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Articles

The Consumption of (Over?) Consumption: Diplomatic Developmentalisms, Market Developmentalism, and the Making of Brazil's 'American Century'

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Keywords:

Development consumer culture

Brazil

U.S. foreign relations

Notes

1. A.G. Frank, 'The Development of Underdevelopment', Monthly Review, xviii, 4 (1966), 17–31, is among the most antique examples of twentieth-century political economy; O.A. Westad, The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times (Cambridge, 2005) is a well-known example of recently, rightfully esteemed scholarship on twentieth-century international history. The vast historical literature on corporate managerialism, consumer capitalism, and their concurrence in the United States includes: A.D. Chandler, Jr., The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business (Cambridge, MA, 1977); L. Cohen, A Consumer's Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America (New York, 2003); G. Cross, An All-Consuming Century: Why Commercialism Won in Modern America (New York, 2000); W. Leach, Land of Desire: Merchants, Money, and the Rise of a New American Culture (New York, 1993); R.W. Fox and T.J.J. Lears (eds), The Culture of

183); T. Consum X onsumption Jackson e of the Cold Society' War (Ch ng of the ion of the **America** gulf sep and the t home is historica E.S. B ultural Expa l. Rostow, The Stac 1960). financing The of the Vo ation of greater argas's laneiro, July commer 5, 1952 The

American Republics, 588; 'Brasil-Estados Unidos', O Observador Econômico e Financeiro, Jan. 1949, 3–4; J.W.F. Dulles, Vargas of Brazil: A Political Biography (Austin, TX, 1967), 206–8, 210, 219, 225–7, 312–13; T.E. Skidmore, Politics in Brazil, 1930–1964: An Experiment in Democracy (Oxford, 1967), 44–45; M. Bandeira, A presença dos Estados Unidos no Brasil: dois séculos de história (Rio de Janeiro, 1973), chap. 36; F.D. McCann, Jr., The Brazilian-American Alliance, 1937–1945 (Princeton, NJ, 1973), 4, 67–9, 193–9, 297–8, 303–4, 306, 385; S.E. Hilton, 'The United States, Brazil, and the Cold War, 1945–1960: End of the Special Relationship', Journal of American History, Ixviii, 3 (Dec. 1981): 600, 602–3; W.M. Weis, Cold Warriors and Coups d'Etat: Brazilian-American Relations, 1945–1964 (Albuquerque, NM, 1993), 12, 24–5, and passim.

- 3. M.L. Cooke, Brazil on the March: A Study in International Cooperation (New York, 1944); Skidmore, Politics in Brazil, 45; McCann, The Brazilian-American Alliance, 381–8; G.K. Haines, The Americanization of Brazil: A Study of U.S. Cold War Diplomacy in the Third World, 1945–1954 (Wilmington, DE, 1989), 116–17; Weis, Cold Warriors and Coups d'Etat, 12.
- 4. Cooke, Brazil on the March, passim (his 'industrial rejuvenation' is on 251). Cf. Weis, Cold Warriors and Coups d'Etat, 26.
- 5. McCann, The Brazilian-American Alliance, 385–7; Skidmore, Politics in Brazil, 45;

X DC, 19 Dec. 6. Act 1947, in 48, in FRUS, 7. Joh 1948, vo One World: Its Sales ican pamphlet Manag 'dollar-aform Weis, Cold year-me Warriors the US e Janeiro, 9 Ambassa May 195

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pp. 552–64; J. Abbink, et al., Report of the Joint Brazil-United States Technical Commission (Washington, DC, 1949). See also: Skidmore, Politics in Brazil, 72–3; Haines, The Americanization of Brazil, 117–18; Weis, Cold Warriors and Coups d'Etat, 26–7; Hilton, 'The United States, Brazil, and the Cold War', 603–4.

- 9. Johnson to the Secretary of State, Rio de Janeiro, 18 Nov. 1948, in FRUS, 1948, vol. 9, The Western Hemisphere, 367–8 (quote on p. 368); John Abbink to the Acting Secretary of State, Rio de Janeiro, 24 Dec. 1948, in ibid., pp. 373–5 (quote on p. 374).
- 10. Abbink, Report..., passim (quotes on pp. 1, 190); Bandeira, Presença dos Estados Unidos, 317; Skidmore, Politics in Brazil, 72; Weis, Cold Warriors and Coups d'Etat, 26. On official Brazilian dissatisfaction with the work of the Abbink Commission, see, for example, 'Memorandum of Conversation, by Mr. Harold Midkiff of the Division of Brazilian Affairs', Washington, DC, 26 May 1949, in FRUS, 1949, vol. 2, The United Nations; The Western Hemisphere, 574–7.
- 11. Abbink, Report ... passim (for the differences of opinion, see 121n, 278-87).
- 12. Ibid., 137.
- 13. John Abbink to the Secretary of State, Washington, D.C., 17 Mar. 1949, in FRUS, 1949, vol. 2, The United Nations; The Western Hemisphere, 552–64 (quote on p. 564).



from the days of Elihu Root and the Baron of Rio Branco down to the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt had characterised Brazilian-American relations.' Merwin L. Bohan to the Department of State, Rio de Janeiro, 20 May 1953, in FRUS, 1952-1954, vol. 4, The American Republics, 616–21 (quote on 617).

16. On Brazilian efforts to prolong the life of the Joint Brazil-United States Economic Development Commission, see FRUS, 1952-1954, vol. 4, The American Republics, 610-22; Hilton, 'The United States, Brazil, and the Cold War', 614. For Brazilian responses to what was seen as its untimely end: V.F. Bouças, 'Açúcar amargo', O Observador Econômico e Financeiro, Sept. 1960, 3. Brazilian officials likewise had attempted to obtain permanent status for the Joint Brazil-United States Technical Commission, but Abbink, in his words, 'was instructed to "soft-pedal" the idea'. See John Abbink to Edward G. Miller, Washington, DC, 13 Apr. 1950, in FRUS, 1950, vol. 2, The United Nations; the Western Hemisphere, 757-9 (quote on p. 758). On Eisenhower administration resistance to a 'Joint Brazil-U.S. Economic Board', see Henry F. Holland to the Acting Secretary of State, Washington, 16 Apr. 1954, in FRUS, 1952–1954, vol. 4, The American Republics, 650–51 (quotes on p. 650).

Rudolf E. Cahn to Henry F. Holland, Washington, DC, 14 Oct. 1955 (subject: 'Brazil: Program of Economic Reforms'), and enclosure, in FRUS, 1955–1957, vol. 7, American Republics: Central and South America, 674-7; also, Hilton, 'The United States, Brazil,

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- (Kent, OH, 1990), chaps. 1-10; P.R. Parker, Brazil and the Quiet Intervention, 1964 (Austin, TX, 1979).
- 20. Robert M. Sayre to McGeorge Bundy, Washington, DC, 30 Sept. 1964, in FRUS, 1964–1968, vol. 31, South and Central America; Mexico, 479–80 (quotes on p. 479); Lincoln Gordon to Thomas Mann, Rio de Janeiro, 10 Aug. 1964, in ibid., 471–9; Walt Whitman Rostow to Lincoln Baines Johnson, Washington, D.C., 23 Feb. 1968, in ibid., 520–1. See also ibid., 499–503; Skidmore, Politics in Brazil, 328–9; Skidmore, The Politics of Military Rule in Brazil, 1964–1985 (Oxford, 1988), 37–9, 55, 60; Fico, O grande irmão, chap. 3; Leacock, Requiem for Revolution, chaps. 10–11; Parker, Brazil and the Quiet Intervention, 80–3, 88–91, 93–7, 107.
- 21. NSSM-67, 'Analytical Summary: Brazil Program Analysis' (1970), National Security Archive, Washington, DC (copy in author's possession).
- 22. H.W. Arndt, Economic Development: The History of an Idea (Chicago, 1987), remains an essential introduction. See also P. Worsley, The Three Worlds: Culture and World Development (Chicago, 1984), in which the great polymath writes, "development" is a post-Second World War concept' (p. 1), and the stimulating contributions found in F. Cooper and R. Packard (eds), International Development and the Social Sciences: Essays on the History and Politics of Knowledge (Berkeley, CA, -quoting from the editors' introduction—examine (It lhe form of the 1997), which develop world from X to the cold the 1940 war incl ew, cxiii, 1 (Feb. 20 lopment and the Inve ii, 4 (Nov. 1988), 4 , CT, 1987), 159-62 159). Some of th e Global Cold Wa history of develop cold-war concepti ing Growth, has also ates, 'the idea of c ssociated with dec in Cold War

America (paicimore, 2003),

33. M. P. Cowen and K.W. Shenton hote that the period of

development is invariably assumed to be a span of imperial and post-colonial history since 1945'; their Doctrines of Development (New York, 1996) takes a longer view, but does so without making the semantic distinction between actual usage of the terms 'development' and 'economic development' and the circulation of ideas that later came to be understood as signified by these terms (the quote is on p. 4). For an early appreciation of historicist approaches to development like that advanced herein, see N. Cullather, 'Development? It's History', Diplomatic History, xxiv, 2 (Fall 2000), 641–53.

Arndt, Economic Development, 9 (emphasis added). Elsewhere, Arndt traced the use of the word 'development' in the 'counterculture of Marxist theory' directly back to Marx's Capital and discussed at greater length the use of the word in the 'white settler' colonies of Australia and Canada. He did so, however, by way of making the same arguments: that the idea of development was confined to Marxist and colonial ghettoes until the late 1930s and early 1940s, when 'the postwar meaning' of 'economic development' emerged suddenly and seemingly spontaneously. See his 'Economic Development: A Semantic History', Economic Development and Cultural Change, xxix, 3 (Apr. 1981), 457-66. This line of argumentation led him to make a pair of erroneous statements regarding US history: (1) that "economic development" in the transitive sense' was never used in the nineteenth-century United States; because (2) 'In the United States ... economic development happened, as immigrants from Europe streamed in: settlers went west to take up fertile land; communities established towns

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and Western China', Geographical Journal, xxiii, 3 (Mar. 1904), 281-308 (see esp. p.

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307); Baron S. von Sternberg, 'Germany's Designs on Brazil', North American Review,
reprinted in 'Business Literature', Wall Street Journal, 19 May 1906, 6; A. MacWillie,
'Impressions of the Orient,' The 57 Life, 2 May 1907, 1, 2, quoted in M. Domosh,
American Commodities in an Age of Empire (New York, 2006), 172; J. Barrett,
'Development of South America', Banker's Magazine (New York), reprinted in 'Business
Literature', Wall Street Journal, 29 June 1907, 6; J.H. Hollander, 'The Regeneration of
San Domingo', The Independent (New York), 28 Aug. 1913, 489-93 (see esp. 493);
'Mustn't Intervene, Says N. O. Winter', New York Times, 21 Nov. 1913, 2; 'For Campaign
for Conquest of South American Trade', Boston Globe, reprinted in 'Business Literature',
Wall Street Journal, 14 Sept. 1914, 6; Franklin D. Roosevelt, longhand diary, January
1917, quoted in L.A. Pérez, Jr., "La Chambelona": Political Protest, Sugar, and Social
Banditry in Cuba, 1914–1917', Inter-American Economic Affairs, 31 (1978), 14; 'British
Banks First to Exploit South America', Wall Street Journal, 3 Dec. 1918, 10; W.S.
Culbertson, 'An Open Door of World Trade' (Dec. 1918), Nation's Business, Mar. 1919,
34; H.A. Franck, Working North from Patagonia: Being the Narrative of a Journey, Earned
on the Way, Through Southern and Eastern South America (New York, 1922), 287; J.
Klein, 'Economic Rivalries in Latin America', Foreign Affairs, 15 Dec. 1924, 236-43 (see
esp. pp. 240-1, 243); 'Trade with Latin America to Expand' (subtitled, 'United Fruit Head
Says Next Ten Years' Development Will Exceed That Since Spanish Conquest'), Wall
Street Journal, 5 May 1927, 13; 'The New Pan-Americanism' (transcript of 'A radio talk...
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World', New York Times Magazine, 5 Sept. 1937, 12-13, 20 (p. 13). At an even further
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remove from economics-department seminar rooms, people who might otherwise be imagined as having been the objects of development processes themselves engaged and elaborated upon the idea of development itself. Nick Cullather, citing Sun Yat-Sen's The International Development of China (1922), notes that 'Chinese intellectuals used the language of modernity [i.e., of 'development'] in the 1920s', decades before the development idea absorbed the attention of prominent economists. See his 'Development? It's History', 650. Arndt himself had cited Sun's book as '[a]n interesting exception, though one that may prove the rule', based on its author having been 'influenced by the October Revolution in Russia and thus indirectly by the Marxist tradition and partly [and less convincingly] that his use of "economic development" is, after all, closer to that of [Lord] Milner than of Marx.' Arndt, 'Economic Development', 464.

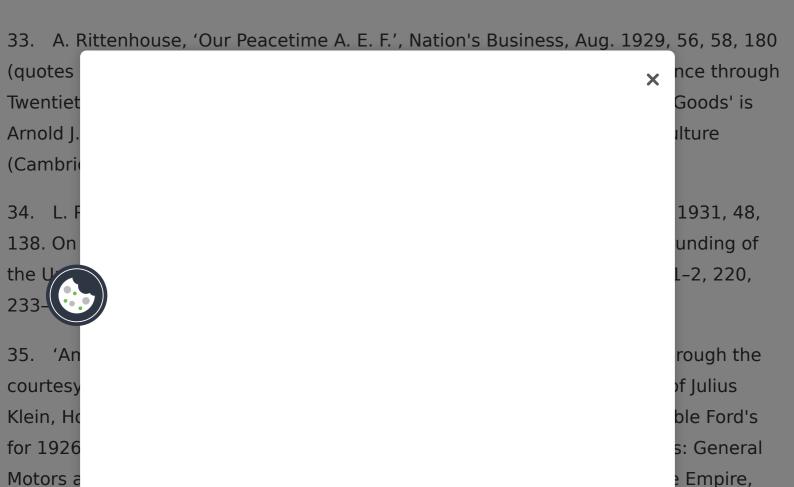
Mona Domosh's American Commodities in an Age of Empire makes the case that what she calls 'America's "civilization through consumption", promoted abroad by various companies during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, was a set of ideas involving 'assumptions [that] were critical to the discourse of economic development that was formalized after World War II,' while cautioning, 'I do not mean to suggest that the complex set of ideas and practices that constitute the term "development" began in this time and place' (quotes on pp. 188, 191, 192). The 'civilization through consumption' idea is an awkward fit with her evidence in two regards. ring X id marketed Compan items (se selves designed capital goods ra ing ond, at least machine one of b of Singer or ther than McC 'civilizac issing away, and Japa passed by ant part in the grov ihout China' the deve (quotes

(Boston, 1915), 7, 11-12; 'W. E. Aughinbaugh', New York Times, 19 Dec. 1940, 25.

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- 27. H. Sibley, 'Look South, Business Man!,' Nation's Business, Mar. 1937, 44.
- 28. 'Latin America as Trade Field', Wall Street Journal, 12 Apr. 1929, 13.
- 29. C.H. Watson, 'Markets Are People Not Places', The News Bulletin, July 1928, 18–19, JWTA.
- 30. C.E. Bosworth, 'Speaking of Foreign Trade', Nation's Business, July 1919, 69 (original emphasis). Cf. the Advertiser and Mail (Montgomery, AL), 1 Jan. 1880, quoting from an issue of the Philadelphia Press published the previous year: 'The plantation negroes are beginning to see beyond bare floors, "nigger's" shoes, and gaudy head "kerchiefs". Neat carpets, good Lynn shoes, and tasteful millinery begin to find a market in the South. Even the corset trade finds a developing outlet.' In Woodward, Origins of the New South, 114.
- 31. R.H. Powers ('Former Advertising Manager, The China Weekly Review, Shanghai'), 'What the Chinese Want in Advertising', Nation's Business, 25 Apr. 1930, 102, 104, 108-9.
- 32. L.D. Ricci, 'Latin America Today Offers an Outstanding Market', Advertising Abroad, Nov. 1929, 1, 20.

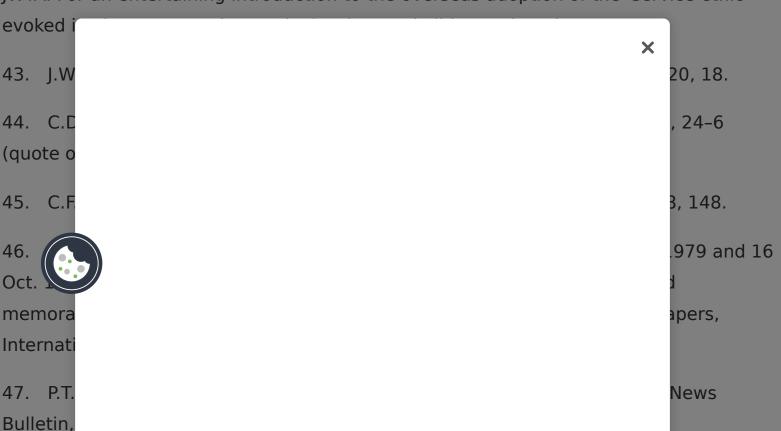


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Promise (New York, 1967), 15–16; C.H.A. Dassbach, Global Enterprises and the World Economy: Ford, General Motors, and IBM. The Emergence of the Transnational Enterprise (New York, 1989), 141–4.

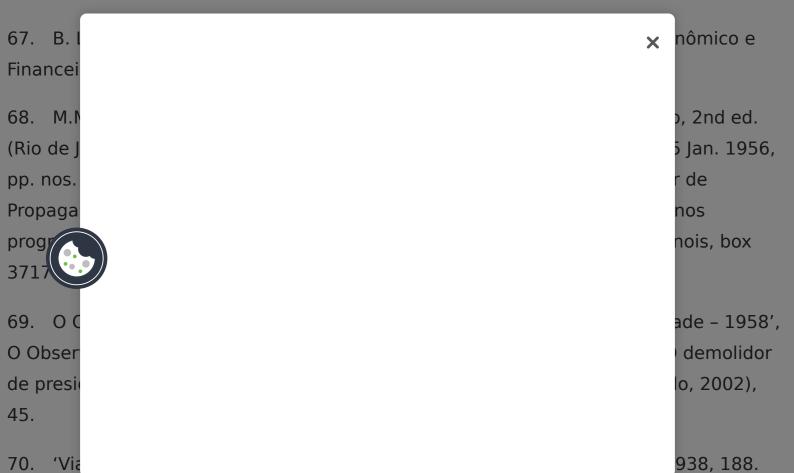
- 36. J.D. Mooney, 'Making the World Move Faster,' Nation's Business, Dec. 1928, 21.
- 37. Ibid., 21-2.
- 38. Ibid., 22.
- 39. Ibid.
- 40. Ibid. In another telling of the same story, the storekeeper's wife and daughter had been 'barefoot, dressed in the simplest calico', prior to his purchase of 'an American automobile'; now, not only do they 'wear silk stockings', they also 'emulate the latest Paris fashions' and their village is connected to the outside world by 'three radio sets', all of which added up to 'a higher degree of happiness'. J.D. Mooney, 'The Automobile Remodeling Life', New York Times, 3 Mar. 1929, sec. xx, 14.
- 41. Mooney, 'Making the World Move Faster'.
- 42. H. Tipper, 'General Motors Around the World', The News Bulletin, Mar. 1928, 5–7, JWTA. For an entertaining introduction to the overseas adoption of the 'service ethic'



- 48. J.L. Hutchinson, 'Brass Tacks in Foreign Trade', The News Bulletin, Feb. 1923, 9, JWTA.
- 49. 'The Many Worlds of Sam Meek', JWTA, Biographical Information, box 12; also, S. Resor, 'Advertising as a Career', Printer's Ink, 12 May 1927, 65–80; M. Mayer, Madison Avenue, USA (New York, 1958), 75–6.
- 50. R. Pierce, Gringo-Gaucho: An Advertising Odyssey (Ashland, OR, 1991), 20–1.
- 51. The quote is from Fox and Lears, The Culture of Consumption, xiii.
- 52. Watson, 'Markets Are People', 6, 14.
- 53. Minutes of Representatives' Meeting (entitled 'Group Meeting' in this case), 30 Apr. 1930, JWTA, Staff Meeting Minutes, box 2.
- 54. Aughinbaugh, Selling Latin America, passim (see esp. chaps. 1, 27, and plates); Aughinbaugh, Advertising for Trade in Latin-America (New York, 1922).
- 55. R. Dickinson, 'London Discusses Advertising's Place in World Selling', Printer's Ink, 17 July 1924, 10.
- 56. M. Thorpe, 'Advertising's Present Opportunity', Printer's Ink, 5 Dec. 1929, 80.



- 59. Klein, 'Export Advertising Finds Some New Responsibilities', 10.
- 60. Leach, Land of Desire, 381. Cf. Cross, An All-Consuming Century, chap. 3.
- 61. J.J. Daly, 'Brazil Postwar Cash Customer', Nation's Business, Jan. 1945, 46, 48.
- 62. T. Fielding, 'Reminder: Latinos [sic] Are People Too', Nation's Business, Dec. 1949, 33.
- 63. 'Tendências dos negócios', Publicidade & Negócios, 1 May 1950, 5, 27.
- 64. W.R. Poyares, 'Redacção de propaganda', O Observador Econômico e Financeiro, Apr. 1939, 132-6; Poyares, 'Introducção á propaganda', O Observador Econômico e Financeiro, May 1940, 92-5 (quote on p. 92); Poyares, 'O que oferece a propaganda?', O Observador Econômico e Financeiro, Aug. 1940, 119-20; Poyares, 'Publicidade comercial', O Observador Econômico e Financeiro, Sept. 1943, 17-24 (quotes on p. 24); Poyares, 'Notas de um publicitário', PN, Oct. 1949, 31-2.
- 65. 'Deter, informar, impressionar e impelir', PN, Apr. 1948, 8–10, 12, 15 (quote on p. 15). Alfred Falk was the longtime director of the Advertising Federation of America's Bureau of Research and Education.
- 66. PN, 20 Dec. 1952, 58.



- 71. 'Observações economicas', O Observador Econômico e Financeiro, Feb. 1938, 135; A. Coelho, 'Novos horizontes industriaes', O Observador Econômico e Financeiro, May 1940, 83-9; 'Rádio Farroupilha', O Observador Econômico e Financeiro, Dec. 1940, 65-7; 'Notas editoriais', O Observador Econômico e Financeiro, June 1949, 5; 'Crônica de São Paulo', O Observador Econômico e Financeiro, Aug. 1952, 37-8; H.F. Lima, 'Fabricação de aparelhos domésticos', O Observador Econômico e Financeiro, Aug. 1958, 32-8; 'Aparelhos domésticos', O Observador Econômico e Financeiro, Aug. 1958, 66.
- 72. 'O Rio de Janeiro na república', O Observador Econômico e Financeiro, Nov. 1939, 47–52 (quotes on p. 49).
- 73. A. Guimarães, 'O Brasil forma seu mercado', O Observador Econômico e Financeiro, Oct. 1950, 58-9.
- 74. H.F. Lima, 'São Paulo: evolução industrial em meio século', O Observador Econômico e Financeiro, Sept. 1952, 8; Lima, Caminhos percorridos (São Paulo, 1982).
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'Brazil's System of Economic Groups; Large São Paulo Groups, Brazilian Holding

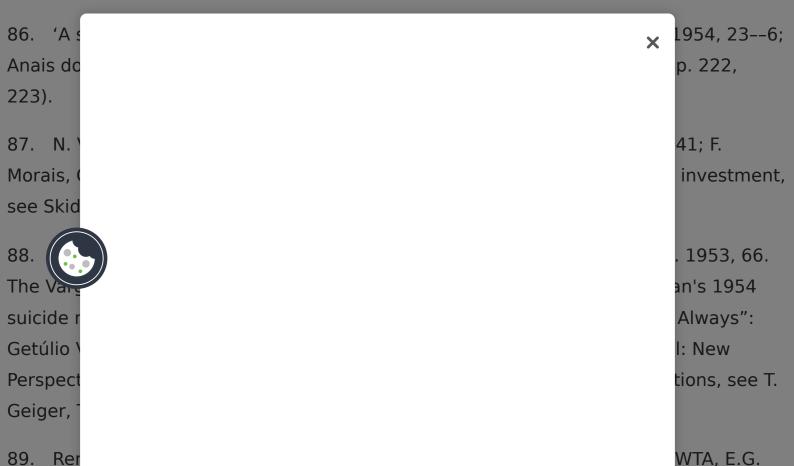
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Companies'), São Paulo, 13 Dec. 1955, with enclosure, 'Eleven Important São Paulo Groups', National Archives and Record Administration, Record Group 59, 832.053/12–1355. It is unclear exactly whether the founding or acquisition of the Simonsen group's outdoor-advertising company occurred before or after the death of the group's founder.

- 81. O Observador Econômico e Financeiro, June 1958, 49.
- 82. 'Acontecimento publicitário de alta significação', Publicidade & Negócios, 20 June 1954, 12–13; Anais do Primeiro Congresso Brasileiro de Propaganda, 29–30–31 de outubro de 1957 no Rio de Janeiro (São Paulo, 1958), p. 25; A.C.C.M. Figueiredo, 'Liberdade é uma calça velha, azul e desbotada': publicidade, cultura de consumo e comportamento político no Brasil, 1954–1964 (São Paulo, 1998), 135 (original emphasis on English-language 'slogan'). For a brief period in the early 1940s, Lacerda himself had worked in advertising. See Mendonça, O demolidor de presidentes, 62–3.
- 83. O. Truzzi, Café e indústria: São Carlos, 1850-1950, 2nd ed. (São Carlos, Brazil, 2000 [1986]), 168-9.
- 84. J.M.R. Matos, 'Congresso,' Publicidade & Negócios, 1 July 1950, 25.
- 85. H. Lima, 'Aspectos da vida sertaneja', O Observador Econômico e Financeiro, May 1938, 54-9 (quote on p. 57).

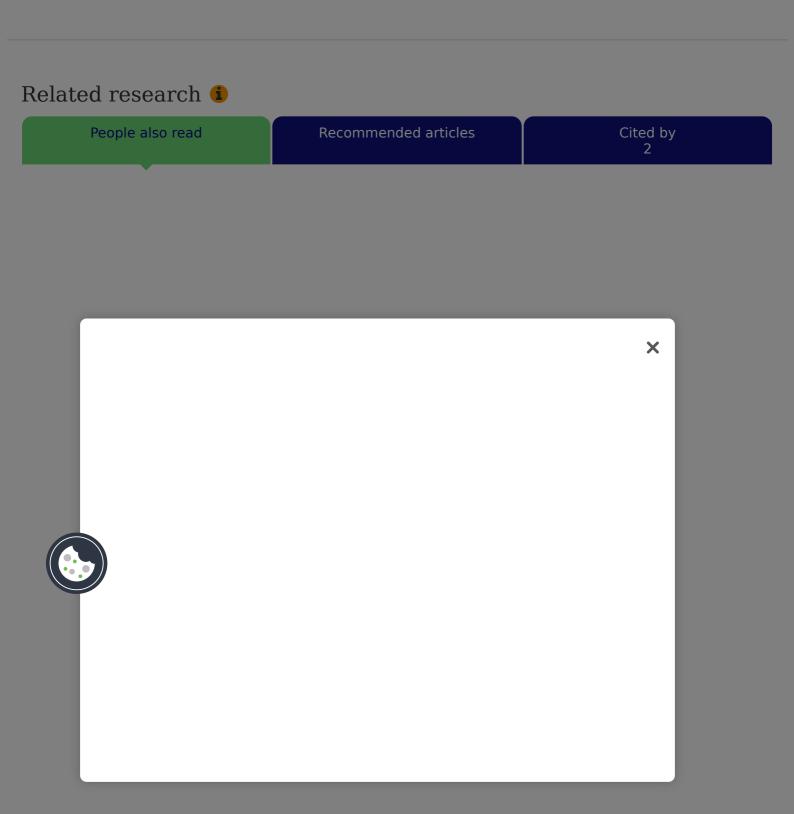


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Observador Econômico e Financeiro, Apr. 1961, 28.

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91. The quote is from de Grazia, Irresistible Empire, 480.



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