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Chapter 1

The History of Marketing Practice

Mark Tadajewski and D.G. Brian Jones

Over the last thirty years, interest in the history of marketing has grown substantially. There have been many major contributions that have sought to highlight the origins of key concepts, theories, ideas, scholarly biographies and schools of thought (e.g. Jones, 2012; Jones and Tadajewski, 2011; Shaw and Jones, 2005; Tadajewski and Jones, 2008; see also the *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing* special issue on the evolution of key concepts, 2012). This body of scholarship cuts to the heart of marketing theory, often in a deeply critical fashion, arguing against current received wisdom regarding the emergence of the marketing concept, relationship marketing, market research, market segmentation, and self-service retailing to name just a few of the areas that have been contested by marketing historians (e.g. Cochoy, 2016; Fullerton, forthcoming).

We are, in short, a discipline that has moved on considerably from the days when Fullerton (1987; 1988) could argue that marketing was ahistorical. We are now rich with historical reflection. Whether this permeates mainstream marketing research and study is, however, questionable and it does seem as if marketing scholars are wilfully ignorant of their historical antecedents (Jones and Richardson, 2007). The same can be said of other disciplines, of course, and there are many reasons for this. These include the turn towards the behavioral sciences of the 1950s and 1960s which marginalized historical study (Tadajewski and Jones, 2014); the desperate desire of scholars to make claims of originality through the neglect of their historical forebears (Tadajewski and Saren, 2009); limited academic attention spans that consider only literature produced in the last ten years to be worthy of merit, as well as

possibly more understandable pressures to ‘publish or perish’ which encourage turning out ‘quick and dirty’ research. Historical research scarcely falls into the latter category and thus slips off the academic radars of those under pressure to perform in the various research assessment exercises that dominate our intellectual landscape.

Certainly, the idea that marketing history (i.e. the study of the history of marketing practice) and knowledge of the history of marketing thought (i.e. studying the conceptual and theoretical basis of many of our key ideas and traditions) should merit our attention is easy to justify. By not knowing our history we are probably going to repeat mistakes that our predecessors tackled and overcame (Jones and Shaw, 2002). Clearly, not knowing our history does have (dys)functional benefits. It enables the repackaging of ideas that have long been practiced. It helps us cast our predecessors as working in intellectual and practical dark-ages before the wisdom of the marketing concept lit their lives with the beacon of customer-centricity (Jones and Richardson, 2007).

If we were being charitable, we might say that this is a function of a lack of exploration of the history of marketing practice (Strasser, 1989). That is, the history of the actual activities of marketers, advertisers, retailers, wholesalers, market researchers and so forth in the marketplace, rather than just theoretical ruminations on what they should do. Rarely have scholars sought to focus their energies on the history of marketing practice as an object of attention in its own right, unravelling what has been done by practitioners from the origins of marketing in the ancient and medieval world all the way through to the present day. This was the task we set ourselves as editors. But we wanted to go beyond a contribution to the history of marketing practice. The history of marketing literature is still overwhelmingly dominated by US voices in terms of the companies being studied and the location that forms the

historical, social, political, economic, and technological backdrop for the mass of literature currently available. There have, naturally enough, been exceptions to this statement and some of this material has been of extremely high quality (e.g. Fullerton, 1988; 1990). Generally speaking, though, we wanted to look beyond the borders of the United States to examine other countries' experiences of the development of marketing practice. We hope that this volume makes a first movement in that direction, but we are acutely aware that more research needs to be done.

Our first chapter is provided by one of the most active contributors to the history of marketing practice as well as thought. Eric Shaw is uniquely positioned to write about ancient and medieval marketing practice by virtue of his distinctive record of publications on this topic. Specifically, Shaw argues that we need to look back to the origins of man and explore the use of bartering by our earliest Neanderthal ancestors. Subsequently he turns his attention to surveying the role of marketing in antiquity, notably ancient Greece. There were various reasons for the emergence of markets, he suggests. One of the most important was the development and use of coinage. With exchangeable currency people no longer had to engage in long (bartering) negotiations about what items they were going to exchange and whether their value was commensurate.

Charting the history of the move from bartering to marketing, Shaw offers us close readings of philosophical tracts, biblical accounts, and a wealth of business history and economics writings. As he illuminates, the development of marketing was contingent on a variety of factors including the division of labor as well as retailers operating in specific locations. From the medieval period, he outlines the growth of trade fairs, the development and usage of

new financial methods for enabling transactions, and the power of the guilds. Marketing practice, for Shaw, has a history that spans at least 40,000 years.

Terry Witkowski telescopes us slightly closer to the present, moving us from Europe to the United States in the 17th century. Witkowski's chapter represents an impressive attempt to document a vast range of scholarship dealing with the history of consumption. In doing so, he encourages us to think differently about a number of areas, most notably with respect to the impact of gender on consumption habits, particularly shopping. This is an important historical review for those interested in consumer behavior as well as those aligned with Consumer Culture Theory inasmuch as it engages with topics like the meanings associated with consumption, how consumption practice has historically been stratified by gender (and not necessarily in the way we would anticipate), and consumer reactions to consumption that historicize recent debates around anti-consumption, consumer resistance, and regulatory control.

What is interesting about Witkowski's chapter, like several other contributions to this volume (e.g. Tamilia, chapter 10; Gao, chapter 19; Sreekumar and Varman, chapter 25), is that it underscores that globalization is not necessarily the recent phenomenon that we would ordinarily assume. Some consumers of the 17th century were able to access global flows of products, often sourcing desirable items produced by British colonies for their households. This was particularly the case with the wealthy. Complementing this focus on global consumption flows, Witkowski examines the growth of retailing in the US, the rise of credit, and the sexual segmentation of household labor. In the 18th century, for example, women were not necessarily most closely involved with retail purchases. Men might be more frequent buyers because they were able to access credit with provincial retailers.

But lest we think that those living in the 18th century were experiencing a consumerist dream, Witkowski does underscore that for many their possessions were quite modest. This underwent some degree of change in the 19th century with the growth of interest in outfitting the home in a manner consistent with the cultural valorization of gentility, accelerating further with the rise of the debates around the ‘leisure class’ (Veblen, 1899/1912) and the normative structuring of consumption (e.g. Tadajewski, 2013a). Importantly, the growth of consumption, spurred a reaction: the growth in anti-consumption discourse which can be traced from the mid to late 18th century, spiking in the early 20th century, and gaining ground today (Higgins and Tadajewski, 2002). Consumption and politics are not separate spheres of life, Witkowski points out. They implicate and imbricate.

Taking up the marketing practice gauntlet in the late 19th century, Stefan Schwarzkopf engages with a key conduit in the development, extension and proliferation of marketing practice namely the market research industry. This industry became especially vital with the growth of the national market in the United States. What this basically meant in practical terms was that the producer and consumer were frequently far distant from each another. It was no longer the case that a manufacturer sold only to those in a fairly local area and could by dint of cultural socialization understand what the market would or would not clear. Some mechanism needed to be used to provide producers and retailers with the ‘voice of the customer’ and into this breach strove the market research industry (Tadajewski, 2009a).

Schwarzkopf points out that we should not consider market and consumer research the invention of American pioneers. The narrative is much more complicated than this. Many scholars have argued that the Second World War, the rise of Nazism, and the transatlantic (in

both directions) movements of scholars and practitioners helped foster new concepts of the consumer as well as new methodological tools with which to probe their consciousness (e.g. Tadajewski, 2006). Less well known is the narrative that Schwarzkopf bases his discussion upon when he tracks the origins of market research within the broader orbit of the social sciences, especially more activist streams of social research that sought to engage with the problems accompanying industrialization such as poverty and social dislocation. Some of these engagements provided the fertile ground for the development of survey methods and sampling techniques which found their way into United Kingdom based market research during the first half of the 20th century. Similar themes thread through the development of the industry on the US side of the Atlantic.

Illuminating the early history of market research, Schwarzkopf discusses the roles of a number of prominent applied psychologists who were notable contributors to early debates about advertising attraction, effectiveness and efficiency, plying their trade within scholarly circles, seeking funding from industry, and keen to articulate how they could contribute to managerial, profit-driven agendas. He underscores the important contributions made by advertising agencies in studying the consumer marketplace, the pioneering efforts of Charles Coolidge Parlin (see also Ward, 2009; 2010) in explicating the markets for a huge range of offerings and industries, as well as the novel methodological strategies employed by Parlin and his team.

Some of the narrative treads that follow will be familiar to those with a keen interest in the history of market research, especially the prominent position accorded to academic-entrepreneurs like Paul Lazarsfeld (e.g. Fullerton, 1990), highly successful practitioners like Herta Herzog and Ernest Dichter (e.g. Tadajewski, 2006), as well as the role played by Social

Research Incorporated in advancing our knowledge of brands, consumer-brand relations, symbolism (e.g. Levy, 2003; 2012), and ideas related to the extended self that would be picked up by influential consumer researchers (see Ladik *et al.*, 2015). For those interested in non-US based contributions to marketing research practice, Schwarzkopf delves deeply into the history of German marketing research.

Usefully, he explores the emergence and application of a number of frequently invoked methodological tools used within industry, including panels, focus groups, market simulations, then turning his analytic attention to the role of key actors within the research service sector as a whole. Importantly, he articulates future directions for historical research, stressing that too much scholarship to date has paid attention to the market research industry itself, without exploring consumer reactions to industry initiatives. The danger of this is that such narratives often appear quite deterministic, stressing marketer power without factoring in consumer agency to resist marketer interventions – as Witkowski’s chapter highlights very clearly, the consumer is not a passive target for marketing activities.

Our next contribution can be read as a response to a narrative that features all too prominently in marketing textbooks and journal articles on segmentation, namely that it was only truly appreciated in 1956 when a paper on the topic appeared in the flagship marketing outlet, the *Journal of Marketing* (Smith, 1956). This, clearly, is a seriously misleading argument which neglects to register the acuity of marketing practitioners who have – for a very considerable time – appreciated the need to segment the market and differentiate their offerings accordingly if they were to produce goods likely to satisfy the ultimate consumer.

There are many ways, Ronald Fullerton asserts, that the 1956 ‘origin’ narrative can be deflated. We could turn to the fact that there were books dealing with the topic of segmentation in the 1920s. Alternatively, we could look closely at industry practice. The 18th century, for instance, reveals that British industrialists appreciated that the needs of their audience were often markedly different, most obviously in terms of income. Selling products at different price points simply made good business sense and was practiced by many clothing producers and retailers. Josiah Wedgwood, likewise, was attentive to the need to target market his offerings, paying attention to the influence of the gentry as conduits for fashion and patronage. He was absolutely aware that different national markets had divergent ideas about what was desirable, fashionable, and cutting edge. This required product modification in line with consumer sensibilities. As if this were not enough evidence to persuade us that marketing practitioners were engaged in market segmentation, Fullerton provides illustrations from a number of different industrial contexts – gun production, fountain pen manufacture, bicycle production, and, in most detail, the book publishing trade – to firmly consign to the trash can of history the idea that segmentation is only a twentieth century phenomenon.

Branding, roughly speaking, is concerned with the linkage of a name, sign, identifying mark or symbol with a product offering. It serves as a shortcut to thinking for consumers, enabling them to identify the products and services that have satisfied in the past, easily and quickly. For brand owners, it helps them cultivate a stream of revenue that is associated with their specific product. They do this by crafting a constellation of meanings around an item that are valued by the customer. Diving into this topic, Ross Petty provides a highly innovative and timely contribution to debates dealing with brand identity, the legal protections available to brand owners, and a historical overview of the development of branding back to antiquity. It

thus complements Eric Shaw's chapter in terms of providing the interested reader with appropriate citations to studies which engage with the development of branding many thousands of years ago.

Antiquity is not, however, Petty's focus. His interest is directed to the development of trademark, branding and brand protection from the 1500s onwards, ending in the middle of the 20th century, but even so offering valuable guidance about contemporary research to take the narrative through to the present day. We should note that he is attentive to the conceptual evolution of these terms, illuminating the conceptual dynamics from trademark to brand over the course of his contribution. This is worthy of consideration in its own right.

Petty's scholarship is first rate. He excavates the contents and themes of court cases dealing with trademark infringement, moving on to the 19th century and the steady growth in the use of imagery and naming to identify products as well as the court system to contest trademark infringement. Impressively, his chapter ranges across the world engaging with trademark law and protection in the US as well as Europe. In a close reading of the history of branding, he reviews the constitution of brand names, how they were selected, what influenced their production, and engages with key exemplars to flesh out his narrative.

The next chapter inspects an underexplored area in marketing history, the history of packaging. Of all the scholarship currently available on this topic, the majority has been written by Diana Twede, the author of the chapter. Once again, historical scholarship points us towards the earliest origins of humanity, noting that our far distant relatives used a variety of natural materials to protect their food sources and valuable items. More recently, the history of packaging has been greatly stimulated by changes in technology, the growth of

global trade, and the need for easily transportable, secure, safe and affordable product protection.

Twede pays attention to the important technologies that have enabled the refinement of packaging science, noting that while the skills and resources to make many different types of packages have a long lineage, it was only fairly recently, with the onset of the industrial revolution, that we had the machinery to mass produce bottles, cans, jars, and so on.

Mechanization drove the greater use of packaging and played a major role in fostering the expansion of the national and eventually global market for many product offerings. Indeed, as she points out, the functional utility of packaging was itself highly useful as a symbolic marketing tactic, enabling producers and retailers to stress that products were created under sanitary conditions, untouched by human hands. This, of course, was highly useful in an industrializing context riven with pollution, dirty factories, and frequent critiques of the unsanitary conditions of factory production that would culminate (at least initially) with Upton Sinclair's (1906) condemnation of industrialization, dehumanization, and plea for socialism, *The Jungle*.

But the history of packaging is even more complex, linked with the growth of self-service retailing, the advances stimulated by World War II in terms of packaging technology and logistics, and the growth in both university level instruction in packaging management as well as professional groups. Developments continue to be made in this area, reflecting the need for packaging technology to change with the times, especially as public and governmental concern over packaging disposal, waste and environmental harm achieve critical mass.

Barry Boothman offers us a wealth of information about the development of retailing in the United States and Canada. This is a truly exceptional overview of the history of retailing which offers considerable inspiration. Boothman's emphasis is the mid-19th century to the present day and he articulates a number of key influences and turning points that enable us to make sense of an intricate history (Hollander *et al.*, 2005). These concern the growth of financial support for retailers which transformed the nature of competition in this sector, leading to the influence of large scale retailers over small. Furthermore, the professionalization of management teaching and training offered large corporations the skills and know-how to more efficiently and effectively manage their distribution activities, providing a source of competitive advantage that smaller companies often lacked.

Boothman charts the development of North American retailing from the early 19th century to early 21st. The emergence of retailing was a concomitant of the shift from the self-sufficient lifestyle that many within the American context led at that time, but which radically changed with the growth of industry and the extensive migration from countryside to towns and cities. Boothman provides a large amount of detail about the various social, cultural and material factors that helped direct the growth of retailing. Like Fullerton, he identifies that retailers were often aware that they needed to segment their market, catering to specific groups of consumers and their nuanced needs for product replenishment and service provision.

As marketing historians questioning the notion of a production era have pointed out, profit was a guiding criterion for many practitioners during the timeframe that Boothman explores (Jones and Richardson, 2007; Tadajewski, 2008, 2009b, 2015a, 2015b). However, Boothman highlights the lack of knowledge of some retailers who violated their need for profit in the pursuit of a quick sale. The historical narrative around the pursuit of profit is thereby

rendered that bit more complicated, although he does stress that attempts to professionalize business practice were implemented during this time. Best practice, however, does not always confer benefits on all concerned.

The development of retailing wrought a number of changes that some would contest like deskilling, the use of sweatshop labor, and the cultivation of consumer desire (Ewen, 1976). Retailers had to find ways to respond to criticism and legitimate what they were doing. One way to do so was to invoke a discourse of service, frequently service not merely to the consumer, but to society (e.g. Tadajewski, 2011). They achieved this by delivering high quality products to the market at a reasonable cost. In fleshing out his narrative, Boothman takes the reader on a journey through the emergence and growth of new methods of retail competition and consolidation, the declines faced by department stores between the wars, the rise of cut-priced, discount store chains, box big retailers and explosion of online retailing.

Andrew Alexander charts the development of British retail history. As he rightly points out, interest in this subject is booming, with various popular programs and books pushing the department store on to center stage (e.g. Mr. Selfridge). There has also been a profusion of company-specific studies over the last ten years that have illuminated the dynamics of the retailing environment. Alexander provides a brief engagement with pre-1850 retailing trends, but devotes the majority of his attention to the post-1850 period, tracing the emergence of large retailers, the continued prevalence of itinerant sellers, the growth of mail order, the rise of supply chain management, the importance of the fashion market, and the internationalization of the retailing industry. As we might expect, the pre-1850 period was marked by less sophistication in practice and retailers were often small operators. This was to

change over the 19th century, when store size expanded, design and layout changes improved store atmospherics, and marketing and advertising know-how developed.

Like Boothman, Alexander challenges received wisdom regarding retail practice. Large scale department stores are often depicted as conservative in orientation, slow to modify their practices in line with economic, social and cultural change. For Alexander, this is not accurate. Store owners were aware of the importance of branding to differentiate their business, with advertising playing a major role in supporting the cultivation of a distinct brand image in the eyes of the consuming public. But, Alexander does not simply focus on the more colorful practices of the department stores, he pays due attention to another highly important section of the retailing community in the UK, namely the cooperative movement. He provides a potted survey of the development of cooperative practices, subsequently exploring the limited literature on mail order retailing.

Robert Tamilia, in the next chapter, makes a highly important point right at the start of his exploration of the history of channels of distribution, namely that many scholars focus on the idea that marketing is concerned with demand stimulation, that is, with the creation of markets or the widening of extant markets. What they devote considerably less attention to is the fact that this is only part of marketing practice; equally important are the series of activities involved in actually getting the product to the consumer: distribution, supply chain management and logistical support.

Tamilia's chapter is extremely detailed and complexly argued, so we can only gesture to some of the themes that constitute this tapestry of academic labor. As he points out, the availability of a distribution network, with its attendant intermediaries enabling the

movement of goods from producers to consumers, was key in enabling the development of the mass, national market in the United States. Initially he takes the reader through a conceptual introduction to channels, linking this with an account of the functions of the middleman, to provide a shared vocabulary for the study that follows. Middlemen have, despite the criticism they have faced, performed vital roles in the movement of goods throughout the economy for a very long time. They have been active forces in leading to the global trade in goods and services – an international trade that Tamilia avers far antedates ahistorical references to contemporary globalization – and which he genealogically positions as dynamic in the 13th century, accelerating markedly in the 17th century, and continuing to the present day.

In a fascinating account, Tamilia notes how, historically speaking, being a merchant was not necessarily considered a desirable role. Their skills in terms of reading and writing did provide an element of status and in some countries it was often viewed as far more positive for an individual to pursue a career as wholesaler than retailer. The former had credibility and cachet; the latter was viewed as a position beneath those aspiring to climb the social ladder.

He details how supply chains have been managed and enabled by certain groups throughout history. This has been achieved via the use of various legal mechanisms, through the activities of the guilds, via the active coordination of distribution activities at fairs or courtesy of the movement of itinerant salespeople across the US using the developing rail and road networks. Naturally enough, the emergence of new retailing systems like self-service, superstore outlets, and the technological systems that rendered complex distribution processes manageable, have been essential components in the development, extension and refinement of distribution over the last century. Accompanying structural changes to the

distribution system have been shifts in power relations and legal challenges to existing business practice.

In medieval times, for example, merchants frequented fairs, sold their wares to the public, and their ability to do so was managed in quite sophisticated terms. People sometimes travelled long distances to reach fair locations. These might be short, medium or longer term events, with the infrastructure necessary to sustain the participants varying accordingly. Attendees' security was guaranteed for a price, they were provided with horses and men for transporting goods, catering supply and cooking implements were furnished, with money exchanging and transaction supports of various kinds lubricating the distribution of goods.

What is especially useful about Tamilia's chapter is that he not only provides a substantial level of historical information about all the various distribution channels he discusses, he frequently links his exemplars to contemporary examples to reinforce the idea that our distribution structure today often has precursors we only dimly appreciate. Medieval trade fairs, as a case in point, are refracted in our megamalls. Agricultural trade fairs are transformed into popular farmers markets. He also takes aim at core arguments relating to the idea that the customer is king, arguing that this was not original to Charles Coolidge Parlin in 1914 as many claim. Rather, for its origin, we need to look to the work of Charles Gide, specifically an argument he made in 1889 on the reign of the consumer which provides the foundational intellectual fodder for the elevation of the consumer in marketing discourse. In fact, we find even earlier support for the belief in the sovereignty of consumers in Daniel Defoe's (1727) *The Complete English Tradesman* (Tadajewski, 2015a).

The history of advertising and sales promotion has been subject to perhaps more research than many other facets of marketing practice. And Fred Beard provides one of the most comprehensive reviews of this area available. He moves far beyond the majority of the literature by tracing advertising practice back to ancient times, signalling the use of multiple forms of advertising (e.g. signs, town criers) across multiple cultural locations (e.g. China, Egypt, Greece). What Beard shows in compelling detail is that marketing, advertising, and sales promotion, as well as the distinctions between advertising as information and advertising as persuasion, are historically longstanding.

Obviously, whilst there are family resemblances between earlier and contemporary practices, there are also clear differences, reflecting the nature of innovation in printing, labelling, and role of symbolism in product differentiation. Advertising and sales promotion were, as we might expect, greatly advanced by the availability of suitable vehicles for their dissemination. Beard points out that adverts and posters were pasted in public, occasionally even on the side of church buildings. This incurred a degree of public criticism and attempts were made to limit their presence – this is a reoccurring theme throughout the history of advertising practice, becoming notable in the late 19th century (Nevett, 1981), a problem in the early 20th century in the UK, France, Germany and elsewhere (Leach, 1994), and whose outlawing is a source of public and civic pride in the 21st century in places like São Paulo (<https://www.newdream.org/resources/sao-paolo-ad-ban>).

It was the establishment of newspapers and regular periodicals that helped advertising achieve its potential, even if editors themselves or the state tried to curtail the prevalence of advertising through selective inclusion policies or taxation. Accompanying the rise of advertising was the growth in various forms of sales promotion ranging from lotteries to price

reductions. What is interesting about the history of advertising is that, while many people actively undertook these activities, there remained an undercurrent of disbelief in their effectiveness. This continued into the 19th and 20th centuries when the sophistication of both advertising and sales promotion continued to increase and the clamour for studies that could identify whether a given communication would be successful or not intensified. Scaffolding this was the rise of the advertising agency, their use of research, and ability to offer a range of creative activities all under one roof. In equal measure, the saturation of the market for public attention demanded the use of ever more inventive campaigns designed to attract public notice and promotion campaigns that hinged on cultivating emotional responses in viewers, not their ability for reasoned decision-making.

In unravelling this narrative, Beard's account chimes with other chapters in this volume that remind us that the dissemination of marketing techniques, tools and know-how was not a simple process of Americanization, that is, of the transfer of skills from the US to other countries desperate for the insights of their American cousins. The process reflected a pattern of transatlantic cross-fertilization. Indeed, the process is more complicated than we allow here, with countries in Asia producing their own forms of marketing communication that were consistent with cultural values.

The next chapter by Thomas Powers is a highly useful companion to Beard's contribution. Powers suggests that selling is a practice that reaches far back to ancient times running the gauntlet from the door-to-door salespeople found in Phoenician times through to professional sales management. Selling and sales promotion were a natural concomitant of the establishment of central marketplaces and fixed retailing locations, where numerous vendors touting similar offerings would congregate. Sales promotion of some type was essential in

this context if a retailer wanted to attract patrons to their store. As Powers underlines, coinage assisted exchange, with additional services like delivery, packaging, and competitive pricing lubricating the marketing process.

Accompanying the gradual emergence and dissemination of fixed location retailing was the specialization of marketing roles. Different tradespeople cultivated their skills in certain areas, harvesting or manufacturing items that could be sold in the local, national and international communities. Importantly, selling activities were not just the preserve of men, women were active in certain spheres, engaged in jobs that were attributed distinctly feminized inflections. Powers' narrative ties in with those provided by Shaw and Tamilia, when he traces the gradual social acceptability of the role of the merchant, linking this with the rise of Islamic traders in the 5th century, as well as by discussing the function of selling at travelling fairs in the medieval period (roughly the 5th - 15th centuries).

Transformations in salesmanship were not only influenced by transportation. Processes of professionalization exerted a powerful force on the axiology – the values – of salesmanship itself. No longer was the salesperson, a wise-cracking, hard-drinking, cigar-smoking, individual; they had to be a professional, keeping up-to-date with the latest sales knowledge, adopting best practice in order to cultivate customer relations (Cochoy, 2016; Tadajewski, 2011; 2012). The salesperson became a mirror of society, reflecting advances in knowledge, as well as being the butt of public commentary which did not position the profession in an especially good light. The fiction of Sinclair Lewis', most conspicuously, *Babbitt*, highlights this most vividly and this criticism of sales activities was marked during the Great Depression.

Despite this, the Great Depression provided an opportunity for sales education. Contrary to the promotional activities of proponents of Service Dominant Logic (e.g. Vargo and Lusch, 2004), the early twentieth century was not characterized by a focus on goods, far from it (Vargo and Morgan, 2005). As Powers and others have illuminated, goods were purchased for the services they provided, and the discourse of the time reflected this notion (Tadajewski, 2011). Similarly, and contrary to those who maintain that marketing was going through a sales-oriented period between the 1930s and 1950s (Keith, 1960), some marketing practitioners at this time did not think that every sale was a good sale (Tadajewski, 2009a, 2009b, 2011; Tadajewski and Saren, 2009). Rather, it was long-term profit that drove practitioner interest (see Boothman's chapter herein). This was reflected in the elimination of unprofitable customers, territory and products.

Concluding his narrative in the post-WWII period, Powers points out how many of our central concepts, theories and ideas, continued to be refined in managerial practice, with some more dubious activities like the pursuit of hard-selling continuing to co-exist alongside more enlightened business policies (see also Fullerton, 1988; Tadajewski, 2015b). Notably, the communications revolution, changing firm relationships, and the prominence of retailers, have all served to drive the economy in new and innovative ways. But these are ways that often have precursors that are not sufficiently recognized within the non-historical literature, Powers submits.

Many of the chapters in this volume gesture to the idea that marketing has an impact on society and that society through laws, regulations, social criticism and consumer boycotts attempts to impact upon marketing. Central to the domain of macromarketing is the logic that the marketing system is part of a wider social system and exists as a provisioning technology,

servicing to provide people with the goods and services they need, want and desire or can be made to desire. This means that the study of marketing from a macro perspective often challenges managerial ways of looking at marketing practice. It does not necessarily shy away from providing a more critical evaluation of whether marketing achieves the objectives it sets itself, although this literature rarely contests the idea that the present capitalist system is the best means of meeting provisioning requirements (Tadajewski, 2013b).

However we view macromarketing and its relationship with political economy, it seems clear that exploring the development of marketing from a wider perspective indicates the extent to which marketing is affected by political, economic, technological, ethical and cultural change. Stanley Shapiro illuminates this point well in a contribution that is better positioned as an example of how scholars might go about writing a macromarketing history, rather than being a macromarketing history in its own right. He does so by investigating the case of England in the 18th century, exploring a number of key themes associated with macromarketing which are used as prisms to interrogate the contribution of marketing to economic and social development. These include a focus on issues relating to the generation of a standard of living, quality of life, distributive justice, marketplace regulation, and the politics of distribution among others.

Tackling the issue of marketplace regulation in more detail, the chapter by Ross Petty reflects the ruminations of one of marketing's finest legal minds. As anyone who has read a marketing textbook can testify, the extent to which marketing practice is connected to national or international legal systems is woefully inadequate. Scholars prefer to stress the value of relationship formation, rather than acknowledge that it is very easy for such

relationships to result in anti-competitive, collusive activities that harm marketplace efficiency and the ultimate consumer (Tadajewski, 2010).

Petty's chapter is a highly impressive survey of US antitrust law which has had serious implications for marketing managers historically and continues to exert force today. Once again, we are returned to ancient times and the critiques of monopoly that featured in the Bible, subsequently telescoping forward to the US context circa 1773. He summarizes the influence of UK common law on the US (and other countries), sketching the contours and concepts that later informed major antitrust court cases. As expected given the context, the Sherman Antitrust law figures prominently, with Petty identifying how companies strove to manage their operations, cementing their control over the marketplace at the same time. This deeply concerned the wider public and spurred lawmakers into some degree of action, as evidenced by the entanglement of numerous states with the 'trusts' in legal action. But, as Petty makes clear, putting the Sherman Act on the legal books was neither an easy process nor uncontested. Nor was it used to a dramatic extent in terms of successful convictions in the first fifteen years or so of its operation. It was only in 1905 that antitrust efforts were really pursued with a degree of vigour, with the state firmly flexing its muscles vis-à-vis large, powerful corporate actors. This is not to say that these actions were widely praised, there were ongoing concerns that trusts and corporations were managing to negotiate the Sherman Act. This led to a variety of revisions and extensions to the original Act through the enactment of sister proposals like the Clayton Act with some reversals of policy provided to reflect perceived economic exigencies.

Petty comprehensively lists the expansion of antitrust activity from 1939 to 1978 in a table that functions as a counterpoint to any uncritical espousal of the idea that this period was

framed by a 'marketing revolution' and the emplacement of the consumer at the center of corporate activity (Keith, 1960). The picture is far less positive in light of this reading of antitrust activity and underscores that self-regulation has clear limits, both historically and today.

Andrew Pressey's chapter is a mirror of Petty's in that it engages with the field of competition law in Europe, rather than the US. Once more it encourages us to appreciate that there are limits to the marketing concept, with companies pursuing their own self-interest in conjunction with amenable competitors, rather than meeting, satisfying and creating delighted customers. The idealized image of marketing practice that our textbooks promote is thus firmly undermined.

Pressey begins with the legal environment in Rome, which set limits on prices for many essential products. The penalties for violating the law were extremely strict, with death hovering over those who thought to bypass price ceilings. We move with rapidity to the medieval period, the rise of the guilds and their rigid controls over production, distribution and sales. One result of the guild system was that it limited the number of people involved in the production of particular items, effectively generating a monopoly-like situation. This led to price rises. Criticism of the system led to legal challenges and changes by the 14th century.

These were not the only rules on the English legislative book at the time. There were various measures designed to stop individuals and groups from cornering the market, that is, to prevent engrossing and forestalling, which was apparently a feature of the local markets and town fairs that have been remarked upon in other chapters (see also Tadajewski, 2015a).

Many of these laws and controls were early attempts to control monopoly power which

gathered steam in the late 19th century. It might be here that we would expect to see some measure of US antitrust legislative influence. This was not the case, Pressey argues, proposing instead that the legal community in Austria was far more influential with respect to the development of the European legal system.

This situation changed between the World Wars when Germany assumed a more prominent position on competition law. This was a testing period for economic thinking and legal action, with internationally influential cartels helping to structure the marketplaces in a number of European contexts. Their contribution, moreover, was not condemned. It was seen as a potential antidote to the cut-throat competition that was affecting countries around the world. Where the US ceded some space for companies and trade associations to share marketplace research and data in order to assist managerial decision-making (Tadajewski, 2009c), political leaders in Europe felt that the way to defeat an excess of competition was through constructive cooperation and industry collaboration.

While we asserted above that current marketing textbooks pay little attention to the legal ramifications of marketing practice, historically marketing scholars *have* scrutinized the legal environment. As Pressey points out, from its earliest published issues the *Journal of Marketing* often featured articles and commentaries on the effects of new legislation on practice. This predominantly concerned an interest in American law, not international law. Perhaps, at best, we can say that such a focus was a result of more companies pursuing success in the national rather than international market – a fairly reasonable assumption until the mid-1950s. Even so, the post war world experienced dramatic changes in international trade and this led to the development of a European trading bloc with a formalized legislative system that was, in terms of competition law, shared.

Fleshing out this account, Pressey draws on numerous examples of violations of competition law that effectively resulted in decreased marketplace competitiveness and efficiency. What is depressingly clear is the frequency with which marketing practitioners figure in violations of competition law and Pressey highlights detailed evidence that serves to question the idea that marketers are solely concerned with acting in the interests of their customers; the contemporary cases that he cites, offer a profoundly different story.

Chapter 16 brings us to the first of our country specific contributions. Robert Crawford begins by referencing what appears to be the earliest mention of marketing in an Australian newspaper. This was not a positive notice, but a reflection of concern about the creeping effects of commercialization on religious holidays. Crawford focuses on the 18th century as his starting point, registering that Australia was for a long period oriented around the development and sale of primary products. This curtailed the role of marketing and salesmanship in the economy. This is not to suggest that marketing practice was not present, far from it. By the late 18th century, retailing was a very embryonic feature of this English colony which still had serious difficulties satisfying the basic needs of its population. As resources were identified, as appropriate support was made available from England, the marketing infrastructure started its long period of development.

Central marketplaces were established and successful. Fairly rapidly, there were importers and retailers ready to advertise their offerings, with stores catering to various tastes plying their trade (some successfully, others less so), although the typical shop was rather small, with limited ranges of products. Throughout the 19th century, improvements in distribution mirrored transportation developments. The rise of the department store was not welcomed

wholeheartedly, however. There were concerns about the effects of these large establishments on smaller traders. In spite of this, the additional conveniences these outlets offered, and the levels of service that could be provided, helped to expand the marketplace, extending the availability of products and services to those living beyond urban locations, so that by 1901 it was possible to refer to a national market in Australia.

Over the course of the 20th century, the patterns that were present in the retail trade, namely the rise of the department store and its commitment to service, were supported by larger expenditures on advertising and various forms of marketing promotions. Service industries, such as advertising agencies, grew in profile, their services tailored to the needs of their clients, as well as keyed to respond to public criticism of their role. They achieved the latter via the public relations conduits provided by professional groups such as the Association of Australian National Advertisers, as well as courtesy of the efforts of the agencies themselves. This became more pressing in the Great Depression which triggered a wave of interest in establishing what contribution advertising offered to business, how it was possible to determine return-on-investment, and how, in short, marketing practices could be made more efficient.

Operating in this breach were advertising agencies with an established pedigree for marketing research like J. Walter Thompson. Interestingly, the Australian context serves as another test bed for underlining the point that not all the pioneers of marketing were men. Rather, female pioneers have made impressive contributions to marketing practice (e.g. Zuckerman and Carsky, 1990). This is no better demonstrated than by a recent special issue in the *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing* which traces their contributions to a variety of industries as well as within the university walls (e.g. Davis, 2013; Graham, 2013; Jones, 2013; Parsons,

2013; Scanlon, 2013; Tadajewski, 2013a; Tadajewski and Maclaran, 2013; Zuckerman, 2013). As Crawford explains, the first market research firm in Australia was founded by Sylvia Ashby in 1936. No doubt, similar examples will continue to be unearthed now that scholars are sensitized to this facet of marketing practice.

The Australian experience with marketing continued to be positive in view of the recognition that competition for the attention of the consumer and their pocketbook was rapidly increasing, with marketing and consumer research providing the tools to meet such challenges. This was supported by developments in sales and marketing education from the 1930s onwards from industry groups and university providers alike. It was during the 1960s that marketing education in Australia really began a growth period, with the founding of the first professorial chair, the enrolment of undergraduates, and their employment by industry. The slowdown in economic growth in the 1970s merely served to remind industry that marketing deserved significant attention whether the economy was booming or in decline, something that practitioners all too frequently ignore at their peril.

Moving from a colony to the center of the empire, our next chapter focuses on marketing in Britain. Richard Hawkins literally traverses the entire history of the country, shifting from the experiences of the Roman Empire to the rise of the internet and e-commerce. Hawkins' study complements a number of other contributions to this collection, providing insight into medieval marketing and the growth of trade fairs, the emergence of fixed shops, the growth of printing and newspapers as well as their influence on the production of advertising materials. Like Fullerton, albeit in a different national environment, Hawkins sees the publishing trade operating at the forefront of marketing practice, especially between the 15th and 17th centuries.

It is during the 18th century that Hawkins argues we see the most sustained growth in the development of marketing practice. In various industries, it was being appreciated that production did not create demand, demand had to be fostered. This was achieved by way of the promotional vehicles already mentioned, combined with the provision of credit, and by improving trust in retailing establishments through the use of fixed prices.

Later, in the 19th and early 20th centuries, the rise of the department store, the legal status granted to trademarks and brands, the growth of mail-order retailing and technological changes such as the invention of the telegraph, telephone and various forms of travel, all enabled the expansion of the market. These processes were further facilitated by the extension of access to instalment purchasing, the promotional opportunities provided by the cinema, not just in terms of actual product marketing, but with respect to selling a consumerist lifestyle. Marketing's influence, whilst not welcomed to the extent that we see in America, was nonetheless apparent over the rest of the 20th century and it continues to reflect and refract political, economic, social, cultural and technological changes that will undoubtedly ensure that it remains a vital force in British business practice for the foreseeable future.

Chapter 18 takes us across the Atlantic once again, this time to Canada. The Canadian marketing history literature is underdeveloped. To deal with this issue, Leighann Neilson and Delfin Muise have delved into business and economic history, bringing back pearls of insight that shed light on the complex marketing problems facing operators in this vast country since the 15th century. They distinguish three periods in Canadian history. The first is oriented around the initial settlement of the country. This was not a period of great marketing

advances, but restricted to the exploitation of the natural resources of the country – natural resources like fish and fur that were in high demand around the world as a function of religious admonishments regarding meat consumption and for clothing. Those working on the ships, for example, were natural targets for rapacious employers who could sell them goods via company owned stores, often leading employees to spend more money than they earned because of the high charges levelled for consumption offerings like alcohol. This period ran from the end of the 15th century until the middle of the 17th century.

Settlement efforts were replaced between the 17th and 19th centuries by more advanced marketing efforts and the rise of international trade via the Hudson's Bay Company (see also Tamilia, chapter 10). This period was defined by greater levels of competition for the fur products and cod that were highly prized Canadian exports. The income derived from these sales enabled those selling the fur – notably the indigenous population – to negotiate preferential terms with settlers wanting to export their goods, exchanging them for high value European items.

As Neilson and Muise register, these traders were not naïve, exchanging their offerings for beads, shiny objects and alcohol. They were far more sophisticated, often playing various interest groups off against each other in order to secure the best deal. They also note that the Hudson's Bay Company was fairly marketing oriented. They provided the Indian population with goods that met their requirements (e.g. blankets, tobacco, guns, knives) in order to try to secure access to the best beaver fur. They attempted to understand the cultural proclivities of the Indians, what motivated them to trade, what would enable the Company to secure the level and quality of stock that it required. They trained young men in their language and customs, which eased the exchange process. Moreover, the Company was well aware of the

need to manage its supply chain, produce a plurality of product offerings to deal with potential changes in demand, and engage in regular new product development. In short, the international trading efforts of the Hudson's Bay Company exhibit ideas now associated with the marketing concept, customer centricity, and exploratory market research.

The final period examined by Neilson and Muise concludes in the late 19th century, with an increase in economic protectionism. They review the activities of the coal industry, the prominent roles played by merchants throughout the history of pre-Confederation Canada, and gesture to the advanced nature of some of the practices being adopted by merchants to cement their trade positions. Their chapter adds further weight to the literature that charts the existence of relationship marketing themes well before the 1970s, that is, the point when contemporary scholars writing about this topic generally suppose practitioners discovered the importance of fostering long-term relations with their customer base. As Neilson and Muise underline, the cultivation of trust was key to business longevity, enabled access to credit, and business hiring policies reflected the need to ensure that only people were employed who could be trusted (i.e. often extended family members).

From Canada we cross the world to China. Zhihong Gao begins with a summary of the nature of marketing practice before the mid-point of the 19th century. Prior to this juncture, income distribution was extremely uneven, with some members of Chinese society able to consume in conspicuous, luxurious ways while the mass of the population toiled at subsistence levels. There was, he writes, a fairly well established marketing system in place, with markets present across the country in important locations.

We really see modern marketing take-off after 1842. This period was punctuated by advances in transportation, the emergence of newspapers, greater levels of expenditure on advertising, an emerging professional middle-class, and growth in international trade (albeit trade at disadvantageous terms for the Chinese). Industrialization was fairly slow, Gao explains, but China was a target for many companies seeking to enter its market in order to tap the vast potential purchasers for their offerings.

By 1911, the country was increasingly segmented on two fronts: the urban dwellers versus those remaining in the countryside. Income distribution between these groups was unequal, favoring the former at the expense of the latter. This is not to suggest that those living in the cities were enjoying lifestyles resembling cosmopolitan elites. Far from it. Poverty and limited access to material resources was a feature of daily life for many. Income was typically skewed towards the consumption of food, with only a limited proportion available for disposable expenditure. For those privileged to possess the requisite income levels, it was possible for them to actively participate in global consumer goods flows.

Within the country, local producers and retailers engaged in progressive marketing practices, segmenting their markets, identifying the requirements of their customers, competing with Western imports through the provision of goods that were commensurate or better quality. Those offering their products to lower income groups were equally sensitive to their needs, splitting packages from multi-pack offerings to single items, so that those in financially straitened circumstances could afford them.

The middle of the 20th century witnessed major transformations of the country, with the embrace of Communism leading to significant reorientations in government policy towards

the expansion of the industrial infrastructure with concomitant less emphasis on food production and consumer goods. This had dramatic effects on the population, with those living in the cities experiencing many benefits in terms of consumption options that were simply not available to rural populations. The focus on heavy industry, in addition, meant that certain groups working in those industries being promoted by the state were paid better and had access to more salubrious working conditions.

Gao considers propaganda efforts to be synonymous with marketing and highlights how the Communist government was an active marketing force, selling its political ideology to the population by denouncing capitalist values (i.e. materialism). The post 1950 period did not see great advances in distribution. If anything the distribution system suffered as a result of nationalization policies, state planning, and overall inefficiency in terms of new product development, supply chain management, and consumer access to desired goods. Until 1978 and the reopening of the Chinese economy, then, the marketing system left a great deal to be desired and on the basis of Gao's interpretation of the expansion of access to consumer goods, better services and rising affluence, the global economy does seem to deliver - at least on the surface. As Gao concludes, the provision of and access to consumer goods is only a small part of a full life. Many facets of life cannot be satisfied through the mediation of the marketplace.

Previously, many scholars have argued that Germany has been an unusual context in which to explore marketing practice given that it has not been held in esteem, was not considered important or essential by corporate executives, and more generally a laggard behind the American uptake of the marketing concept, consumer orientation, and related ideas. This representation is challenged by Ingo Köhler and Jan Logemann. To begin with, their focus is

the 19th century and they articulate the reasons for the ‘productivist bias’ of German industry. In this case, marketing and consumption were extraneous to the real activity of production. As is usual given its public prominence, advertising was singled out for criticism and referenced as a blot on the natural landscape and cityscape respectively.

The productivist bias did not mark the whole of industry. As Fullerton (forthcoming) has elucidated with respect to the German book publishing trade, German producers, distributors and retailers were aware of the relevance of marketing. They were interested in demand stimulation and market creation. Producers and retailers sought to expand their markets. They did so by the provision of branded goods, credit and by offering mail-order services. Not all of these practices were welcomed. As mentioned above, the German environment was critical of marketing and encouraging people to consume beyond their financial resources did not pass without comment.

Between the two World Wars, Köhler and Logemann remark that German industry continued many of the practices already enumerated. There were, even so, a number of important changes to the structure of the German economy that modified the marketplace. The rise of cartels in many industries was one marked feature – as Pressey also documents in his chapter – and there was an interest in and pursuit of professionalization in marketing practice as indicated by the expansion of the advertising business, the attention given to market research, and the interest in psychology and its application to business.

Clearly, the ‘election’ of the Nazi government had wide ramifications for industry and marketing in particular. Its political ideology and symbolism were appropriated by advertising and branding professionals, much to the annoyance of the Party hierarchy who

disliked the Führer's image plastered on pork products (Ellis *et al.*, 2011). Jewish members of the marketing and advertising communities found themselves marginalized by the problematic ideological values of the period. But, as is obvious from the well-known application of propaganda and public relations by the Nazi government, they were quick to use knowledge of marketing to attempt to control consumer behavior, discouraging consumption to reflect wartime scarcity.

In the period after World War II there was growth in marketing, advertising and market research. Having said this, we should appreciate that there were differences between the policies undertaken in West Germany versus the Communist controlled East. Köhler and Logemann devote attention to West Germany and contest the idea that what we see during the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s was a process of the Americanization of German marketing by virtue of the export of American models, theories, concepts and practices via advertising agencies and consultancy organizations. This is not to deny any American influence. This had already impacted on the industry prior to the cataclysmic conflict in the mid-century. Rather, Köhler and Logemann stress that there was an important 'indigenous tradition' that continued to influence the marketing and advertising activities of many firms. By the 1970s, for reasons informed by the changing international economic situation, increasing competition, and an informed and sophisticated consumer, marketing processes became much more integrated with (international) customer satisfaction through the provision of high quality products as the ultimate aim of many firms.

Chapter 21 studies the nature of marketing in India. Hari Sreekumar and Rohit Varman illuminate the extremely rich history of this nation beginning with the emergence of marketing in ancient and medieval India. At this point in its history, India was largely rural,

with markets placed mainly in trading areas near the coast or important rivers. Being rural did not mean that market-based exchange was unsophisticated. Traders brought a range of items to the country, with itinerant merchants distributing the products far and wide. Within the towns, the marketing system was frequently well developed, with specific traders clustered in certain quarters. There were guilds which helped develop local, national and international trade because they undertook various functions of the middleman including risk management and financing. Sreekumar and Varman also acknowledge that merchants were able to raise their social profile by donating to religious orders, thereby securing a degree of legitimacy that was often lacking for this class.

The growth of markets, accompanied by the greater use of credit instruments and interpersonal networks, while highly useful as vehicles for provisioning are frequently accompanied by the extension of dark-side activities as well: the less desirable practices of robbery, manipulation and violence. And although many people in India had access to relatively limited levels of income, conspicuous consumption was sometimes notable. Kings and traders demonstrated a willingness to spend freely, exchanging gifts with visitors, laying on fantastic feasts, furnishing their houses with luxurious fashions.

By the 17th century, India was undergoing its first exposure to colonialism. Sreekumar and Varman unpack the effects of colonial interventions on the marketplace, stressing the ongoing impact of Indian business people who possessed knowledge that the colonialists simply did not have which left the latter open to manipulation. This said, the power dynamics in this case were extremely problematic in many respects. The East India Company comes in for severe and justifiable criticism given its willingness to take advantage of the marketplace in times of food shortages and crises.

Chronicling the developing marketing system, Sreekumar and Varman note the impact of colonialism in terms of fostering a market for advertising in the late 18th century. Moving forward rapidly, we can say that 1947 marked a turning point in Indian history, with the rejection of colonial rule. In this environment, marketing was not necessarily a state priority, they were more concerned with welfare and health indicators which were poor. The 1980s, however, witnessed a neoliberal turn in the economic policies of India, the promotion of the business community, the continued rise of the advertising profession, the greater dissemination of media vehicles like television, and steadily climbing levels of consumption. Sreekumar and Varman conclude on a cautious note that this acceptance of consumerism is not welcomed wholeheartedly in India given the dramatically unequal access to resources that persists.

Our next contribution is by Yumiko Toda who negotiates the channel structure of Japanese marketing. This account starts in the mid-19th century and scrutinizes the position assumed by wholesalers in Japan as part of the government's interest in creating a strong position in export markets. We should register that the designation 'wholesaler' is complicated and Toda unpacks the various ways in which this term can be understood, as well as the diverse levels of specialism that define Japanese marketing channels.

What will strike the reader as very unusual is the extent to which the Japanese market was structured around the wholesaler – companies simply did not market directly to the consumer, even in business-to-business markets where this has traditionally been normal practice. Gradually, efforts were made to bypass the traditional channel structure, and this had concomitant effects on the use of brand names as well as the cultivation of brand images and

symbolism intended to appeal to the ultimate customer. This was mainly a function of the promotion of marketing after WWII, when the American experience was studied by practitioners and scholars who travelled to the United States courtesy of funding made available via the American-led program for economic reconstruction, the Marshall Plan. As a function of this exposure, the consumer received more attention from Japanese manufacturers, wholesalers and retailers.

This had major implications for the Japanese economy after the 1960s which underwent substantial levels of growth. The importation of Western consumer goods was popular, with clothing in high demand. Manufacturers were very important and often had substantial power in dictating retailing activities in terms of the products made available to providers. The exemplar here is Matsushita which controlled distribution, pricing (frequently), and formed long-term relationships with retailers. Over time, the power dynamic did shift towards the retailer, especially after 1990, who cultivated their own brand identities, own label products, and reaffirmed their position through the control of customer data.

Chapter 23 excavates the history of marketing in Scandinavia, specifically dealing with the advertising community, marketing research providers, and retailing. Erik Madsen asserts that there has been very little research conducted in this area. He engages with the idea of Americanization and questions the impact of American practices upon those in Scandinavia. He also offers a cautious affirmative, stating that American ideas were welcomed in recognition of their utility.

Madsen points out the application of scientific management, the rise of advertising and underscores important contrasts to conventional practice in the United States. For example, in

Denmark, window advertising received a substantial portion of advertising expenditure. The second industry he allocates attention to, market research, was slower to emerge. Madsen indicates that it was a post-1920s activity (see also Schwarzkopf, this volume) and suggests that it developed out of advertising practice. The final industry examined is the retail trade. He unpicks the main developments, the importance of department stores, the penetration of self-service, and the appreciation of customers for this innovation.

The final chapter is an excellent study of Russian marketing practice. Alongside scholars like Marshall Goldman, Karen Fox has pioneered the study of marketing in the former Soviet Union. On face value this country seems far removed from a receptive environment for marketing or capitalist business practices. This would not be quite accurate. Various Soviet politicians have appreciated – grudgingly admittedly – the importance of the market, the skills and resources of business people, and used their knowledge and skills on occasion.

Fox's chapter is extremely wide-ranging giving the reader a thorough exposure to the history of this country from the 12th century through to 2015. As the reader will anticipate, marketing has often been very carefully controlled, with the state devoting its energies to rapidly developing heavy industry to the detriment of the consumer and their desire for satisfactory goods and services at reasonable prices. This has been compounded by the strict guidelines issued by the state regarding economic policy, guidance that heliographically directed the energies of those operating Russian factories, leading to an internal productivist focus, which was more concerned with meeting quantitative production demands, irrespective of whether the goods provided met with the needs of the population. The latter, if they were lucky, had access to consumer goods via influential contacts, or were willing to wait in line for

substantial periods, negotiating an often excessively bureaucratic retailing system, to receive the items they wanted.

Reflecting its ideological position, Russian political leaders did dedicate some reflection to the task of making marketing practices commensurate with their value system. On their reading, advertising was a means to help inform the consumer, not persuade. It was to guide the rational consumer, and rather usefully reaffirm Communist values through the promotion of state sanctioned imagery, cultural products, non-materialistic consumption habits and anti-American beliefs (Tadajewski, 2009d). Fox provides a very close reading of all the above themes, engages with the relevant academic literature that was often based on first-hand knowledge of the Soviet marketing system, and charts the impact of various marketing institutions and practices within this political-economic context.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have introduced the contents of the collection. The material ranges across many industries, contexts and engages in substantive detail with marketing practices as they were performed in a variety of historical periods extending back to ancient times. This enables us to add flesh and color to the extensive literature on the historical mobilization of marketing theory and concepts that have received the majority of attention from scholars within our discipline. We would emphasize that this is only the start of this project. Much more work needs to be done, especially with respect to the production of country-specific studies of marketing practice. The cases published here provide the interested scholar with a variety of ways in which these can be undertaken, how they can be used to contest the theoretical and historical assumptions present in the literature, thereby generating scholarship

that is likely to pass the originality and contribution benchmarks employed by our most rigorous intellectual outlets. We look forward to reading it all.

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