



(...) we start from the premise that the entangled aesthetics created and amplified by Carmen Miranda can be understood to escape the time that marked her existence, as well to escape the contexts that guided her daily life. The use of a DIY (do-it-yourself) praxis, in this ballast, can even be understood as a tool for the pursuit of a utopia: that of singularity.

Carmen Miranda: the alternative history of the Brazilian Bombshell

LIBRARIAS
HYPOTHESIS
HISTORIA
PERIODICAL

Sofia Sousa ^{1,a}

¹ |Institute of Sociology, University of Porto, Portugal

^a | Author to whom any correspondence should be addressed: sofiaarsousa22@gmail.com

Submitted: 19 January 2023

Revised: 30 May 2023

Accepted: 12 June 2023

Published: 24 October 2023

DOI: [https://doi.org/
10.34626/2184-9978/
2023_vol3_n1_768](https://doi.org/10.34626/2184-9978/2023_vol3_n1_768)

This is an open-access article
under the CC-BY license

([http://creativecommons.org/
licenses/by/3.0/pt/legalcode](http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0/pt/legalcode))

Abstract. Carmen Miranda is still one of Brazil’s greatest musical and aesthetic icons. The artist stood out for her non-conformist attitude and aesthetic towards the prevailing aesthetic at the time of her artistic peak. In this article, we intend to focus on two key topics, namely the use of Do-It-Yourself (DIY) in her artistic creations, but we also intend to apply to her trajectory the counterfactual/alternative history, i.e., we intend to undertake a “what if...” analysis in relation to a set of historical events that marked her trajectory, emphasizing, thus, the creation and dissemination of her platform shoes, while we intend to highlight her contribution to the international footwear fashion.

Keywords: DIY, aesthetics, Carmen Miranda, alternative history, creation, design.

1. Introduction

This article will have as its analytical focus Carmen Miranda, a musical and aesthetic icon of the Global South, more specifically of the history of fashion and Brazilian music. The choice of Carmen Miranda as a focus of this paper, was because she broke with the conventional, traditional, and conformist barriers imposed in relation to fashion, aesthetics, and Brazilian music in the 20th century, in Brazil and also in other countries, such as the United States of America (USA). Moreover, its rupture was manifested in two striking aesthetic elements, namely the issue of hats and turbans, but also in footwear.

In fact, to perform this theoretical-imaginative essay, we had as a starting point the contributions of Atkinson [1], since the author states — in relation to steampunk — that fashion, several times, is assumed as a materialization of a desire for individuality, as well as it manifests itself in a search process for an identity. The author also states that these processes of (re)construction of identities are based on an individual concern facing the logic of creation. Still following Atkinson [1], it is possible to mention that some styles and aesthetics are based on multiple forms of (re)creation of the past, but also in the desire to escape contemporary times and experiences, i.e., these aesthetic manifestations can be seen as utopias. Therefore, in this article, we start from the premise that the entangled aesthetics created and amplified by Carmen Miranda can be understood to escape the time that marked her existence, as well to escape the contexts that guided her daily life. The use of a DIY (do-it-yourself) praxis, in this ballast, can even be understood as a tool for the pursuit of a utopia: that of singularity.

Briefly, in this article, we intend to work on two structural axes: DIY and alternative history, in a back-and-forth logic of constant theoretical-imaginative interaction; we assume that DIY praxis, evident in Carmen Miranda's aesthetics, influences

— and enables — her alternative history, from her shoes to her clothes to her jewelry. Thus, we will use a netnographic analysis [2, 3], complementary to the alternative history, which is based on the images made available — in digital format — at the Carmen Miranda Museum, located in the city of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

2. From anonymity to stardom: the creative and aesthetic journey of Carmen Miranda

Before *being* Carmen Miranda, the artist was Maria do Carmo Miranda da Cunha, a young girl born in 1909 in Marco de Canavezes, Portugal [4]. Most stars come from anonymity; nobody would have guessed that a daughter of emigrant parents would become one of the biggest international stars of the 20th century. She was only ten months old when her parents emigrated to Brazil, meaning her career peaked 80 years ago. Although distant in time, her contributions and aesthetic legacy are still close to us today. Reading the biographies of Garcia [4] and Castro [5], we soon realized that Carmen was born to do and be different. Her career and early steps in the Brazilian music industry were daring, innovative, and somewhat controversial, aspects that made her an artist in the total sense of the term. Carmen sang, danced, acted, and performed and, as you might (not) expect, was one of the first women at the time to build an international artistic career, fostering political relations between Brazil and the USA.

The Brazilian Bombshell [6] lived between the local and the translocal [7, 8, 9] while creating micro-utopias in the different geographical contexts she passed through. These micro-creations marked generations, from her exotic costumes to her famous fruit hats, highly disruptive for the time. Even today, 80 years after her appearance as an artist, the

image of the fruit hat is inseparable from Carmen Miranda, and has been widely analyzed; however, we considered Carmen Miranda to be more than just a fruit hat: she was innovative, resistant, and authentic [1]. From a musical standpoint, her first success was the recording and release of the song “Ta-hí” (Pra Você Gostar De Mim) [(For You To Like Me)], together with Joubert de Carvalho. Little did he know that a simple song would lead to the emergence of the essential samba singer of the 1930s in Brazil and that Carmen Miranda would become the first artist to sign a contract with a radio station in the country [10]. This is where her alternative history begins to be written.

In the wake of Mahoney and Barrenechea [11], we can gauge that alternative histories start from a subjective condition, from which the antecedent event is known but whose effects of that same event can be changed and rethought [12]. One of the most common examples is referred to by Harvey [13] when the questioning is made that if Al Gore had been elected president of the United States of America, the invasion of Iraq would not have happened. In the scope of this article, I start by questioning that if Carmen Miranda had not resorted to DIY to create her costumes, international fashion would have followed a different course, especially regarding the footwear industry. Thinking about our specific research context, namely Carmen Miranda and the use of DIY in fashion and in the creation of her visual aesthetics, we can gauge, as Mahoney and Barrenechea [11] mentioned in their work, that an analysis that starts from an alternative history aims to evaluate the effect of an event, considering all the scenarios that could have happened differently, this through the use of “what if” arguments that aim to re-analyze the story, in this case, Carmen Miranda’s. In brief, this is an exercise that focuses on a broad set of spaces and times and that, through (sociological) imagination and reflexivity, questions what might or might not

have existed or happened if specific distances and times had not lived. It is an exercise that operates on the frontier of “possible worlds” [11:4–5], located in conceptual areas that, in turn, reflect our beliefs about how the world could be or could have been.

Thinking about our object of study, we can also complement our analysis of the preponderance of alternative history with Bunzl’s contributions [14]. From this point of view, the author states that counterfactual — or alternative — history is inevitable in the practice of history and, in this sense, we add that it assumes the same role as social sciences in general and sociology in specific because they are fields of research that have a close relationship with imagination. They are scientific areas that are based on causal analyses. At the same time, Mordhorst [15] articulates in his research that counterfactual narratives are a ‘refreshing’ development of history writing since they offer contingency and counteract deterministic tendencies, aspects that also apply to our endeavor here.

In short, taking as our motto the conceptualization of a DIY praxis and the pre-eminence of alternative history, we intend to approach another side of the counter-hegemonic aesthetics — traditionally associated with the punk movement [16, 17, 18] — adopted by Carmen Miranda, in order to reposition them as an artistic production, but also cultural production that, in turn, gave rise to a series of changes and metamorphoses in Brazilian and international fashion.

3. The history of Brazilian fashion rewritten by Carmen Miranda

As we have mentioned, Carmen broke with all the aesthetic and fashion standards that existed in Brazil [19] and, by doing so, contributed to the construction and dissemination of a vision of the Brazilian woman, in the sense that she, through the use of clothes, accessories and even through

her performance, became a symbol of alternative, different and unconventional femininity [20]. Here begins the intro to her alternative history: what would have been the path taken by the aesthetic dimension of Brazilian femininity if Carmen Miranda had not broken these standards? In our assertion, we can associate the artist's success, especially in the photographic and cinematographic industry spectrum, to her disruptive aesthetics. Within this scope, we can question to what extent Carmen could have had the success she had if she had adopted a simplistic aesthetics or if, on the contrary, she had not re-appropriated the aesthetics of the Bahian woman [21]. Was it possible that long skirts and cropped tops were still symbols of contemporary women's fashion? These initial questions mark our reflection on Carmen's alternative history.

Throughout her artistic career, Carmen appeared in 14 films¹, however, the greater her media and artistic projection, the more contestation she suffered; this was when Brazilian society was based on patriarchal ideals. Her talent was often overshadowed by the excessive focus on her exotic appearance and the costumes she wore to her presentations and performances [22]. It is also interesting to think about another aspect: if this polemic had not been generated around her customs, she would not have had the projection she had. This is a marketing strategy that still holds today; take as an example singers like Christina Aguilera, Miley Cyrus, Anitta, and Lady Gaga, among many others who opted for disruption through their clothes and posture at the heart of the music industry. This process of exoticification, of which she was targeted, contributed gradually to the awareness of the existence of Latin culture. Without her extravagant costumes, the same attention would

hardly occur, and, in this case, the image socially attributed to the Brazilian woman would certainly not be the same. Furthermore, based on Moraes and Irschlinger's [23] contributions, we can state that Carmen's clothes in her performances were associated with a form of expression, which is even more evident when we consider her hats or accessories and make-up. Her red lips [24] made a difference, even in a society that still lived in black and white, wearing red ended up having a symbolic connotation; a connotation that was intertwined with the textuality of the color, namely the passion for the arts, the passion that emerged and that had Carmen as an object and the red that marked the difference and her irreverence. Her bright red lips contrasted with her open, radiant smile and, in addition, created an image of perfection and impunity, as only Carmen could wear a feather and fruit turban and be acclaimed for it (see Figure 1).



Figure 1 Turban of a Baiana used in the film "Copacabana", from 1946² ©2023 Museu Carmen Miranda. Used with permission³, retrieved from Google Arts & Culture."

1 Some of the most iconic are: "Uma Noite no Rio" [A Night in Rio], from 1941, "Entre a Loira e a Morena" [Between the Blonde and the Brunette] from 1942, and "Copacabana" from 1947.

2 Source: <https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/turbante-de-baiana-unknown/XgHUiHZjBUOwnQ>

3 The use of the images presented in this article meets the attribution Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International — CC BY-SA 4.0 Creative Commons — available online at Google Arts & Culture.

Still following Morais and Irschlinger [23], we can gauge that Carmen invented and sunbathed the spirit of the time, creating her own. On the one hand, she was seen as a sex symbol who wore cropped tops that left her tanned skin visible to all eyes that focused on her; on the other hand, she covered her breasts with stone pecs so that, at social events and even during her performances, the attention would be on the details that made up her persona and not exclusively on her physical attributes. These pecs were called *balangandans*, and some were produced by artists in the USA so Carmen could wear them in her films and performances. Although there was an excess of colors, shapes, and materials, everything was carefully thought out: the pieces had to fit her height because she was short. Another curious aspect was that Carmen didn't wear authentic jewelry; it was heavy and Carmen wanted something that was easy to wear, i.e., she wanted it to be practical to carry around. Another curious aspect, thinking about the ramifications of alternative history, is that the necklaces of Egyptian pharaohs inspired Carmen. She adopted the same aesthetic but asked for the stones to be attached with double lines, thus hiding the bustier's straps and her breasts (see Figure 2). Therefore, we see a double logic of action. On the one hand, she uses the exoticization created around her body and clothes as artistic propaganda. Still, on the other hand, she also combats it with these kinds of strategies. These strategies, despite being analyzed and referred to today, they went unnoticed at the time, so the focus was on her performance and not on the pieces and on the ways they were being used. Likewise, we can question that if they had tried to unravel, at the time, these strategies used by Carmen, the Brazilian and North American fashion industry may have followed a different path. These techniques would gradually be used by several fashion creators, and even on a DIY basis regarding the general public; eventually, new pieces

and designs would emerge, leading us to question what the panorama of contemporary fashion and design would be like. These inspirations and strategies are now seen as unique elements that are analyzed to unravel Carmen's success.



Figure 2 Red breastplate necklace, with beads and stones of various colors, 1940's⁴ ©2023 Museu Carmen Miranda. Used with permission*, retrieved from Google Arts & Culture."

If we take a path of social-historical revisitation, we should mention the importance of the magazine *O Cruzeiro* [The Cruise], a magazine marked by innovation. Since its foundation in 1928, the magazine stood out for presenting covers with female figures [25] and, in this sense, its contents privileged feminine beauty and glamour [26], thus moving away from everything that was commonly accepted at the time. This magazine is mentioned here for two reasons. The first one concerns that Carmen Miranda was the cover image [4] in 1940 and, later, in 1947. If, on the one hand, the covers of *O Cruzeiro* [The Cruise], starring Carmen, appealed to Carmen's color and vivacity and praised her

4 Source: <https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/colar-peitoral-vermelho-unknown/ugE-qOnCi0VQuw>

* See footnote 3.

aesthetics, other magazines, such as *Carioca* [27], nurtured the stereotyping of Carmen, promoting Carmen's sexual objectification. The second reason relates to the idea that the media, namely magazines, were a determining vehicle in the expansion and dissemination of Carmen's visual aesthetic, which caused many fans to start adopting details of her style.

Carmen's aesthetics was celebrated in magazines like *O Cruzeiro* [The Cruise], something that was in line with the urbanization and modernization process that was taking place in Brazilian society, also due to Getúlio Vargas' interventionist government [28]. Well, Carmen, due to her aesthetics, could be seen as a symbol of that same development process; that is, Carmen could be seen as the result of a modernist political project [29], something that became even more important when she became the face of the *Política de Boa Vizinhança* [Good Neighborhood Policy] [30], during the government of Eurico Gaspar Dutra, Getúlio Vargas' successor, in 1946. Thus, we can say that Carmen's success and social and aesthetic impact could have been reduced to the Brazilian scale, leaving aside her success in the United States of America if she had not been the target of interest from the political discourse at the time. Therefore her internationalization would not have happened, at least not in the same way.

Another aspect that deserves special mention is the Second World War — which caused a deep recession in several countries, a slump that materialized in a lack of raw materials, which made synthetic materials, such as nylon, valued. This is where we begin to glimpse Carmen's DIY ethos, as she also started using this synthetic material in her designs, giving rise to another product segment within the fashion industry. Despite using the material available at the time, Carmen reinvented herself, creating pieces with waves, ruffles, and movement (see Figure 3), something that contrasted with the straight cuts used at the time by Brazilian women [31].



Figure 3 Lozenge skirt worn by Carmen at shows at the Urca Cassino, in the 1940s⁵ ©2023 Museu Carmen Miranda. Used with permission^{*}, available online at Google Arts & Culture.⁷

Carmen's clothes and aesthetics manifested a socially defiant stance marked by innovation. Her image was based on a visual apparatus and her representation of the Brazilian woman. In her case, DIY was present in two axes: creation and design. Following Pontin et al. [32], we can say that DIY, applied to Carmen's aesthetics, was a form of empowerment and a means of promoting a personal, artistic, and social project. Thus, the use of DIY can be understood as a means of communication, in the sense that her looks can be seen as a means of transmitting a message of female empowerment, resistance, and identity and social affirmation, which, in turn, is in line with the political scenario of growth and modernization in the 1930s and 1940s. If Carmen had not adapted this way, her role as an aesthetic and fashion symbol in Brazil would have taken a different form.

Carmen's DIY manifested itself in her clothing, as she created unique and singular pieces; in her music, as well as it was built based on her aesthetic

5 Source: <https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/saia-de-losangos-dos-shows-no-cassino-da-urca-unknown/BQGWgOGIB3bXnA>

* See footnote 3.

choices; in her behavior and in her way of presenting herself as a performer and, finally, it promoted and fostered the emergence of a new language, which was communicated verbally, through music, but also visually and aesthetically. Guerra [33] refers that DIY, as an ethos, can be seen as one of the main contributions and legacies of punk since its use implied an action of an individual that would eventually make him belong to something bigger. Suppose we apply this definition to the 1930s or 1940s in general and the specific case of Carmen Miranda. In that case, we can see that it might undergo some changes since what would be at issue would not be Carmen belonging to something greater but instead her creating something more significant than others could belong to. We could even speak of a do-it-for-others logic. However, it is undeniable that DIY about the artist remained intertwined with an alternative practice. In that sense, DIY was a perfect fit for *Pequena Notável* [Little Notable].

Carmen's connection to DIY started very early. When she was still young and still known as Maria do Carmo, she worked in fashion studios such as *La Femme Chic* [34]; a place that allowed her to hone her creativity and know-how. This is where her creativity began to take shape, while she was sweeping up the scraps lying on the shop floor, Carmen began to understand how hats were designed and created. *La Femme Chic* was a hat house and, during the time she worked there, Carmen “wore hats “of her invention” and on weekends “found time to sew her own dresses” [35: n/p]. Revisiting the question of alternative history, we can mention that had Carmen not worked in that shop, it is very unlikely that she would have created the iconic fruit hat, as we saw earlier. Carmen was only hired for being “cheerful, beautiful and communicative” [35: n/p], which leads us to raise the following question: what if Carmen had been hired for her creativity? Would she also have created the fruit hat? Maybe so, but

she certainly wouldn't have been the one to star in it, since she would be on an upward path, similar to that of artists and designers like Elsa Schiaparelli. If she had followed a creative path, being located in Brazil, the fruit hat would not have had the success it did, not least because this success was only due to all the artistic elements that made up Carmen's artistic persona and her performance.

She never gave up hats. In fact, it was hats that influenced the *Miranda Look* in Hollywood. Carmen was seen as an *avant-garde* woman, and she wore short coats, long trousers, hats, shoes, and men's suits, all imagined and designed by her. Turbans were also mostly made by Carmen [34], as well as being a defining part of the Bahian culture that she brought to the American context [36], which caused Dior and Chanel collections to be replaced by Carmen Miranda's clothes and platforms in New York's Fifth Avenue fashion shops.

4. 20 Centimetres above average: Carmen Miranda and the iconic platforms

Although she was highly *avant-garde* when it came to her clothes and accessories, her main contribution, in terms of fashion creation thought of by her, was her shoes. The iconic platform shoes. Castro [5] enunciates that she would have thought of creating a platform shoe as a fashion accessory for her performances, possibly after seeing a shoe adapted for someone with a physical disability caused by diseases such as polio. Polio, as a severe viral disease, could leave several sequels in patients, such as joint problems, crooked feet, or even further growth of the legs, so it was often the case that specific shoes had to be designed for patients. The shoes designed for polio patients had steel straps to support the supporting bars and offer the patient a more comfortable gait. In cases where the sequel was that there was further growth in the legs, shoes were often designed with a platform so that the

length of one leg could match that of the other.

According to Velloso et al. [37] 1934, Carmen ordered a shoemaker in Lapa, the neighborhood where she lived, to increase the soles of her clogs on both feet. Here we have two assumptions: the use of clogs, typically Portuguese footwear, which was re-appropriated by Carmen, and another belief, that Carmen was the first to warn that this type of alterations and modifications were not only functional but also aesthetic. The authors [37] mention that Carmen's act, in the 1930s, can be considered the basis of "vernacular design" since it was spontaneous, informal, and used to solve the problem of Carmen's tiredness during her performances. The platforms, in both cases, served to provide stability; in Carmen's case, there was an extra component: aesthetics. We can do a sequential thinking exercise; let's see: if there hadn't been a polio outbreak in Brazil, Carmen wouldn't have thought of creating platform shoes and, in that sense, if Carmen hadn't invented them, designers like Vivienne Westwood, for example, wouldn't have readapted them for punk, gothic or steampunk fashion. This act of Carmen triggered a particular notion of aesthetic freedom; if she hadn't, it is true to say that these aesthetics and style have never existed in the same molds since — albeit unconsciously — they start from a past that tends to be forgotten.

In addition to compensating for her short stature on stage [37], it would bring another visibility to her costumes, as well as facilitate her mobility on stage. This was a profoundly revolutionary creation, as some of her platforms were up to 20 centimeters high. Along with the miniskirt, perhaps Carmen Miranda's platforms were one of the greatest contributions to the history of modern fashion (see Figures 4 and 5).

Carmen's creativity, expressed in the design of the platforms, shows us that her creations went beyond a mere act of Carmen dressing differently.



Figure 4 Silver leather shoes, worn by Carmen in the film "Copacabana", in 1946⁶ ©2023 Museu Carmen Miranda. Used with permission*, available online at Google Arts & Culture."



Figure 5 Gold plush shoe with details, worn by Carmen in shows in the 1940s, and with a 20.5 centimetres high platform⁷ ©2023 Museu Carmen Miranda. Used with permission, available online at Google Arts & Culture."

Her artistic character was stylized, even because of the way she attached the earrings to the turbans so they wouldn't hurt her ears, the pecs that covered her chest, the use of materials such as wood and nylon, and the use of costume jewelry instead of designer jewelry showed an organized and consciously created organization, stylization, and aestheticization, that is, we can even say that Carmen subverted DIY, in the sense that she asked others, from visual artists to street cobblers, to

6 Source: <https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/sapato-em-pelica-prateada-unknown/ygFebQhjSoLtcw>

7 Source: <https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/sapato-em-pelica-dourada-unknown/yAG91Fw1bXTtzw>

* See footnote 3.

create and materialize her ideas. Thus, this issue of stylized and aestheticized subversion, which has DIY as its starting point, allowed her to reposition and aesthetically recontextualize herself at the heart of Brazilian society, allowing her to resist the stereotyping she was constantly subjected to due to her Latin body.

In this section, dedicated to questioning the alternative history of Carmen, we can point out that if it were not for its aesthetic and performative innovation, Carmen would hardly have had the worldwide success it did. At the same time, we can also mention that if it weren't for her involvement with the political discourse of the time, the artist wouldn't have had the success she had in the United States, and the Miranda Look would indeed not have existed. Also, going back to the previous question about the fruit hats, if she had not used them during her performances and had only been their creator, they would not have become an icon of Latin female culture. So, when Guedes and Teixeira [34] state that when a specific artifact has its scope changed from being regional to being global, it is inevitable that its meaning also varies. This premise applies to Carmen's trajectory more than to any other artist and allows us to equate the validity of using alternative history. At the same time, the geographic and social context that accompanied Carmen's artistic career was fundamental. It is essential to question what would have happened if Carmen's parents had not emigrated to Brazil. In this sense, we can infer that even if it had been possible for Carmen to become an artist, namely a singer and actress, she would have had to move to cities like Lisbon since Marco de Canavezes was a profoundly rural and limited environment from a cultural and artistic point of view. In addition, she would hardly have had the same international projection that she had, precisely because countries like the United States of America would not be possible and would scarcely be accessible to a

Portuguese artist. In short, we can summarize her alternative history along two axes: first, if it hadn't been for the political context in Brazil at the time, Carmen would not have had an international projection, nor would she have become an aesthetic icon, because the North American stores that sold clothes inspired by her aesthetics contributed a lot to this. The second is that if she hadn't resorted to innovation, DIY, and the subversion of Brazilian fashion, Carmen wouldn't have achieved stardom in Brazil because it was this break with traditional views of artists that earned her the interest of the media as well as the general population and the phonographic and cinematographic industry.

5. Platforms, fruit, and turbans: final thoughts

In brief, this article intended to alert the reader that history is not linear and that there are always doubts and possibilities for interpreting the events that took place. However, on the one hand, we got into the idea that Carmen Miranda was a unique artist whose aesthetics, innovation, and capacity for (re)creation are undeniable. At the same time, given our theoretical excursions into her image, aesthetics, and style, unveiling ramifications around the DIY concept became possible, demonstrating that it's not only associated with an Anglo-Saxon context or even with the punk movement [33]. On the other hand, this do-it-yourselfer praxis personified by Carmen in the 1920s and 1930s was, in fact, a catalyst for other milestones in the fashion industry, namely in the footwear industry and within the accessory industry, being that her aesthetics made possible the creation of the Miranda Look in the United States of America.

Basically, what we want to demonstrate is that sometimes, when we embark on a process of sociological research, it is easy to lose track of events, or even point to the landmark of its emergence. Therefore, it is also important to mention that

this research is not an end, as there are still many hidden points and faces in the history of Brazilian fashion which had Carmen Miranda as the main focus, from the impact of her artistic goddaughters, such as Emilinha Borba, on the music and film industry, or even her connection and influence on her sister Aurora Miranda. Moreover, the very question of Carmen Miranda's representation in the Brazilian and international media is a topic still little explored. The ramifications of a turban, a platform shoe, and a fruit hat are gigantic, even bigger than Carmen herself. This is the legacy she left us, one of creation and innovation.

Funding

This article is part of the individual PhD scholarship entitled “All Worlds within Porto. Migrant women, arts and activism in contemporary Portugal”, funded by the Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT) with the reference 2021.06637.BD.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank Ana da Silveira Moura for inviting me and for her support during the editing process.

References

- [1] Atkinson, J. 2019. Fashion as Identity in Steampunk Communities, P Hunt-Hurst and S Ramsamy-Iranah (Ed.) *Fashion and Its Multi-Cultural Facets*. (E-Book: Brill), pp 123–137. DOI: 10.1163/9781848883093_012
- [2] Kretz, G. and Valck, K. 2010. “Pixelize me!”: Digital storytelling and the creation of archetypal myths through explicit and implicit self-brand association in fashion and luxury blogs, Belk, R.W. (Ed.) *Research in Consumer Behavior (Research in Consumer Behavior, v. 12)*, London: Emerald Group Publishing Limited), pp 313–329.
- [3] Kozinets, R. 2020. Netnography. *The Essential Guide to Qualitative Social Media Research*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- [4] Garcia, T. Da C. 2017. Carmen Miranda e os good neighbours. *Diálogos, DHI/UEM*, v. 7. pp. 37–46. (Edition in pdf format. 2003. CARMEN MIRANDA E OS GOOD NEIGHBOURS).
- [5] Castro, Ruy. 2005. *Carmen: uma biografia*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras.
- [6] Foran, R. E. 2015. Commodification and Exploitation of the Brazilian bombshell Carmen Miranda. *The Western States theatre Review*, v. 21, pp. 23–30. <https://cedar.wwu.edu/wstr/vol21/iss1/1/> (Accessed 3 May 2023).
- [7] Bennett, A. and Peterson, R. 2004. *Music Scenes. Local, Translocal, and Virtual*. Nashville: Nashville University Press.
- [8] Bennett, A. and Guerra, P. 2018. *DIY Cultures and Underground Music Scenes*. New York: Routledge.
- [9] Guerra, P. and Straw, W. 2017. I wanna be your punk: o universo de possíveis do punk, do D.I.Y. e das culturas underground. *Cadernos de Arte e Antropologia*, v. 6, I. 1 pp. 5–16. DOI: 10.4000/cadernosaa.1189
- [10] Shaw, L. 2013. *Carmen Miranda*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- [11] Mahoney, J. and Barrenechea, R. 2017. The logic of counterfactual analysis in case-study explanation. *The British Journal of Sociology*, v. 70 I. 1, pp. 306–338. DOI: 10.1111/1468-4446.12340
- [12] Tetlock, P. E. and Belkin, A. (Ed.) 1996. *Counterfactual Thought Experiments in World Politics: Logical, Methodological, and Psychological Perspective*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- [13] Harvey, F. 2015. “What If” History Matters? Comparative Counterfactual Analysis and Policy Relevance. *Security Studies*, v. 24 I. 3, pp. 413–424. DOI: 10.1080/09636412.2015.1070606
- [14] Bunzl, M. 2013. Counterfactual History: A User's Guide. *Forum Essay*, v. 11 pp. 39–47.
- [15] Mordhorst, M. 2008. From counterfactual history to counternarrative history. *Management & Organizational History*, v. 3 I. 1 pp. 5–26.

- DOI: 10.1177/1744935908090995
- [16] Guerra, P. 2021. So close yet so far: DIY cultures in Portugal and Brazil. *Cultural Trends*, v. 30 I. 2 pp. 122–138. DOI: 10.1080/09548963.2021.1877085
- [17] Guerra, P. 2018. Raw Power: Punk, DIY and Underground Cultures as Spaces of Resistance in Contemporary Portugal. *Cultural Sociology*, v. 12 I. 2. DOI: 10.1177/1749975518770353
- [18] Chidgey, R. 2014. Developing communities of Resistance? Maker Pedagogies, Do-It-Yourself Feminism, and DIY Citizenship. *DIY Citizenship. Critical Making and Social Media*. Eds. Ratto M. Boler and M. Deibert Ratto. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, pp. 101–113.
- [19] Beserra, B. 2007. Sob a sombra de Carmen Miranda e do carnaval: brasileiras em Los Angeles. *Cadernos pagu*, I. 28, pp. 313–344. <https://periodicos.sbu.unicamp.br/ojs/index.php/cadpagu/article/view/8644808> (Accessed 3 May 2023).
- [20] Roberts, S. 1993. “The Lady in the tutti-frutti Hat”: Carmen Miranda, a Spectacle of Ethnicity *Cinema Journal*, v. 32, I. 3, pp. 3–23. DOI: 10.2307/1225876
- [21] Sant’Anna, M. R. and Macedo, K. B. 2013. Imagens de América Latina no figurino e corpo da baiana de Carmen Miranda: memória social e identidade. *Comunicação e Sociedade*, v. 24, p. 161–185. DOI: 10.17231/comsoc.24(2013).1782
- [22] Tierney, T. 1982. *Carmen Miranda. Paper Dolls in Full Color*. Mineola: Dover Publications.
- [23] Morais, N. C. & Irschlinger, F. A. 2012. Moda, Mulher e Sociedade Brasileira (1920–1940). *Akrópolis*, v. 20, I. 3, 141–149. <https://ojs.revistasunipar.com.br/index.php/akropolis/article/view/4868> (Accessed 29 May 2023).
- [24] Parris, K. 1987. Carmen Miranda’s Navel. *New Series*, v. 9, I. 3, 71–77. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4335838> (Accessed 3 May 2023).
- [25] Schemes, C. & Araujo, D. C. 2011. O artista gráfico Alceu Penna na Revista O Cruzeiro: apropriações e ressignificações da moda europeia e a representação da mulher (1940–1950) *Cultura Visual*, v. 1, I. 15, 57–69. <https://periodicos.ufba.br/index.php/rcvisual/article/view/5004/3927> (Accessed 28 April 2023).
- [26] Shaw, L. 2010. The celebritisation of Carmen Miranda in New York, 1939–41. *Celebrity Studies*, v.1, I. 3, 286–302. DOI: 10.1080/19392397.2010.511138
- [27] Kerber, A. 2005. Carmen Miranda entre representações da identidade nacional e de identidades regionais. *ArtCultura*, v. 7, I. 10, 121–132. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/277187035_Carmen_Miranda_entre_representacoes_da_identidade_nacional_e_de_identidades_regionais (Accessed 23 April 2023).
- [28] Faé, R. 2013. O discurso desenvolvimentista no segundo governo de Getúlio Vargas. *Revista Pensamento Contemporâneo em Administração*, v. 7, I. 2, 1–18. <https://periodicos.uff.br/pca/article/view/11125> (Accessed 28 April 2023).
- [29] Lima, G. 2013. Carmen Miranda, o Estado Novo e o discurso verdadeiro. *Fragmentum*, v. 36, 24–36. <https://periodicos.ufsm.br/fragmentum/article/view/9783/pdf> (Accessed 29 May 2023).
- [30] Macedo, K. B. 2020. A imagem de Carmen Miranda como representação da brasilidade: questionamentos de interpretações a partir de seus filmes na Boa vizinhança. *ModaPalavra*, v. 13, I. 28, 275–296. DOI: 10.5965/1982615x13272020257
- [31] Embacher, A. 2004. *Moda e identidade. A construção de um estilo próprio*. São Paulo: Anhembri Morumbi.
- [32] Pontin, P. K.; Waismann, M. & Bem, J. S. 2022. A moda e a memória: dos brechós ao estilo

- DIY como construção de identidade. *d[o]bras*, v. 35, 171–182. DOI: 10.26563/dobras.i35.1385
- [33] Guerra, P. 2022. Teenagers From Outer Space. Contributos para uma genealogia dos fios que teceram a moda e o do-it-yourself em Portugal. *dObras[s]*, v. 34, 20–63. DOI: 10.26563/dobras.i34.1470.
- [34] Guedes, R. C. & Teixeira, E. L. 2010. A moda no pós-guerra no ano de 1947: o exemplo dos ícones Eva Perón e Carmen Miranda. *XIV Encontro Nacional da ANPUH-RIO. Memória e Património*, Rio de Janeiro. http://www.encontro2010.rj.anpuh.org/resources/anais/8/1272245131_ARQUIVO_artigomoda.pdf (Accessed 29 May 2023).
- [35] Ribeiro, A. M. (S/A). *Carmen Miranda*. <https://anabelamotaribeiro.pt/63541.html> (Accessed 28 April 2023).
- [36] Nasser, D. 1989. *A Vida Trepidante de Carmen Miranda*. Rio de Janeiro: Record.
- [37] Velloso, C. T.; Abdalla, G. C. & Perassi, R. 2020. Behaviorismo vernacular e os tamancos de Carmen Miranda. *Triades*, v. 9, I. 1, 63–73. <https://triades.emnuvens.com.br/triades/article/view/268> (Accessed 23 April 2023).
- [38] Guerra, P. & Bonadio, M. C. 2022. Moda, do-it-yourself e culturas globais digitais. *dObras[s]*, v. 34, 9–18. DOI: 10.26563/dobras.i34.1469.