian listserv, and local news media promotions. In 2012, he also used the popular online Groupon service to sell discounted tickets to Carnaval do Brazil. By using this ticket sale avenue, DJ Seduce reached an entirely different demographic outside of the Brazilian immigrant community.

Since DJ Seduce is becoming more involved with the Brazilian community in Phoenix, his somewhat Afro-Brazilian appearance works to his advantage in gaining the trust and appeal of the local Brazilians. At his large events, DJ Seduce primarily features Som Brazil/Radio Brazil, Axe Capoeira and Axe Folclorico dancers (described on page 24), along with one or two Los Angeles-based Brazilian bands. DJ Seduce is working to create more Brazilian events in Phoenix, potentially on a weekly or monthly basis (Ivery 2012). In

doing so, he is making Brazilian culture, and thus the Brazilian community, accessible and visible to non-Brazilians. Having a non-Brazilian person plan and host large events in the name of Brazilian culture is a sensitive subject with some local Brazilians, particularly when it is obvious that the events are profitable. However, DJ Seduce's events have provided the local Brazilian community with an opportunity to connect to and share their culture with others in the Phoenix area.

Som Brazil/Radio Brazil

Som Brazil played an important role in the history of Brazilian music in Phoenix by creating a group to fill the demand for live music in the early 2000's. However, the group's role in the community changed over the years as other musicians entered the scene and demands arose for different genres of music. Since Brazilians with minimal musical experience initially formed Som Brazil, the group has struggled somewhat with creating a professional stage-presence, though this situation has improved over the years as they continue to develop their talents. At a recent performance under the new name, Radio Brazil, the group transitioned between songs more quickly and was better able to keep the crowd energized than in past performances. The crowd responded very positively to the well-planned performance and even cheered for a few encores.

Of all the musical groups performing in Phoenix, Som Brazil/Radio Brazil typically has the largest number of Brazilians in their ensemble. The lead singer and guitar player, the percussionist, and the drum set player, are all Brazilian and

the keyboard/accordion player, is half-Brazilian. The group's Brazilian percentage has fluctuated over the years. The current bass player and previous bass player are Mexican and American respectively. For some events, the band brings in extra players either with wind instruments, extra auxiliary percussion, or back-up guitar or vocalists. Some of these added musicians are Brazilian. Having Brazilian band members from the Phoenix immigrant community allows Som Brazil to maintain a closer relationship with the audience because they are often performing for their Brazilian friends.

Som Brazil/Radio Brazil has always played a variety of Brazilian musical genres but seems to favor *Música Popular Brasileira (MPB)* (defined on page 38). They play familiar songs that allow most Brazilians to join in and sing along. Their more amateur musicianship notwithstanding, the group maintains the crowd's favor by playing popular songs. This is one reason, along with limited number of Brazilian music groups in Phoenix, that Som Brazil/Radio Brazil has managed to retain success in the Brazilian music scene. They are well known among the community because they have been performing for almost ten years and have played at a large number of events, making them visible and desirable as entertainers.

The recent change in the band's name from Som Brazil to Radio Brazil, which occurred in January 2012, has helped the band rehabilitate its image after a decline in popularity landed them second in the performance lineup to the Los Angeles bands at Phoenix events. Radio Brazil, as the group is now known, still features some of the original musicians and the band is working more closely with

DJ Seduce to book gigs. They have also recorded on DJ Seduce's record label, Afro:Baile. The group is moving forward with their professional and musical goals in hopes of becoming the headlining band and providing higher quality music for the events. With an official website, the group is attempting to present a refined product to Phoenix's Brazilians in order to be a successful and appreciated music group.

Grupo Liberdade

Grupo Liberdade specializes in *batucada* music, a rhythmically complex style that percussion ensembles provide for *Carnaval* and other high-energy events. The percussion instruments in this group include *surdos* (large bass drums of various sizes), *repinique* (high-pitched tom-tom used as the lead and solo instrument), *tamborim* (small single-headed frame drum played with a stick), *caixa* (thin snare drum), *cuica* (single-headed friction drum that produces a high-pitched squeaking sound), *agogô* (two pitched metal bells), *pandeiro* (frame drum with jingles similar to a tambourine and played by hand with complex rhythms and hand motions), *reco-reco* (wooden scraper), and various shakers. The group plays many Afro-Brazilian styles including samba, *samba-reggae* (defined on page 46), *côcos* (song and dance in 2/4 meter from northeastern Brazil), and *maracatu* (slow processional music and dance from northeastern Brazil) (McGowan 2009:243,244). Grupo Liberdade performs at events planned by their leader as well as other events around Phoenix. They have recently performed at the Kerr Cultural Center, the Phoenix Botanical Gardens, and Talking Stick

Casino. The group collaborates with Capoeira-Brazil Arizona and the SambAZ dancers, discussed on page 24, to provide dynamic entertainment at their events. Grupo Liberdade includes mostly Americans and two or three Brazilians.

“Poranguí” (Poranguí McGrew), a local artist, musician, and educator, leads the group. A Mexican/Brazilian/American, he is involved with many projects ranging from filmmaking and media design to natural healing. He also devotes time to working with marginalized youth. Like DJ Seduce, Poranguí has planned and created large annual Brazilian cultural events. In addition, he presents two events each year, Brasil Fest AZ in September and Carnaval AZ in February or March. Poranguí advertises these events through the Brazilian email list, through his personal email lists, through social networking sites, and with posters and flyers.

Brasil Fest AZ took place on September 9, 2011 at the Musical Instrument Museum (MIM) in Phoenix and was successful in reaching out to non-Brazilians. The Musical Instrument Museum features extensive exhibits of instruments and performance videos of various cultures worldwide. At its essence, the MIM fosters cultural appreciation and understanding through music. Brasil Fest AZ and the Musical Instrument Museum are therefore prime vehicles for promoting and revealing Brazilian culture in the Phoenix area.

Event Description: Carnaval do Brazil, February 4, 2012

The following event description is a detailed account of the 2012 Carnaval do Brazil event. I describe the venue, the performance groups, the atmosphere,

and the attendees in order to illustrate a typical Brazilian event in Phoenix, Arizona.

The third annual Carnaval do Brazil, hosted by DJ Seduce, began at 8:00pm on Saturday, February 4, 2012. It was held at 910 Live in Tempe, an indoor and outdoor venue equipped with two stages and a complete sound and lighting system. The venue has expanded over the past two years to increase the outside space and create a more permanent outdoor stage. The venue began admitting guests inside for the 21 and over event at 8:00pm. The live music performances were not scheduled to begin until around 9:15pm, so DJ Seduce played recorded music over the sound system until this time. He also spun records during the transition periods between live bands.

Guests filed in slowly while the door attendants determined how to process the Groupon-purchased tickets. A long line formed at the Brazilian food booth. Val's Brazilian Cuisine, a small caterer in Phoenix, provided food for purchase. They served *feijoada*, or black beans and rice, a traditional Brazilian dish, and small appetizer options including *coxinhas* (chicken-filled fried dough pockets), *pasteis* (fried pastry-dough pouches filled with cheese or ground beef), *esfihas* (dough filled with Middle-Eastern inspired ground beef), and *pão do queijo* (cheesy bread rolls). The food area was popular, but it only had one table at which people could purchase food tickets so the line moved slowly and wrapped halfway around the outside area of the venue.

The venue was aptly equipped with three bars: one inside and two outside. For the event, they served Brazil's signature cocktail, the *caipirinha*, a *cachaça*

(sugar-cane alcohol) drink with mottled lime, sugar, and a splash of soda water. A VIP section was located outside and had reserved tables in a roped-off area for those who paid additional money to reserve them. Various vendors and sponsors set up small booths toward the back of the outdoor area. These included a local Brazilian jiu-jitsu studio, a travel agency, and a local salon offering waxing discounts. Inside the venue, large flat-screen televisions continuously played Brazilian *Carnaval* videos while yellow and green decorations exemplified the Brazilian theme.

The entertainment began at 9:15pm with Axe Folclorico (described on page 24) percussion and dance on the outdoor stage. Axe Folclorico is affiliated with the Axe Capoeira school. At this year's event, the dancers performed instead of the *capoeiristas* ("people who do *capoeira*") who demonstrated the Brazilian martial art last year. Approximately ten young men played the various *bateria* percussion instruments to accompany the four dancers. The dancers performed several Afro-Brazilian dances, then changed costumes for a final samba set in full *Carnaval* outfits consisting of sequined bikinis and large feathered headpieces. Axe played for approximately thirty minutes, during which time the crowd grew by several hundred.

The next band to perform was the Quetzal Guerrero Band, a group from Los Angeles. They played on the indoor stage and began their set about twenty minutes after Axe ended. The band consisted of guitar and vocals, bass, Latin hand percussion, Brazilian percussion, and a drum set. They used various combinations of the percussion instruments depending upon the song. A portion

of the outdoor crowd moved inside to dance and be closer to the music, and the indoor area became completely packed with people. Quetzal Guerrero, the guitar player and lead singer, is the son of Zarko and Carmen Guerrero, the couple who created Zum, Zum, Zum in the 1980s. Quetzal's group does not perform in Phoenix very often and does not play solely Brazilian music. At Carnaval do Brazil, the band performed a few popular Brazilian tunes, several cover songs of popular American music, and some of their own songs as well. The Quetzal Guerrero Band played for about an hour, from 10:00 to 11:00pm. Since the band was set up on the indoor stage, their sound was broadcast on speakers to the outdoor area. Unfortunately, the sound quality was loud and unclear. A majority of people that had remained outside were socializing with friends as opposed to dancing to the music of Quetzal Guerrero. At this point, the crowd was lively and energetic, enjoying the music and the atmosphere.

The final live group for the evening was Radio Brazil. They were set up on the outdoor stage. While the venue seemed ideal for alternating quickly between inside and outside performances, they did not have quite enough microphones or sound cables to make this happen efficiently. During the set changes, the venue sound technicians had to unplug and relocate all the power and microphone cords, prolonging the time in between bands. Nearly thirty minutes passed between the Quetzal Guerrero Band and Radio Brazil. Despite the fact that recorded music was playing over the speakers, the crowd, which had grown to over 1000 people seemed to grow impatient waiting for more live music.

Radio Brazil began playing at 11:30pm. The band performed with its lead singer and guitar player, bass player, keyboard and accordion player, drum set player and two auxiliary percussionists. They also added two musicians from a Los Angeles Brazilian band that played at last year's Carnaval do Brazil. One played various instruments earlier mentioned, including *cavaquinho* (small, ukulele-like instrument), *tamborim* (small single-headed drum), and *tan-tan* (large single-headed, metal barrel drum); the other played *pandeiro* and various auxiliary Brazilian percussion instruments. With eight musicians on stage and a great deal of rehearsal, Radio Brazil provided a high-energy and exciting performance. The huge crowd danced to the music and many who knew the words of the familiar Brazilian songs sang along. Radio Brazil played for almost an hour and a half, finishing their set with two extra songs encouraged by the chants of the crowd.

DJ Seduce rounded out the night with some *funk carioca* music (defined on page 47) and other popular electronic dance music for those who wanted to dance all night. After Radio Brazil finished playing around 1:00am, many people headed home and this was the time at which I left as well.

The crowd at this year's event was larger and more noticeably diverse than the previous years' events. DJ Seduce advertised extensively to non-Brazilians and the use of the Groupon discounted ticket service seemed to succeed in increasing the crowd. It is difficult to estimate the actual number of Brazilian attendees in the large crowd at Carnaval do Brazil 2012, but most of the Brazilians with whom I am acquainted were present. The event drew in groups of

other nationalities as well. I noticed several Middle-Eastern groups of attendees. At one point in the evening, a young Sri Lankan man approached us to engage in friendly conversation with my in-laws and was genuinely interested in learning more about Brazilian culture.

Many guests wore the traditional Brazilian flag colors of green, yellow, and blue or a Brazilian themed shirt. Those Brazilians that I was able to identify walked about with an air of pride for their culture and happiness at being able to celebrate *Carnaval*, their country's largest event, in Arizona. At times it was difficult to know whether to speak Portuguese or English because the crowd was so mixed.

Since it was a *Carnaval* celebration with a costume contest, several people also dressed in feathered headpieces and sequined outfits. The samba dancers from Axe Folclorico meandered through the crowd in their *Carnaval* outfits, primarily posing for pictures and occasionally joining in a samba dance circle. Other samba dancers, in addition to those from Axe, were hired to do the same. The atmosphere of the event was positive, high-energy, and exciting. Groups of friends formed dance circles and many Brazilians, and Americans who were so inclined, showed off their samba skills throughout the night. The event drew a large number of young people, in their twenties and early thirties, but many older Brazilians attended as well.

Overall, the event was very successful, as judged by the number of people who attended, the success of the live performances, and the promotion of Brazilian culture on a large scale to a diverse crowd. With this being the third

annual Carnaval do Brazil and an attendance of over 1000 people, it is clear that the event was influential in creating awareness of Brazilian culture in Phoenix. As a result of my attending this event and others, too, it is evident how important it is for Brazilians to bring people together and provide a medium through which they can realize and perform their culture.

Conclusion: Performing Brazilian

The Brazilian music groups in Phoenix and the various events at which they perform are central to maintaining identity in the Brazilian immigrant community. Not only do the Brazilians who play in the groups confirm their identities through performance of Brazilian music, but they also enable other Brazilian immigrants to do the same by listening to and participating in the music. The events hosted by Casa Brazil, DJ Seduce, and Poranguí provide the ideal environment for fostering identity, both individually and collectively, among the group of Brazilians present, through connections to the homeland established by the music and crowd participation. The demand for live Brazilian music has existed in Phoenix since the 1980s with the arrival of the earliest Brazilian immigrants. This long-term demand confirms the argument that musical interaction and participation are the most beneficial activities for maintaining Brazilian identity in Phoenix.

CHAPTER 5: THE ROLE OF MUSIC IN THE PHOENIX DIASPORA

Identity and Music

As I have established in this paper, music plays an important role in maintaining identities of the Phoenix Brazilian community. The question becomes, why is music such an effective medium for maintaining individual and group identity? I believe the answer lies partly in explanations offered by Thomas Turino in the “Introduction” to the book *Identity and the Arts in Diasporic Communities*. Turino discusses the various forms of art and their interpretation through the interplay of “icons,” “indices,” and “symbols” (2004:10-11). He defines “icons” as “signs connected to what they stand for through some type of resemblance” (Turino 2004:10). Icons represent a possibility, usually something that is not literal and does not necessarily exist outside of its representation, such as a dragon. Icons can be interpreted differently by each individual and are common in paintings, music, and poetry. “Indices,” or indexical signs, “signify what they indicate through existential connection” and “are interpreted as being *authentic* because of their direct connection to what they stand for” (Turino 2004:11). Indices represent something absolute, such as a song from a specific region or a weather vane indicating wind direction. Finally, “symbols” are general signs that stand for objects and rely both on icons and indices (Turino 2004:11-12). Symbols differ from icons and indices in that they

tend to have a more definite set of meanings in contrast to icons and, especially indices, which rely on the continually emergent interplay of the possible and the actual within personal experience. (ibid.:12)

Icons and indices thus have the advantage of expressive power by being more evocative of what they signify as opposed to being a definitive representation, as is a symbol. All representations; three, icons, indices, and symbols, are present in various art forms as they are also present in every day language and objects.

Different art forms exist on a spectrum between iconic and indexical.

Turino provides four continua for comparing art forms:

- 1) the extent to which they emphasize icons, indices, and symbols;
- 2) the extent that they allow for the simultaneous presentation of multiple signs;
- 3) the degree to which the interpretation of signs is foregrounded within focal awareness; and
- 4) the ways in which the *possible* (iconic) and the *actual* (indexical) are balanced and framed within a particular medium, genre, or style. (2004:12)

Since appreciating and experiencing art requires heightened attention and a “conscious effort,” art brings icons, indices, and symbols to the foreground (ibid.). Literature and language-based arts, including poetry, novels, and song texts, favor the iconic-indexical side of the spectrum while visual arts and music favor the indexical-iconic side (ibid.:13).

Music, therefore, contains more indexical symbols with a stronger and more direct connection to what they represent than some other art forms. The indices in music represent something real and absolute. They are easier for listeners to grasp. Indices depend upon individual and group experience to establish connection and are therefore context specific (ibid.:11). Music experienced in a live or group setting provides the social context for indices to become relevant and find meaning. When indices are experienced and recognized in a group, such as within musical performances, “common reactions...[become]

an index of similarity and identity between individuals because such reactions suggest a commonality of background or understanding” (ibid.:11). A musical experience can create an indexical symbol of community and togetherness itself by the shared experience of the event. Therefore, music contains an ability, on multiple levels, to create a strong symbolic connection for those, and between those, experiencing such.

Music is comprised of a number of events, from harmony and melody to instrumentation and dynamics. All of these events interact and function in ways that can contribute to the iconic, indexical, and symbolic nature of the music. Turino states that, “taken together, these elements make musical performance a particularly rich semiotic field that has the capability of producing particularly complex effects” (2004:17). He continues by describing the appropriateness of music for “representing and articulating diasporic identities that are composites of elements” (ibid.). Music creates an all-encompassing iconic, indexical, and symbolic art form flexible and powerful enough to represent the most influential aspects of homeland culture for immigrants.

Christopher Small contends that “to music is to take part in the most concrete and least mediated of all artistic activities” (1998:143). Music can contain strong expressions and representation and has the ability to easily communicate those messages and feelings. When immigrants feel a connection to their homeland during a musical performance, the music has triggered an emotional state and therefore, the performance fulfills its purpose to arouse emotions and promote relationships with the music and among the listeners

(Small 1998:137). I believe this is what is happening in the Brazilian community in Phoenix.

The musical experience of the Phoenix Brazilian community contains strong connections and representations of Brazilian culture, just as Turino explains. Since music is a very important aspect of Brazilian culture and the indices contained in the music are interpreted as being a literal part of Brazil, music serves as the ideal medium for Brazilians in Phoenix to experience a connection to their homeland. Brazilian music conveys feelings and emotions unique to Brazilian culture and identity. In the context of the diaspora, this experience in itself also becomes a representation of the commonality of Brazilian culture existing among the participating immigrants. Experiencing music in a large group, as is common at Phoenix Brazilian events described earlier in this paper, helps Brazilians maintain personal identities and contributes to a stronger, more coherent group identity. In addition to simply experiencing the music, Brazilians participate as well by dancing and singing, thus securing an even more concrete bond with their original culture and with the other Brazilians around.

Participation and “Musiking”

Music is much more than an abstract art form; it is an activity characterized by various levels of participation among all involved. At the Brazilian social events in Phoenix, participation in a musical experience becomes key to forming and maintaining personal and group identity. Christopher Small refers to this inclusive participation of the musicians, audience, and everyone

present as *musiking* (defined on page 37) (1998:9). By participating in the musical experience, either by dancing, singing, or simply listening, Brazilian immigrants perform their identity as Brazilians, both as individuals and as a group. These identities are articulated through the relationships *musiking* creates between the musicians and the audience and among the audience members themselves. They are performed identities in the sense that participants act the identity they choose to be or imagine to be (Small 1998:134). Christopher Small states that

who we are is how we relate, and the relationships articulated by a musical performance are not so much those that actually exist as they are the relationships that those taking part desire to exist. (1998:134)

Brazilian immigrants in Phoenix participate in music to perform an identity they desire to maintain. The musical events provide an opportunity outside of everyday life to emphasize their Brazilian identity.

Aside from participating in a musical event with their presence, several local Brazilians participate more substantially: they play instruments and perform Brazilian music central to maintaining identity. A common element in their participation is their recent development of musical performance skills. Most of the local Brazilian musicians did not play instruments in Brazil but rather, learned to play after moving to the United States. These Brazilians became musicians in the United States to provide music for other Brazilians and to promote stronger individual identities for themselves as Brazilians. They moved beyond the social experience of music and began participating at a more intensive and engaging level. Not only does this affect their personal identities, but it also contributes to the group identity. Their relationship with the music they perform announces to

the audience “We are Brazilian, we are immigrants, and this is our music.”

Performances by immigrant musicians strengthen the group identity and confirm with the audience that living in the U.S. does not curtail their identities as Brazilians.

Other Brazilians participate in this heightened level at smaller events, such as house parties. Often, some of the Brazilian musicians will bring their instruments to a *churrasco* or afternoon gathering, to provide informal entertainment. When the Brazilian musicians play music at these informal jams, many others join in in any way possible. Since these jams are impromptu, informal musical performances, the Brazilians take advantage of the opportunity to participate more fully in the music-making process. Even within a smaller group, the relationships and connections fostered by music are present and strong.

At these afternoon gatherings, the Brazilians find makeshift instruments to replicate the sounds and rhythms of Brazilian auxiliary percussion, also a common practice in Brazil where the *frigideira* or “frying pan” is a popular instrument. They will use empty aluminum beer bottles to make shakers, rub two cassette tapes together to mimic the *reco-reco*, or they will imitate the *cuica* by making high-pitched squeaking sounds with their voices. Like the Puerto Rican bomba and plena, the samba lends itself “to relatively unlimited accretion of both performers and ad-hoc instrumentation” (Solís 2005:82). Most Brazilians, without musical training, have enough exposure to music in their country that they are able to play foundational rhythms with basic techniques.

Very little, if any, opportunity exists in Phoenix to advance these playing techniques, since teachers of Brazilian music performance beyond a basic level are impossible to find. Brazilian immigrants learn from each other or from sources such as YouTube, as one skilled Brazilian *pandeiro* player in Phoenix has done. Several people, including me, can play *pandeiro* at a basic level, and one Brazilian made an effort to study at an intermediate to advanced level after moving to Phoenix. This man rarely plays with the Brazilian music groups at the large events, but typically brings his *pandeiro* to the smaller gatherings, where he enjoys playing informally with friends.

Musiking, in any capacity, is what most prominently maintains Brazilian identity among immigrants in Phoenix. Since Brazilians come to the U.S. with a strong cultural affinity for music, they are able to take advantage of the connections and relationships to their home country found in the music. Music serves the Brazilian immigrant community in a significant way as it is a unifying cultural element in Brazil and therefore retains, or even increases, this unifying force among immigrants in Phoenix. Small suggests that musical participation is very important when he states that “the fundamental nature and meaning of music lie not in musical works at all, but in action, in what people do” (1998:8). Local Brazilians in Phoenix perform, and therefore maintain, their identity through music, eliciting music to confirm their Brazilian identities and to feel culturally fulfilled themselves while living in the U.S.

Essentialization of Culture in Diasporas

Brazilians in Phoenix maintain their identity through musical participation at events; however, these events rarely represent every region and social group within Brazil. As with the often-portrayed cowboy and Indian stereotype of the western United States, international perspectives often simplify Brazilian culture to samba and soccer. We, as Americans, know that our country and culture contain much more than the stereotypes presume - everything from regional cultures to subcultures exist within our society. Granted, samba and soccer are two important aspects of Brazilian culture; however, they fall far short of presenting a comprehensive representation of Brazil. Brazil, like America, has many distinct regional identities and subcultures. Although the Brazilian immigrants in Phoenix are aware of their country's cultural diversity, they continue to reinforce the essentialization of their culture.

When Phoenix Brazilians essentialize their culture, the result is limited genres of popular music, similar food and drink selection at cultural events, and the presence of costumed samba dancers even at events unrelated to *Carnaval*. They reduce the vast Brazilian culture down to samba and *Música Popular Brasileira (MPB)*, *feijoada* and *caipirinhas*, and *fantasias* ("Carnaval costumes") and *penas* ("feathers"). This clichéd version of Brazilian culture, however, presents a more unified representation of Brazil that the immigrants are able to share. Brazilian immigrants, especially those who settled Phoenix, come from various parts of Brazil. Creating a unified portrayal of Brazil allows them to develop a stronger sense of community and identity as Brazilians, not merely as

cariocas (people from Rio de Janeiro) or *paulistas* (people from São Paulo) or *baianos* (people from Bahia).

Since immigrants are in a liminal state, on the periphery of their original culture and their new culture, finding a common ground among themselves provides a central community to stabilize their ambiguous identities. In the introduction to *Becoming Brazuca: Brazilian Immigration to the United States*, Braga and Jouët-Pastré state that

once Brazilians arrive [in the U.S.], they often discover their ‘Brazilian-ness’ in ways they never previously explored, either because they want to make a mark in defining their culture for themselves or because they see the need to feed into cultural expectations of what being Brazilian means. (2008:8)

Music events provide the setting for Brazilians in Phoenix to follow these cultural expectations. A few local Brazilians whom I interviewed stated that they did not listen to samba music or *Música Popular Brasileira (MPB)* while they lived in Brazil. After moving to the United States, these genres of music became more important in their lives because they represented a clear, yet idealistic, image of Brazil and what it means to be Brazilian. These are also the primary genres of music performed at the Brazilian events and therefore, appreciating them as an immigrant grants one greater access and connection to the immigrant community. Though the display of Brazilian culture in Phoenix is essentialized to a few key components, this simplified version promotes stronger group identity with Brazilians rallying around and emphasizing commonalities.

Visibility of the Brazilian Population in Phoenix

I have observed the Brazilian population in Phoenix grow over the past four years. Not only have their numbers increased, but the visibility of the population has increased as well. The Brazilian immigrant community is becoming more noticeable to outsiders in the Phoenix area. The main reason for this increased visibility is the greater number of large, publically advertised events promoting Brazilian music and culture. American interest in Brazilian culture still retains some of the commercialized exoticism prompted by earlier exposure, to figures like Carmen Miranda, an iconic Portuguese performer from Brazil that introduced the world to Brazilian culture in the 1940s and 50s marked by her signature fruit hat. However, American interest is also catalyzed by the growth of Brazil as an international economic power. Many Americans are interested in learning about and experiencing Brazilian culture, especially their music, thus opening the Brazilian events to more than just the immigrant community. As visibility of the Brazilians increases, so does the interest of other ethnic and immigrant groups towards Phoenix Brazilians, such as that of the young Sri Lankan man I met at Carnaval do Brazil.

Being visible and sharing their culture with outsiders provides greater affirmation of Brazilian immigrant identity. Music continues to play a key role in maintaining identity, as musical events draw large crowds. Music is also one of the easier and more accessible mediums through which people are able to share their culture. Being so suitable for dancing and interacting, Brazilian popular music creates an inviting pathway into Brazilian culture. Creating this pathway

and knowing that other cultural groups enjoy and appreciate the Brazilian music reinforces the diasporic identity of Brazilian immigrants.

As the Phoenix Brazilian community has grown it has also gained more institutional affiliations, another factor contributing to visibility of the population. The Musical Instrument Museum (MIM, discussed on page 52) is a relatively new, influential institution in north Phoenix that promotes Brazilian culture by hosting events, such as Brasil Fest AZ in 2011. It features Brazilian musicians in its concert series, including a Brazilian guitar duo playing with Cuban clarinetist Paquito D’Rivera and the Brazilian composer Flávio Chamis, who presented a program about the music of Antonio Carlos Jobim, composer of “The Girl From Ipanema” and other popular songs. These events are advertised to the general public and museum attendees, but continue to aid the overall identity and perception of a strong Brazilian community in Phoenix. The Kerr Cultural Center in Scottsdale, associated with Arizona State University, also promotes Brazilian culture in Phoenix. Kerr Cultural Center featured Grupo Liberdade in a concert about the origins of Brazilian *batucada*, Brazilian percussion ensembles. Institutions that highlight Brazilian culture in Phoenix help to validate the presence of Brazilian immigrants and bring Brazilian culture into a more academic and public sphere.

Performances: Brazilians vs. Americans

A larger number of Americans are attending Brazilian events in Phoenix as they become more widely advertised and easily accessible. However, the

musical performances have different meanings for the American attendees than they do for the Brazilians. Americans attend events such as Carnaval do Brazil and Brasil Fest AZ to be entertained and to experience the Brazilian culture. Since the events are often held at clubs or venues with bars, many young Americans attend to participate in the dancing and libations of the evening. In addition, the rise of Brazil as an economically viable country has caused greater American interest in Brazilian culture.

Conclusion: Role of Music

In summary, musical events benefit both the American and the Brazilian populations in Phoenix. Americans learn more about Brazil and the Brazilian community in Phoenix and Brazilians foster their identity by becoming more recognized as an interesting and entertaining immigrant culture in Phoenix, primarily through the medium of music. While music per se provides an avenue for identity through its use of icons, indices, and symbols, the act of *musiking*, or directly participating in the musical experience, promotes a relationship, both to the homeland and to others present, that gives music a greater purpose and meaning (Small 1998:13). Brazilian culture is often simplified within an immigrant community to better represent everyone as a whole within the culture. Even in its simplified form, Brazilian music and culture still enable Brazilians in Phoenix to connect with others and realize their individual and group identities as Brazilians.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

Music is one of the stronger art forms for representing emotions and creating an experience of relationship and connections. For the Brazilian community in Phoenix, music is the most important factor in establishing and maintaining a connection to Brazil. As such, music creates a medium with which to confirm identity, and makes the Brazilian immigrant population visible to other Americans and outsiders. While other Brazilian activities, such as playing soccer, having a *churrasco*, and speaking Portuguese with friends, can also maintain immigrants' identity, it is clear to me from five years of participant-observation that musical interaction and participation is the most prominent and effective way for Brazilians in Phoenix to maintain their identity while living in the U.S.

The Phoenix Brazilian population, as well as the total number of Brazilians in the U.S., has been growing since the 1980s. As more Brazilians move to the U.S., they form larger communities of Brazilian immigrants. When Brazilian immigrants enter American society, they often face challenges aligning themselves within U.S. social categories. Being marginalized within American society produces a shared experience among Brazilian immigrants, thus creating a greater need to affirm their identities as individuals and as Brazilians. Gathering to celebrate Brazilian holidays, such as *Carnaval* and Brazilian Independence Day, promotes group interaction among Brazilian immigrants and fosters identities. The presence of music at nearly every event in the Brazilian immigrant community confirms both that music is a key feature of Brazilian culture and that it creates a strong connection to their homeland.

While still relatively small compared to its counterparts in Boston and New York City, the Phoenix Brazilian population is starting to establish a more prominent presence in the Phoenix area. Over the past three years, DJ Seduce, Casa Brazil, and Poranguí have begun hosting large Brazilian cultural events featuring dancers, music, and *capoeira*. Most events are well attended, with a few each year attracting over 1000 people. The increase in the number of events and overall attendance is evidence of a growing demand for Brazilian culture to be represented in Phoenix. The Brazilian events bring people together and provide a gathering point to reaffirm their cultural identity. While aspects of Brazilian culture tend to be essentialized at these events to a few key components, this also seems to create a more concentrated and potent form of Brazilian culture. This is beneficial for both Brazilian and American attendees. Brazilians appreciate the most salient factors of their culture through which it is easiest and advantageous to maintain their identities. Americans experience a limited, but vivid example of Brazilian culture that highlights celebration and entertainment.

Furthermore, for Brazilian immigrants, their music evokes strong feelings and memories of Brazil. In support of my research, I have attended over 30 events, both large and small, within the Brazilian immigrant community and I cannot recall a single event that did not have either live or recorded Brazilian music. Music, at these events, metaphorically transports the Brazilian immigrants back to Brazil, even if only temporarily. The Brazilian immigrants employ background music or live music to recreate feelings and memories of Brazil. At small gatherings, the Brazilian hosts play Brazilian music on the stereo

throughout the night; they also ask local musicians to bring their instruments and provide live music. Both forms of music ignite dancing, singing, and recollection. Music, therefore, evokes a greater connection and relation to Brazil than food, language, or sports – it creates an aura and representation of Brazil through which immigrants reconnect to their culture.

My research has revealed that several local Brazilian musicians even learned to play Brazilian music after moving to the United States to be able to secure stronger emotional connections to their Brazilian identity while also sharing their music with others. They, in essence, bring their homeland to the events and help to create the musical environment so evocative of Brazil. The growing number of local Brazilian music groups fills the Brazilian community's growing demand for live music and also attracts people outside the community to the events.

Music greatly overshadows some components of Brazilian culture and is inseparable from others, such as dance and martial arts. Music, therefore, is essential for the Brazilian immigrants in Phoenix. As a community, music unites the experiences of the Brazilian immigrants and removes them from the periphery of life in a new society.

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APPENDIX A
GLOSSARY OF PORTUGUESE TERMS

Agogô – two pitched metal bells played with a stick.

Baianos – people from Bahia, Brazil.

Bateria – drums; drum and percussion section of a samba school.

Batucada – samba drumming or percussion playing involving numerous instruments.

Berimbau – a bow instrument used primarily in *capoeira*. It consists of a bent stick strung with a wire and a gourd. The wire is struck with a smaller stick, and pressing a small stone against the wire changes the pitch.

Bossa nova – a genre of music that contains rhythmic elements of samba and harmonic influences from jazz and classical music.

Brazucas – a term Brazilian immigrants often use among themselves to describe Brazilians living in the United States.

Cachaça – sugar-cane alcohol common in Brazil.

Caipirinha – a traditional Brazilian cocktail made with *cachaça*, mottled lime, sugar, and ice.

Caixa – a shallow snare drum.

Capoeira – an Afro-Brazilian martial art and dance that originated as entertainment for slaves in the northeast of Brazil.

Capoeirista – someone who performs or practices *capoeira*.

Cariocas – slang for people from Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

Carnaval – a large national celebration that occurs the week before Lent begins. *Carnaval* is famous for its elaborate parades of samba “schools” (groups), floats, and dancers.

Cavaquinho – a four-stringed lute instrument similar to a ukulele.

Churrascaria – a type of Brazilian restaurant that serves large portions of rotisserie-roasted meat, cut straight from skewers.

Churrasco – Rotisserie grilled meat. The term also refers to the event of having a gathering to eat the grilled meat.

Coco de roda – Afro-Brazilian song and dance from northeast Brazil.

Colheita – a traditional Brazilian dance performed at the bean harvest in rural Brazil.

Coxinhas – chicken or meat filled fried dough pockets.

Cuica – a small friction drum with a stick attached to the drumhead that produces loud squeaking sounds when rubbed.

"E assim que eu sonho do velho Brasil" – “And so I dream of old Brazil.” A back-translation of one version of the English lyrics of the famous song, *Aquarela do Brasil*, or “Brazil.” This version of the English lyrics is very loosely translated and does not fully represent the original Portuguese lyrics.

Esfihas – dough filled with Middle-Eastern inspired ground beef mixture.

Fantasia – costumes worn during *Carnaval* parades and celebrations.

Feijoada – a traditional Brazilian dish consisting of black bean and meat stew served over rice and with collard greens.

Festa Junina – June Festival celebrating St. John the Baptist and often exemplifying rural life in Brazil.

Forró – a genre of music and dance from northeastern Brazil often considered “country” music.

Frigideira – “frying pan” percussion instrument played with a stick.

Funk Carioca – electronic dance music created in Rio de Janeiro.

Maculelê – Afro-Brazilian stick-fighting dance.

Maracatú – slow Afro-Brazilian processional music and dance from northeast Brazil.

Música Popular Brasileiro (MPB) – a wide genre of Brazilian urban popular music that appeared in the 1960s and contains uniquely Brazilian influences of rhythm and lyrics but does not fall into genres such as samba, *forró*, jazz, or rock.

Pandeiro – a tambourine with jingles and a tunable head, and played with complex hand motions.

Pastel (Pasteis pl.) – fried pastry dough pouches fill with cheese, ground beef, or other ingredients.

Pão de queijo – cheesy bread rolls.

Paulistas – slang for people from São Paulo, Brazil.

Penas – feathers.

Reco-reco – a notched scraper instrument.

Repinique – a high-pitched tom-tom used as the lead and solo instrument in a samba *batucada* group.

Samba – a genre of music and type of dance that originated in the shanty-towns of Rio de Janeiro in the early 20th century. Samba has become a symbol of national identity in Brazil.

Samba de roda – a genre of samba associated with circle dancing and clapping with percussion accompaniment.

Samba pagoda – a type of samba with the original intention of returning to simpler styles of samba. It features the *cavaquinho* (small lute) and *tan-tan* drum.

Samba-reggae – a mixture of samba and reggae that developed in the northeast of Brazil in the 1980s.

Surdo – a large bass drum used in samba that comes in three sizes.

Tamborim – a small single-headed frame drum played with a stick.

APPENDIX B

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD EXEMPT APPROVAL

fr
To: Theodore Solis
MUSIC BUIL
From: Mark Roosa, Chair *SM*
Soc Beh IRB
Date: 05/25/2010
Committee Action: Exemption Granted
IRB Action Date: 05/25/2010
IRB Protocol #: 1005005144
Study Title: Brazilian Immigrant Identity in Phoenix

The above-referenced protocol is considered exempt after review by the Institutional Review Board pursuant to Federal regulations, 45 CFR Part 46.101(b)(2) .

This part of the federal regulations requires that the information be recorded by investigators in such a manner that subjects cannot be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects. It is necessary that the information obtained not be such that if disclosed outside the research, it could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability, or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.

You should retain a copy of this letter for your records.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Amy Swietlik grew up in Fairfax, Virginia and became involved in music through her school's band program at the age of 10. After being introduced to ethnomusicology in a high school music class, she realized that music was a promising medium to teach people about world cultures and promote the understanding and appreciation of diversity. Amy received her Bachelor of Music in Instrumental Music Education from Arizona State University in May 2009, graduating Summa Cum Laude. During her student teaching semester, Amy was awarded the Outstanding Student Teacher Award for Secondary Education. She continued her education at ASU and pursued a Master of Arts in Ethnomusicology, graduating in May 2012.

Amy was first exposed to the Brazilian immigrant population in Phoenix in 2007 when she began dating her current fiancé, Gabe. Gabe's father is Brazilian and his mother is American. Their family has been strongly connected with the Brazilian immigrant community in Phoenix for over 20 years. Amy has also had the opportunity to travel to Brazil on two occasions in 2007 and 2009. The experiences she has had with Brazilian people and culture have contributed greatly to her research interests. An active musician, Amy has also performed in various ensembles on euphonium and trombone, including wind ensembles, jazz big bands, and a traditional jazz ensemble.