

ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF COLLEGIATE EDUCATION IN INTERNATIONAL MARKETING

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ABSTRACT

This paper documents some of the earliest university courses offered in international marketing, both in the United States (as early as 1902) and Canada (1921). The Canadian example is examined in some detail and compared with today's counterpart.

INTRODUCTION

Our purpose in this paper is to highlight the long history of what is commonly believed to be a recent (e.g., Bartels 1988, p.213) development in the history of marketing thought, the subject of international marketing. In the process we will examine in some detail how international marketing was taught at one institution, Queen's University (in Canada), in 1921 and compare that with the same course and institution some 70 years later.

Given his relatively narrow definition of "marketing", it is perhaps not surprising that Bartels considered international marketing one of the "newer areas of marketing thought" (1988, p.213). International marketing was not identified among the earliest university courses (Ibid. chap.3) and the earliest book to deal with the topic was credited as the 1935 publication of World Marketing by V.D. Collins (Ibid. p.213).

More recently, Eroglu and Eroglu (1993) also pointed to the Collins book as the pioneering text in this field and conclude that "in the relatively short history of international marketing as a field, any effort to go back further than the 1950s inevitably falls into the realm of other disciplines" (1993, p.320). However, they leave the door open for a somewhat broader account of the history of international marketing thought. They do this first by recognizing the heritage of international marketing in the broader field of international trade (although they do not distinguish clearly between these two subjects). Second, they point to the interest demonstrated in international marketing by pioneer marketing scholars such as Simon Litman, George M. Fisk and Melvin Copeland (Ibid. p.320).

Eroglu and Eroglu (1993) focused on the published literature of international marketing and, in that connection, they cited International Commercial Policies (1923) by George M. Fisk (a pioneer marketing scholar) as an early book on international trade. In fact, the first edition of Fisk's book was published much earlier, in 1907, while Fisk was still teaching at the University of Illinois. These were not the only such books of that era. To that list we should add Simon Litman's Essentials of International Trade published in 1923, and Harry Tosdal's Problems in Export Sales Management published in 1922.

Notwithstanding these early contributions by marketing scholars to a literature of international marketing, we also should recognize that curriculum development and unpublished research - in short, ideas about international marketing - existed long before the textbooks were published.

CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

In a survey of 50 American colleges and universities conducted in 1922, Moffat reported that many institutions had been offering courses in foreign trade since 1917 and one had done so since the turn of the century (1922, p.399). In many instances these courses only implicitly dealt with the narrower field of international marketing. In some cases, however, that focus was more clear and direct. Consider the following examples.

The early curriculum in international marketing at the University of Illinois is particularly noteworthy because both Fisk and Litman (cited above) taught there. George M. Fisk has been credited (Litman 1950, p.220) for teaching one of the first university courses in marketing while at the University of Illinois in 1902. That course, "Domestic Commerce and Commercial Politics" was described as,

a course on internal [domestic] trade including a comparative study of the various forms of commercial organization, such as general wholesale and retail trade, department, co-operative, and company stores, peddling, huckstering and hawking, booths, auctions, commercial agents, including commercial travellers, and the coupon system. Other subjects considered are markets and fairs, stock and produce exchanges, trade companies, commercial and technical schools (University of Illinois Catalogue, 1902-03, p.23).

What is most interesting for our purposes here, however, is that this 1902 course was offered with a companion course, also taught by Professor Fisk. This second course was entitled "Foreign Commerce and Commercial Politics", and was the international version of the domestic marketing course.

Continuation of course 28 [Domestic Commerce and Commercial Politics]. A study of the various commercial systems (mercantile, free trade, and protective); kinds of tariffs, commercial treaties, reciprocity; commercial statistics and balances; institutions for furthering export trade (commercial museums and bureaus of information, sample houses, consular reports, etc.) (University of Illinois Catalogue 1902-03, p.207).

In 1907 Fisk left the University of Illinois. His position was taken by Simon Litman who had pioneered a course in marketing at the University of California in 1903 (Maynard 1941). In his 1950 Journal of Marketing article, "The Beginnings of Teaching Marketing in American Universities", Litman described the 1903 University of California course, "The Technique of Trade and Commerce", and included the following discussion.

The proximity of the port of San Francisco may have had something to do with the inclusion in my discussions of what has been termed foreign trade. I felt that this trade was not foreign to our national economy; the handling of outgoing and incoming products on docks and in piers, in warehouses and customs houses, in stores where importations were competing with domestic merchandise, seemed to me to present problems of salesmanship, advertising, and financing closely interwoven with national distributive activities. If this be heresy, I plead guilty to it (p.221-222).

The latter comment seems to indicate Litman's surprise that anyone would assume international marketing was not naturally and necessarily a part of marketing!

Similarly, the Harvard Business School in 1915 offered 3 courses grouped under the section heading "Foreign Trade" which included the following description.

Manufactured wares must not only be offered for sale; they must be pushed and pushed intelligently with due reference to distributing methods and consumer demand. Merchandising methods are, in some lines, quite different in the United States and foreign countries.... The analogies and contrasts with the merchandising methods in the domestic

trade of the United States make such study profitable even to students who do not plan to enter the import or export trade (Harvard Business School Register 1915, p.38).

One of the interesting things about this description was its explicit recognition of differences in marketing technique between countries. The absence of that distinction is often lamented by some international marketing scholars today. Of further interest is that the 3 courses offered in Foreign Trade at Harvard were all taught by marketing specialists, Paul Cherington, Seldin Martin, and Melvin Copeland.

For example, "Foreign Trade Methods" was taught by Cherington and dealt with market selection, market development, and channel relations for both importing and exporting (Ibid. p.38-39). "European Trade" was taught by Copeland and offered the following course description.

The problems of wholesale and retail distribution in Europe are given special attention because of their bearing upon the selection of import agencies by the American exporter, upon his credit and price policies, and upon the methods of creating a permanent consumer demand. The discussion of these problems is also of interest to students of domestic marketing methods in the United States (Harvard Business School Register 1915, p. 39-40).

Undoubtedly this course evolved from the one Copeland had been teaching at Harvard since 1909, entitled "Economic Resources and Commercial Policy of the Chief European States" which, itself, was an extension of the required introductory course in marketing.

Thus, it is evident that international marketing was being considered by pioneer marketing scholars and was taught at an early point in the development of American university curricula in marketing. Although business schools were later to develop in Canada, when they did, international marketing was also part of the curriculum.

CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT IN CANADA

In 1919 Queen's University started Canada's first university program leading to a Bachelor of Commerce degree. It included in its curriculum the first distinctly Canadian university course in marketing (Jones 1992, p.127). Within two years that marketing course was split into two offerings, "Domestic Marketing" and "Foreign Marketing". Both courses were required for the major in "Foreign Trade", which was one of nine majors offered in the Queen's program. The latter course was taught by W.C. Clark, a graduate of Harvard and the chief architect of the Queen's business program. In addition to the School's Calendar description, there remain reading lists and final exams for that course as well as student theses from that era, all of which provide considerable insight into what was being taught in international marketing in Canada at that time.

Teaching International Marketing in the 1920s

In 1921 the Queen's course in Foreign Marketing was:

A course in the methods and problems of international trading, with special reference to export trade and to Canadian conditions. The economics of world trade. Canada's foreign trade - chief products and markets. The technique of foreign trade - preparing foreign shipments, shipping terms and documents, shipping, price quotations, financing. Export policies - direct and indirect exporting. Analyzing and developing foreign markets. Export policies in our more important industries. Relation of import to export trade (Queen's Calendar 1921, p. 116).

While the course in "Domestic Marketing" could, and did, draw on well-known texts such as Cherington's Elements of Marketing, Copeland's Some Problems of Marketing, and Weld's Marketing of Farm Products, the international course had to rely on the careful selection of international trade readings which, nevertheless, had a clear focus on marketing issues. Following the Harvard example of combining basic principles with problems or cases, Clark also chose for his course reading materials which included both theory and practice.

The text for this course was Wolfe's (1919) Theory and Practice of International Commerce, which was described as "a scientific outline of the merchandising principles in export and import" (p.3). The marketing content is evident in Wolfe's emphasis on merchandising, which included such topics as "Merchants as Middlemen", "Producers and Consumers", "Commission Merchants and Agents", "Selling Agents and Representatives", as well as chapters on international pricing, shipping, and promotion. Indeed, Wolfe wrote that the "central technical process known as the sale... forms the center of our consideration leading us to a systematic study of conditions antecedent and subsequent to the conclusion of the sales contract" (Ibid. p. 4).

Wolfe's text provided Clark with some basic principles or "methods" of foreign marketing. However, for problems Clark included as required reading the Reports of the Canadian Department of Trade and Commerce and Consular Reports. The former consisted of articles which were published weekly, dealing with Canadian trade in various countries of the world. These were very detailed statistical descriptions of the exports and imports of foreign countries together with discussions of the opportunities for Canadian trade. The reports provided the basis of problems for which students were assigned the task of developing marketing solutions. For example, student theses dealt with such topics as "Trade Relations with Brazil" (Hawkins 1929), "Australian External Trade" (Britton 1930), "A Study of the Canadian Export Trade in Dairy Products" (Ingersoll 1930), and "Canada's Trade with the Empire" (Engler 1931). The relative importance accorded foreign trade in the Queen's program is suggested by the fact that 34 of 495 graduates between 1926 and 1946 chose such international marketing topics for the thesis requirement.

Further evidence of the nature of that 1921 course in Foreign Marketing is available from the final exam which included questions dealing with:

- shipping to, and financing in, Rio de Janeiro,
- use of export commission houses as middlemen,
- sources of information for international marketing research,
- the development of "a comprehensive campaign for overseas trade", and
- the role of foreign trade in the Canadian economy (Queen's University Examinations, April, 1922).

The latter issue is noteworthy. During the 1920s, and indeed throughout much of its history, the Canadian economy has depended heavily on exports of staple commodities such as grain and lumber to foreign markets. One of the very first books to deal exclusively with Canadian marketing, published in 1939, focused specifically on that issue (the relatively greater importance to Canada of developing foreign markets), in chapters on "The Commercial Policy of Canada", and "Marketing Canadian Goods Abroad" (Kemp 1939).

In every sense, then, the 1921 Queen's course was about international marketing. In title, in description, and in content, it is evident that pioneer marketing scholars were clearly developing international marketing thought. While it may be true that there has been a growth of interest and importance for the subject during the past couple of decades, its heritage extends well into the early development of the marketing discipline.

Teaching International Marketing Today

The School of Business at Queen's University has continued to offer courses in international business of which international marketing strategy is one part. Not only does it have a number of faculty

members who specialize in international issues in business, it has an active international exchange programme involving 23 universities in 12 countries. By December 1993, 206 Queen's School of Business students and 217 international students had participated in this exchange program. In addition, the Canada/Asia Centre has recently been founded to provide language training, as well as student and faculty exposure to business and cultural issues relating to trade with this sector of the global marketplace.

In addition to the exchange programmes described above, international marketing is currently taught in a number of different ways at Queen's. First, issues in international marketing are incorporated into the Marketing Strategy course at Queen's. This course is designed for third or fourth year undergraduate students or kneed year MBA students. It is a pre-requisite for all advanced special topics courses in marketing.

In some regards, the philosophy of teaching marketing has come full circle from its birth at Queen's. Now instead of having separate domestic and international marketing courses, international marketing issues have been integrated into a number of marketing courses, particularly the marketing strategy course. This reflects the view that trade and trade issues are at the heart of Canadian marketing strategy, since Canada is still a small nation that relies on international trade for its economic well being.

Four sections of this course are open to undergraduate students (totalling 50 students) and two sections are available for MBAs (also totalling 50). Since the student body is small (200 undergraduate students and 105 MBA students enter the program each year) these numbers show that a very high proportion of the students within the School of Business take the course. The 1993-94 description of the undergraduate course in the Queen's School of Business Calendar reads as follows.

The course provides an overview of marketing strategy. It is designed to meet the needs of two groups of students: those who intend to major in marketing and those who wish to understand how marketing strategy fits into the overall strategic planning function of the firm. The focus of this course is on the formation and revision of business level strategies and the issues related to consumer and competitive analysis in both national and international markets. It is a case course centred on issues associated with the design of marketing programs so that managers can take advantage of marketing opportunities and respond to competitive threats. The course will provide students with analytical frameworks which will enable them to derive alternative approaches to marketing problems and develop criteria for evaluating those alternatives in terms of the impact marketing has on costs, price, and sales volumes (p. 38).

Like its forbearer of the 1920s, this course does not rely solely on a text. However, instead of Canadian government reports, the course now uses a selection of readings and cases published by the Harvard Business School and the University of Western Ontario. And, as the course description indicates, it is primarily a case course. The materials focus on marketing strategy topics in general with a heavy component of international marketing issues. Due to the evolution of case materials, course instructors no longer have to rely on alternative readings in order to develop discussion of international marketing problems as Clark did with his course in the 1920s.

If the cases are categorized by the geographic location of the market of concern, the following list emerges:

United States	9
Canada	7
TRIAD markets	2
Japan	2
Europe	2
Global Marketing Strategy	1

By contrast, in 1921 the readings emphasized trade with the British Commonwealth and Europe. In other words, the focus of the case materials follows the new trading patterns of Canada and the country's national trading imperatives.

An optional text, Strategic Market Management by David Aaker, is listed as one of the materials used in the course; however, less than one third of the students purchase the text. In addition to the case discussions, three class sessions are devoted to lecture material. One of these three sessions focuses solely on international marketing issues.

The international marketing content of the course is encompassed under the following topics of competitive analysis: offensive, defensive and cooperative strategies (alliances and joint ventures); global segmentation and positioning, market selection, barriers to entry, first mover advantages, diversification and market entry strategies; cultural differences and buyer behavior; marketing research and sources of foreign market information; globalization of marketing mix elements; distribution systems and agent selection; and, organizing and managing the marketing function (strategy implementation).

Discussion in the classroom is enriched by the presence of international exchange students who often make up a significant portion of the students attending this course - in one section in the spring of 1994, approximately 20% of the students were international exchange students.

The second manner of delivering instruction in international marketing is the provision of a specialized course given in-situ. Queen's cooperates with universities in other countries to deliver a periodic international marketing strategy course in an overseas location. In 1993, such a course was given at the University of Kaiserslautern, Germany. Fifteen undergraduate students from Queen's travelled to Germany to take the three month course which was also attended by 20 German students, three French students, one Italian student, and one Russian student.

The course was split evenly into case discussions and lectures. While the course topics are similar to those offered in Canada, more specialized topics are introduced such as counter trade, gray markets, and international marketing ethics. The geographic market coverage is also somewhat more diverse than that covered in the marketing strategy course given in Canada. At the mid-term point, ten days of the course were devoted to a tour of European businesses, financial institutions, and regulatory bodies influential in the marketing sphere. The course also differs significantly from the one given on the Queen's campus in that all the students have to complete an international marketing project. The Canadian students had to develop a marketing strategy for a Canadian product for the European marketplace, while the European students had to develop a marketing plan for a European product wishing to enter the North American marketplace.

International Marketing - Then and Now

The consistencies between the earliest international marketing courses offered and those taught today at Queen's will surprise many who regard international marketing as one of the 'hot topics' of the 1980s and 1990s.

The striking similarities are clearly illustrated when one looks at the questions from the Queen's University Economics 53B (Foreign Marketing) examination of 1922. Some of these questions are as applicable for an examination in 1995 as they were in the 1920s. Question 3 from the examination follows as an illustration of these similarities.

The Nip and Tuck Motor Co. Ltd. with factory headquarters at Oshawa and branch sales offices in Toronto, Montreal, Halifax, Winnipeg and Vancouver has been doing an expanding business in Canada for years. Its product is a moderate priced automobile of good quality.... The time has been reached when added domestic sales are obtained at an increasing cost per unit of new business; and the company believes that export offers a promising field for expanding sales and augmenting profits.

- (a) Suggest the type of investigation to be made and the character of the information to be gathered which you would recommend to the company before definitely committing itself to the new venture.
- (b) State the chief sources to which the company should go for its information.
- (c) Outline a plan that the company might adopt in organizing a comprehensive campaign for overseas trade. (Queen's University Examinations, 1922).

Analyzing foreign markets was as important a topic in Queen's University's marketing courses in the 1920s as it is today. The thorny issue of market selection in the complex global arena still plagues marketing students as well as scholars. Problems of wholesale and retail distribution are just as relevant in the 1990s as they were in the 1920s. The differences in buyer behavior and the resulting differences in merchandising strategy generates just as much interest and lively discussion now as they must have in the 1920s. Credit and pricing policies also have no easier solutions in the 1990s than they did in the 1920s.

When one examines the course materials used in both courses, it is clearly visible that Canadian academics are still largely dependent on American materials. In both courses, textbooks used as resources and the majority of international case materials were authored by American scholars. It is interesting to note, however, that in 1939 a Canadian text pointed out the need for significant attention to international marketing on the part of Canadian business people because... "We are also more interested than other countries in the development of foreign markets..." (Kemp 1939, p.i).

One remarkable difference between the materials used in the 1920s and those used in the 1990s is the change in gender language. In the early history of the discipline, men were the only international academics and assumed to be the only students and course materials were clearly targeted at them as this excerpt from the Queen's Calendar demonstrates. "This course is designed for men preparing for service in the development of our foreign trade, whether as government trade commissioners or in private enterprise" (Queen's Calendar 1921, p.18).

While the courses taught in the 1920s and the ones taught in the 1990s share surprising similarities, there are marked differences as well. Although considerable attention is paid to the issues of developing channels of distribution in both eras, no attention is given to shipping or logistics in today's course. The types of products discussed in the two different eras also reflect the evolution of the Canadian economy from one largely dependent on the sale of agricultural products and natural resources (the main topics for discussion in the 1920s) to an industrialized economy exporting a wide range of products and services directed at both final consumers as well as industrial buyers.

Some changes in the modern marketing courses at Queen's University result from the general proliferation of course offerings in the business school. For example, while the early international marketing course had large components of what would be called macro-marketing topics such as the relationship between import and export trade as well as considerable attention to regulatory policy, the modern course omits these topics because they are offered elsewhere in the School. As well, little attention is paid to government trade policy, monetary policy, or the role of regulatory bodies in the present-day marketing strategy course since this material is now covered in other international business courses.

Still other changes in the modern course reflect not only the nature of international marketing, but also the evolution of the marketing discipline itself. While the early courses focused on offensive strategies (growing markets in and exporting to the U.S., Europe and the Commonwealth countries), a considerable portion of the modern course focuses on defensive strategies (protecting national markets from the inroads of foreign competitors, largely from Asia). As international competition intensifies, more and more attention is being paid to satisfaction building strategies to prevent inroads from foreign competitors. Market planning is discussed, not in the context of the domestic market, but in the context of an international milieu where topics such as the cross-subsidization of markets and marketing synergies come to the forefront. Topics such as first mover advantages, managing compressed life cycles, and designing promotion programs to convey the nuances of complex product offerings have growing relevance to the marketing of technically advanced products and services. As firms form alliances to market such products,

topics such as relationship marketing will receive more attention. Not only must firms build lasting bonds with consumers, they must also establish close-knit relationships with suppliers of components as well as with members of the channel of distribution.

CONCLUSION

Of course, the history of marketing thought or ideas depends on a definition of "marketing" and therefore, in this case, of "international marketing". Defined rather narrowly, the study of international marketing has been dated back to the 1930s and is even thought by some contemporary marketing scholars to be a more recent topic of concern. One doesn't need to move very far from those narrow definitions of international marketing to see that pioneer marketing scholars such as Fisk, Litman, Cherington, Copeland and others, studied such issues and integrated them at the outset into university marketing curricula.

International marketing was also an obvious and integral part of the thinking and curriculum when Canadian university business schools opened in the early 1920s. The first such course was offered at Queen's University in 1921. Of course, it was somewhat different from early courses in the United States in its focus on the distinct marketing problems of Canadian international trade.

Many of the same international issues, such as methods of exporting and importing and how to carry out the basic marketing functions in other countries, are studied today as they were in the early twentieth century. Of course, as the internationalization of business has increased worldwide, the methods of international marketing which are studied have expanded beyond simple exporting and importing. As the topic has increased in importance, university course offerings have proliferated; it is no longer common to see just an international version of the introductory marketing course, nor only specialized books on the topic. Today it is more likely that international marketing is also integrated into other courses and texts on marketing. Then again, recalling Litman's comments cited above, perhaps that's the way it has been for a long time - the more things change, the more they stay the same.

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