Orson Welles in Brazil and Carmen Miranda in Hollywood:

Mixing Chiclets with Bananas

BY SIMONE ØSTHOFF

As the credits roll at the end of IT'S ALL TRUE, Orson Welles' long-lost and recently released South American film, we hear a conversation in the background between Carmen Miranda and Welles, in which she explains to him all the different instruments used in a Samba percussion band. Explaining the Brazilian Samba to Anglo America was one of the objectives of IT'S ALL TRUE, a part of a large diplomatic war effort carried out by the Roosevelt administration – The 'Good Neighbor Policy' campaign. This propaganda campaign consisted of the promotion of Latin American culture, aimed at patching up love-hate relations between the two Americas which always existed. It was carried out through every conceivable front – the press, the radio, the film industry, and cultural exchanges. Carmen Miranda's Hollywood success story, as well as Orson Welles' IT'S ALL TRUE, are part and product of this political project. "In 1941 the US was on the verge of entering W.W.II. Concern over Axis influence in Latin America was intense, as countries with powerful right-wing parties considered 'neutrality'. The Roosevelt Administration tried to win the sympathies of Latin American republics with it's 'Good Neighbor Policy', but US intentions were suspect in the wake of decades of military intervention in the old jingoistic spirit of 'Big Stick Diplomacy'. Securing the 'Southern Front' was a major goal of wartime psychology."2
“For Americans, white is white, black is black (and the mulatta woman is not special) ... while down here indefiniteness is the rule, and we dance with a beauty that even I do not know the secret of, between delight and misfortune, between the grotesque and sublime”.

Caetano Veloso
Historic misunderstandings between North and South did not begin during the war, of course, but a popular stereotyped, glossy image of South America certainly did. In spite of its popularity in the North, Hollywood's glamorized image of Latin America, the make-believe paradise created during the war, was ambiguously received in the South where it was considered fake, flat, and one-dimensional. The extravagant and exaggerated persona Miranda created, which her American audience liked so much, was seen by many at home as a form of treason; a fake product and an Americanization of the Samba, which had become a metonymy for Brazil.

In his CBS radio broadcast from 1942, Hello Americans, Welles continues the introduction of Brazilian culture to the US conflating the country with the Samba: "The music is rich, deep, Brazilian. It comes rolling down to Rio from the hills, throbs in the streets, everybody dances to it. It's called Samba. If you scrimmage the two words 'music' and 'Brazil' and then unscramble them you end up with the word 'Samba'." Also if you scrimmage a moderate number of Brazilians together and then unscramble them, you find out they've been dancing the Samba... Brazilian babies can beat out a Samba rhythm before they can talk, and dance to Samba before they can walk." The process of valorization of the Samba started in Brazil during the 1920s. The public celebration of Afro-Brazilian music and rhythms promoted the recognition of the disenfranchised, mostly poor and black, population. The increase of Samba's prestige in Brazil goes hand in hand with the valorization of miscegenation, transforming what was once perceived as a weakness in the nation's social formation into one of the culture's positive and original features. The growing importance of Samba, Carnival, and vernacular culture must be viewed in the context of decolonization, as a form of cultural resistance which directly confronted the colonialist assumption of European superiority and valorization of racial purity. Central to Samba's slow ascent towards a national symbol was the role played by Brazilian intellectuals in the 1930s and by the sociologist Gilberto Freyre in particular. This is why in part, Hollywood's superficial representation of the Samba and of Latin America made the dialogue between Anglo and Latin America so difficult.

By juxtaposing the fantasized images of Miranda's comic musicals against Welles' It's All True documentary — Hollywood's attempt to portray the 'real' Brazil, I hope to highlight some of the complexities inherent in both constructions of a Latin American identity from without during the war period. Some of the difficulties and misunderstandings which traversed both projects were further complicated by economic dependence as well as by an Anglo background of Protestant working ethics, puritanism, and morality not shared for instance by Samba's emphasis on the erotic body, desire and pleasure; differences which a few songs and dance numbers could not easily patch together. I will start by addressing Orson Welles' movie, my reason for putting these ideas together, then I will relate Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy to Carmen Miranda's movie career, and finally, I will expand on the idea of Samba as allegory and the place of the body in Brazilian culture.

Released in 1933, It's All True, Orson Welles' movie made in Brazil, is a well-woven collage of original scenes from three Latin American stories filmed in 1942 (two in Brazil directed by Welles and one in Mexico directed by Norman Foster), as well as new scenes filmed by three directors (Richard Wilson, Myron Meisels and Bill Krohn), that gives us a context in which to view the original footage and understand its complex destiny. The 1942 original footage includes Welles' documentary on Carnival, which highlights the Black contribution to the Carnival in Rio, and the story of Four Men on a Raft, which celebrates four mestizo fishermen from a fishing village in the Northeast of Brazil. This original material was lost for more than 40 years, Welles himself never saw it.

The story behind the making of It's All True is bizarre and barely believable. It is a sad string of losses, a potentially great project going bad for political reasons. "Nelson Rockefeller, the State Department's Coordinator for Inter-American Affairs (CIAA), and his deputy, John Hay Whitney — both major RKO (Radio-Keith-Orpheum, a film company) stockholders — prevailed upon Orson Welles, at that time the nation's most profound cultural asset, to fulfill his patriotic duty and go to Brazil as a special ambassador for the CIAA. He was to make a film fostering hemispheric solidarity, to give lectures on the virtues of art and democracy, to introduce North American audiences to their Latin neighbors via radio broadcasts, and to charm important Brazilian politicians and intelligentsia by hanging out with them in all the right night-spots in Rio. On December 20, 1944, Welles receives a telegram from John Hay Whitney, head of CIAA motion picture division, encouraging him to undertake a mission to Brazil: "...Personally believe you would make great contribution to hemisphere solidarity with this project."(Paramount, 4)

Rushing to get to Brazil in time for Carnival, Welles is promised a moviola and all the footage of the two features he had just finished filming — The Magnificent Ambersons and Journey Into Fear. The films never came to Brazil and a later takeover in RKO brought in new bosses who did not share Welles' ideas about the Brazil project which was made to look like an irresponsible adventure. Welles quickly loses his job, all the 7 months of work in Brazil, his rights to edit the Magnificent Ambersons and Journey Into Fear (which were edited by the studio and became big losses), and, according to him, the chance to make many other movies. In his own words: "The South American episode is the one key disaster in my story, ...the legend that grew up out of that affair has lost me the chance to make a picture..."

According to Richard Wilson, Welles' assistant director in Brazil, "what's really and ironically true about It's All True, is that Welles was approached to make a non-commercial picture, then reprogrammed for making a non-commercial picture...The weakness of the whole notion was that not Orson, nor any RKO production or story executive, nor any one of us knew anything about Carnival. The most we could really learn was that it was a sort of super Mardis-Gras which had to be seen to be believed. This later turned out to be the literal truth."(Bogdanovich, 153-4).

"A large Technicolor crew shot the four days of Carnival around the clock from February 14-17, 1942 while a back-up black&white crew filled in for protection. It was the most logistically complicated Technicolor shoot yet attempted, aggravated by the failure of lights to arrive from Hollywood until a month after, the fact due to wartime delays in shipping. Anti-aircraft lights lent by the Brazilian army provided a brilliant effect out of pure accident and necessity. The 'Story of Samba' would be an intoxicating docu-musical episode, all in glorious Technicolor" (Paramount, 5). Welles followed the live shoots with shooting on location at the Urca Casino.

Welles' ideas about the Brazilian Carnival however did not conform to what the project required. Instead of creating a long commercial about Brazil's touristic attractions, Welles wanted to tell the 'real' story of Samba as an expression of the Black Atlantic civilization — Samba as a counterpart to the
Coming face to face with the magnificent images presented in It's All True, the reason for its termination became very clear. The original 45 minute footage of Four Men on a Raft (the core of the recent It's All True edition), shows an astonishingly beautiful Brazil with a population in abject poverty. A black and white silent movie, filmed with the intensity of Welles's low shot angles, Four Man on a Raft is a beautiful movie full of sailboats, beaches, palm trees, and lace work. Against this idyllic setting Welles places men's struggle for survival. "Welles saw the story of Four Men on a Raft as part of an ongoing tradition of popular Brazilian resistance to oppression, since past Jangadeiros had been instrumental in the struggle against slavery, and in the present they were still articulating popular demands" (Stam and Shohat, 233). The political content of this dramatic history could not have gone down well in Hollywood at a time when the world was completely polarized by the war. The purity and dignity Welles gives these heroic characters enveloped in peasant idealism portrays an image of Brazil which the escapist entertainment policy of Hollywood was certainly not willing to disseminate.

In August of 1940, President Roosevelt approved a new organization — the CIAA (Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs) and made it a branch of the Council of National Defense. Nelson Rockefeller was appointed Coordinator on August 16. The Motion Picture Section of the CIAA had its main office in New York, another office in Washington, and a branch on the West Coast (the Film Library of the MOMA in New York was a workshop of the CIAA's movie division). The Hollywood office in 1941 set up a corporation called Motion Picture Society for the Americas. "The Society sent Nelson Rockefeller weekly and monthly reports of what Hollywood was doing with the Latin American talent (what contracts were signed, exchange of visitors from the North and from the South, what Latin songs and cameo appearances had been included in any feature film, etc.)" (Gil-Monteiro, 117). It set up committees to handle censorship, and foreign relations. All part of this effort "to produce powerful propaganda films to serve the democracies...and, strengthen the morale of the hemisphere" as the corresponding Project Authorization document puts it. The supervision of projects ranged from the production of 'Disney Sees South America', with popular films such as Saludos Amigos and The Three Caballeros, to the financing of projects such as Welles' It's All True in Rio for RKO, as well as the enhancement of Miranda's film career. Hollywood's Latin America was a mythic paradise — happy, exotic and colorful, designed to entertain war weary audiences and to please strong leaders and the middle class of Latin America. The vexing dilemmas of the region — problems of race relations, poverty, politics and religion — were carefully avoided. "The talent they were ready to sponsor had to have a special appeal and be easily identifiable with the carefree privileged few. Carmen Miranda was the embodiment of Rio's joy and sunniness. The Moon Gang Boys (her band) were undoubtedly middle class. Since they were not dark skinned and fitted in well against a luxurious background, they fulfilled nicely the class identification requisite..." One of the main tasks of the Motion Picture Society of the CIAA was to promote the use of Latin American talent in movies as the main weapon of its Good Neighbor campaign aimed at both winning the hearts and minds of Latin neighbors, and convincing Americans of the benefits of Pan American friendship. Carmen Miranda was easily the most improbable and outstanding personality who had been exploited for political purposes during this period" (Gil-Monteiro, 114-5). Between 1940 and 1945 she appeared in eight films and was a living legend said to be worth half a hundred diplomatic delegations in Roosevelt's political campaign. As a comedian and singer, Miranda was well qualified for the role of the hot, sexy latina which she in-
variably played in Hollywood's musicals. The importance of the musical genre during the war time cannot be exaggerated, as Monteiro notes: "The intellectual warriors of the CIAA were correct in their belief that what everybody wanted was idyllic settings, good dance numbers and comedy. They were right when they chose to promote musicals, because comedy and rhythm were excellent vehicles to convey the never-never land of Havana on a weekend, Rio under a romantic moon, or bucolic Argentina. But they did not foresee one problem. In the creation of these mythical backgrounds, Hollywood producers inevitably tried to adapt the exotic to suit the taste of the American public. And no matter how negative the reactions it produced down South they stubbornly insisted on adding their American tang to the Latin flavor" (Gil-Monteiro, 136), and ended up upsetting many of the good neighbors they were trying to please. The list of films made during that period with flawed Latin American backgrounds is very long. "For better or for worse, the CIAA's Motion Picture Section and the producers who collaborated with it from 1940 to 1945 did not leave untouched a single film dealing with or released in Latin America. However the lack of understanding between the two cultures was so pervasive that strengthening of inter-American bonds defied Rockefeller's naive and condescending propaganda program" (Gil-Monteiro, 119).

"Bananas is my business!" Carmen Miranda exclaims in a song entitled I Make My Money With Bananas, where she explains with humor and irony that she must wear crazy gowns and fruit-covered turbans. And she adds further on in the song: "I'd love to play a scene with Clark Gable, with candle lights and wine on the table, but my producer tells me I'm not able, cause I make my money with bananas..." Carmen always made the most out of the limits she encountered and played to the end the exotic role that made her famous. Her highly stylized mixture of Brazilian Samba, Argentine Tango and Cuban Rumba, much appreciated in the U.S. market, was however, a homogenized image which portrayed all Latinos alike and made them seem interchangeable for the North American public. The feelings toward her in Brazil were complex as she became a caricature, a fake Balana, a disgrace and a deity, the goddess of camp. "While Carmen Miranda was an effervescent vision for Americans of what lay South of the border, at home in Brazil she was controversial, not least because of her popularity in the U.S."[9]

The Brazilian pop singer Caetano Veloso who during the late 60's parodied Miranda's image in the Tropicalist Movement, describes her: "She was a typical girl from Rio, born in Portugal, who, using a blatantly vulgar, though elegant stylization of the characteristic balina-Bahian dress conquered the world and became the highest-paid woman in the United States. Carmen conquered 'white' America as no other South American had done or ever would. She was the only representative of South America who was universally readable, and it is exactly because of this quality, that self-parody became her inescapable prison. It was, therefore, easy for us to understand the profound depression she experienced in the 50s, the abuse of pills, the destruction of her life, which ended in 1955"[10].

Carmen Miranda's first film Down Argentine Way had so many problems with the Argentinean audience that it had to be recut after it was banned in that country for its ridiculous representation of Argentina. The Argentines disliked the film, among other reasons, because "Carmen Miranda, a Brazilian star, sings in Portuguese a Tin-Pan-Alley Rumba which speaks of Tangos and Rumbas being played beneath a Pampa moon" (Gil Monteiro, 123). In its new version, the film still failed due to its many flaws, including the complete absence of Argenti-

nean tunes. Her next film was Weekend in Havana, which opened in 1941 and received top box office statistics for that week—over twice the amount achieved by Citizen Kane, which was in its second week. The lusty-musical-comedy produced an unforeseen stir in Latin circles. Most Cubans found the film grotesque. The Cuban consul, an exception, liked the movie and remarked: "I wished we had something like this in Cuba!" (Gil Monteiro, 123).

Miranda communicated with her audiences mostly through body language and sound since the meaning of her songs was lost. She explored her heavy accent and broken English with wit and humor, making it difficult for her audiences to simply equate her with ignorant stereotypes. The New York Post quotes Miranda: "De needel [middle, stomach], she said, 'he get too teek in North America. Always I eat in dis contree. De eat is verree, verree good. I must stop him...I walk in de street...and my eyes dey jump out of de head. Sotch life! Sotch movement! I like him verree, verree moth. De men dey all look at me. I teenk dat's lofflee and I smile for dem...I know p'raps one hunderd words—Prettie good for Sous American geeil, no? Best I know ten english words—MEN, MEN, MEN, MEN and MONNEE, MONNEE, MONNEE, MONNEE!!" Even though Miranda was a natural comedienne and her performances were a lot of fun, there is in the end a sad aspect to them, resulting from the contrast between her comic characters and the racist cultural context in which they existed. A tension created between wit and ignorance, surface and depth, phony and real. Her sensual performances, like the Samba which inspired them, thrived on ambivalence. Furthermore, the playful way she explored all the aspects of her persona suggests a more complex identity than that of a simple sex object. Shari Roberts comments on this apparent paradox in relation to Miranda's persona: "...by taking as her costume enormous flowers, fruits, and vegetables intermixed with exaggerated traditional Brazilian dress, Miranda becomes the image of an overflowing cornucopia of South American products, ripe, ready, and eager for picking by North American consumers. In addition, Miranda's comic element relies on the 'primitive' qualities emphasized in her persona: her inability to speak (in English); her ignorance, stemming from language and cultural barriers; and her secondary status and inferiority. All of these exaggerated qualities contribute to negative conceptions both of 'foreign': Others and of women. On the other hand, Miranda's appeal resides in the parody of these stereotypes. Because Miranda so exaggerates signifiers of ethnicity and femininity, her star text suggests that they exist only as surface, that they do not refer, and in this way Miranda can become sheer spectacle. For instance, the joy reviewers articulate about Miranda's lack of English stems partly from the illusion of masculine and American superiority but also from an enthusiasm for a freedom within or without language, the freedom allowed by songs when the listener has "no clue to their meaning"—the freedom experienced through the recognition of the artifice, as opposed to the essence, of social definitions of ethnicity and femininity."[11]

Looking back at Roosevelt's W.W.II propaganda campaign, it is easy to see how reductive, flat and one-dimensional the image of South America as tropical paradise really is. Trying not to simplify a complex period in history, nor the role played by their own personalities, I believe that we can at least partially explain the unfolding of Miranda's and Welles' careers based on their relation to the promotion of a Latin American image during the war. Both artists were intrinsically related to, and partially victimized by, Hollywood's policies of the era. Miranda's success can help explain Welles' failed project when we relate them both to political interests represented by the 'Good Neighbor Policy'. 
Among the many shortcomings of the campaign, the Eurocentric and condescending views towards Latin American cultures is perhaps the most damaging. It operates by constantly reducing significant cultural features into infantile and exotic attractions. Pointing in a very different although more interesting direction, is the contemporary investigation of Samba as allegory. The type of knowledge developed by African oral traditions for instance, based on the use of allegory and aphorisms with its emphasis on proverb and poetry, has recently been receiving a different kind of attention as it shares a common ground with postmodern theory – the emphasis on process and allegory. Expanding on the Samba and on Carmen Miranda's relationship to it, a recent essay by Gregory Ulmer points to new possibilities for this intercultural dialogue. Ulmer, conflating poststructuralist theory and the new technologies suggests the use of the Samba as a model for creating a new rhetoric: "What is at stake is not the literal dance but the figurative one, changing our cultural style of turning information into knowledge." Ulmer sees the Samba as a model for non-linear writing, pointing to process as opposed to the search for essences. It can be a useful model as he has demonstrated expanding on Derrida's Grammatology and making an analogy between dancing the Samba and writing a new rhetoric in an electronic culture. In the passage from a literary culture to a digital one, there is perhaps still much to be learned from the Samba and the oral traditions rooted in the body that are its source.

Gilles Deleuze has also called attention to the importance of the aphorism. According to him, the revolutionary force of the aphorism is apparent on the level of method. "An aphorism is an amalgam of forces that are always held apart from one another. An aphorism means nothing, signifies nothing, and is no more a signifier than a signified...An aphorism is a play of forces...if you want to know what I mean, then find the force that gives a new sense to what I say, and hang the text upon it." As Poststructuralists abandoned the search for truth with its emphasis on interpretation carried out by the interiority of a stable Cartesian subject, they explore a more literal level of language favoring "the material of the signifier over the meanings of the signifieds." There is, of course, no simple translation between Western and non-Western traditions as we deal with different identities and perceptions of time and space. In spite of the existing contrasts however, a lot can be borrowed and expanded upon if one is looking for horizontal links cutting across disciplines and cultures, space and time, rather than plunging into the vertical depths of hermeneutics.

London based art critic Guy Brett has written about a "certain elasticity of body and mind" in relation to the work of Brazilian artists. Brett emphasizes the place of the body in Brazilian culture observing: "Like most such generalizations about national character, perhaps, the 'popular culture of the body' exists both as a stereotype and a truth. It is what makes it possible to read a phrase 'Brazilian elasticity of body and mind' in both a football report and an article on Lygia Clark!" In Brazil, bodies are indeed more elastic and not always the basis of single identities. I am not sure we can talk about a single body-soul relationship since through syncretism with Afro-Brazilian traditions, the soul in Brazil can be quite a crowd (I am referring to the many spirits and forces present in trance rituals). In the Western tradition bodies are supports for identities while in the Afro-Brazilian heritage, bodies are hollow, untrustful. They are crossed by external energies and spirits, by other voices. Bodies are often altars, horses, instruments, mediums over which there is no total control. All these contingent identities are further expressed through the subtleties of the verb 'to be' in Portuguese, which translates by the verbs 'ser' (essential to be) and 'estar' (to be, relative to space and time) making identities even more flexible.

Samba's originality lies in the primary importance given to 'lived experience' or 'embodied knowledge'. Western tradition has privileged "any scheme that offers escape from the body" which remains distrusted. The new paradigm of information revolution is no different, redefining spirit as information. Samba, the Brazilian 'school of the body' on the other hand, emanates from sexuality and physicality which are seen as expressions of the spiritual world. Anti-puritan by nature, Samba's emphasis is the erotic body, desire and pleasure. Its origins are of course, in the African religious traditions, more concerned with the renewal of life than with promoting a salvation from it. According to the musician David Byrne, Samba, like many other Afro-Latin music forms, promotes a special relationship between the body and the environment. Furthermore, the importance placed on leisure and pleasure as a creative energy has been channeled by the Brazilian avant-gardes as a revolutionary, subversive force. The syncretism of African, Indigenous and European cultures have produced in Brazil a non-dualistic way of understanding the relationships between body and mind, spiritual and material dimensions. Here the distinctions between the sacred and the secular, between religion and magic, are fortunately not that clear.

Made up of a geographic space which is not simply national, and not only Western, sharing a sense of time and space that is the sum of all the contradictions that go into its making, Latin America waits to be addressed in its own terms: not a stable exotic otherness, but many complex identities which today as in the past, continue to create, improvise and adapt, decentering and recycling knowledge, drawing from the past as well as from foreign media and supported by a spiritual dimension which is syncretic in nature. Latin American cultures continue to defy the creation of a unified language, displacing in the process the antinomies of high and low, surface and depth, authentic and fake, body and spirit, self and other.

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Gourdinha and Almita Castillo, "Chicholes with Bananas" (Chicholes com Bananas), Brazil, Classical 43, Foro, compiled by David Byrne, Compact Sound Disk, (Luaka Bop/Bip/Bip Records Company, 9 26323-2). "Chicholes with Bananas" was created in 1980. It became famous in Brazil in the voice of Jackson do Pandeiro (1919-1982) who recorded it in 1970. Two years later in 1972, Gilberito Gil recorded it and it became one of the statements of the Tropicália movement. Chicholes with Bananas: I will put baba in my sambo! When Uncle Sam plays the tambourine! When he grabs a tambourine! And a Brazilian bass drum! When he learns! That sambo isn't a rhumba! Then I'll mix Miami with Copacabana! I'll mix chowing gum with bananas! And my sambo will sound like this! Bahia-chelda-bahia-chelda-bahia! I want to see the confusion! Churches-bahia-chelda-bahia-check out the sambo-rock brother! OK, but in compensation! I want to see a boogie-woogie! With a tambourine and guitar! I wanna see Uncle Sam! With a flying pan! In a Brazilian percussion Jam session. Chicholes, or in Portuguese Chicholes, a trademark, is a synonym both in Brazil and in the US, for chewing gum.


4. The thirties generation was composed by, among others, sociologist Gilberto Freyre, Masters and Slaves (Casa Grande e Senzala), (1933); historian Sergio Buarque de Holanda, Roots of Brazil (Raizes do Brasil), (1936); and Caio Prado Junior, Political evolution of Brazil (Evolução Política do Brasil), (1933).

5. Peter Bogdanovich, This is Orson Welles, Interviews, N.Y.: Harper Collins Publishers, 1992, 149.


10. Ibid.


13. As Jonathan Rosenbaum noticed in his preface to Peter Bogdanovich, This is Orson Welles, contrary to Welles' reputation in the rest of the world, in the US, 'his artificie career seemed to consist of a spectacular debut followed by forty odd years of inactivity.' Carmen Miranda also died rejected by audiencies at home.


17. Brett, Ron. 'In Search of the Body', in Art in America, July 1994, 59. Lygia Clark (1929-1988) is a visual artist, who centered her work on the body creating interactive propositions.


19. Ibid.

20. Brazil Classics 2, O Samba, compiled by David Byrne, Compact Sound Disc, (Luaka Bop/Bip/Bip Records Company, 9 26013-2). "Samba, like many other Afro-Latin music forms, propels and ignites the lower body - the hips, the butt, the pelvis, etc. - by letting the downbeat 'lead'. By de-emphasizing the leading foot of each measure a rhythm becomes more sensual and ethereal; one floats outside the time and space of earthly existence. Repetition creates a timeless, communal other world; a floating ethereal cycle that is both rooted in biological rhythms and in the beyond or the meta-biological. Any activation of the hips-sex-butt-pelvis relates to the source of all life, the womb. This music is definitely a respectful prayer in honor of the sweet, the feminine, the great mother - the sensuous life-giving aspects of ourselves and our lives - and to the Earth, the mother of us all. To shake your namp is to be environmentally aware.'

21. See also Robert Stamb, Subversive Pleasures, Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989. Examples of these subversive strategies can be found in Brazil in all art forms - literature, the visual arts, cinema, music, etc. It is best represented by avant garde movements such as the Anthropomorphics movement of the 1920s, Tropicália in the late 60's, and the second phase of Cinema Novo, as well as by the work of individual artists such as the visual artist Heilo Oltico who created and worked with the expression Crealizer (to believe in leisure).