

Outlines of Marketing History

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Abstract

Marketing is a complex subject, which began its existence only recently; its independent path started during the early 1900s, as mass industry was born and grew, together with its relevant markets. The establishment of marketing as a scientific discipline is usually traced back to the early 1960s. After more than a century since its inception, the evolution of marketing shifted from its early interpretation and the concrete representation of the Fordist model to an exegesis of post-Fordist society and economy, as marketing as subject grew in both modernity and importance. This contribution, by using both diachronic and diatopic methods, describes the evolution of marketing as a discipline, including the progressive changes underlying its various historical phases, focusing on the richness and the variety of the theories it is based on, its specific flexibility and significant adaptability to every path of the society we live in. Therefore, marketing can also be considered a tool signaling the shift from an economic model based on providing standardized products to a completely innovative one, focused on providing tailored goods and services, as consumers have a significant role in shaping the choices enterprises make. The diatopic approach, together with a diachronic one, allows the juxtaposition of several different themes, also because of the geographic areas considered. This work is particularly original in nature, as it aims to "paint a picture" of marketing history, verifying its periodization while showing its ever-growing connection with the reality and the changes the world we live in is currently undergoing.

Keywords: Marketing evolution, Mass production, Post-Fordism, Prosumer, Marketing concepts, Periodization in Marketing History.

1. Marketing, its origins and its main changes

Marketing presents itself as a brand new and complex subject, despite the fact that its path started since the very beginning of the 1900s, being intertwined with the birth and spreading of mass industry and its relevant market [1]. Indeed, as it has been written: «The origins of marketing may be traced back to the early 1900s, as the first great undertakings producing consumer goods, be they durable or not, such as Singer, Coca Cola, Ford, Sears and many others began their development and focused their strategies on creating a mass market for their products. The main goal of such undertakings, as well as of all those who rapidly joined them – both in the USA and in Europe – was to expand as much as possible their production volumes, therefore achieving economies of scale allowing them to offer standardized products on their markets at competitive prices. Achieving such an objective required the development of other activities as well, ranging from defining the best ratio between quality and price, to persuading and informing consumers, up to the distribution of products» (Scott, 2005, pp. 1-2).

Considering such origins, marketing was, from a certain point of view, both an interpretation and a representation of Fordism [2], as well as, later on, the best form of exegesis for post-Fordist economy and society, or – defining it further – for post-industrial, post-modern or neo-industrial societies [3]. Surely, marketing, given its flexibility and significant adaptability to the nooks and crannies of contemporary societies, as well as to their changes and to the different dispositions of the market, taking also the richness and variety of its theoretical framework into account, has proved time and again to be the most suitable tool in order to usher in the paradigm shift from an economic model based on providing standardized products being equal for everyone, to a completely new economic model being based on customizing the provision of products and the related services, giving consumers a significant role in shaping the production choices of companies. Therefore, this discipline possesses the most effective methods and contents to understand a time such as the 20th Century, characterized by *mass production*, and to analyze a time such as the 21th Century, featuring the *long tail* (Anderson, 2004 and 2006) [4].

The mass production system, as it was posited by David A. Hounshell, is: «a production system characterized by mechanization, high wages, low prices, and large-volume output» (Hounshell, 1984, p. 305). Such features have originated over time, as he noted: «Manufacturing in the United States developed along such distinct lines in the first half of the nineteenth century that English observers in the 1850s referred to an “American system” of manufactures. This American system grew and changed in character so much that by the 1920s the United States possessed the most prolific production technology the world has ever known. This was “mass production”» (Hounshell, 1984, p. 1). However, it is with the advent of the Ford “T” model that such a “practical doctrine” acquired a general value, enabling a radical leap forward within the capitalist production system [5]. Therefore, it was not by chance that the famous writer Aldous Huxley, signaling the beginning of a new era with the production of the first car model, produced by Henry Ford, used the “AF” expression – i.e. “after Ford” – to indicate the onset of modern age and set his futuristic tale, titled *Brave New World*, in Year 632 AF (Huxley, 1932).

Another description of this phenomenon – taking more recent events into account, as it examined more recent phases of the Fordist doctrine – sets its focus on the relationship between mass production and production-related ideologies: «In the era of neoliberal hegemony, the core of the world economy was reconstructed on the basis of a limited generalization of affluence made possible by institutionalizing mass production and mass consumption in the advanced industrial economies. The politics of productivity [...] would eventually emerge out of this long-term process of social reconstruction. As pioneers of mass production and producers of the emerging hegemonic culture, Americans were able to shape the global social relations in which they lived to a much greater degree compared with other peoples. With the creation of the postwar international economic institutions (Bretton Woods, GATT, and the like), and the reconstruction of Europe and Japan under US leadership, this asymmetrical American influence was, for a time, institutionalized in a neoliberal world order. A central contention [...] is that the asymmetrical power of American statesmen, capitalists, and labor leaders within the neoliberal world order was to a great extent based upon the ideological frameworks they developed and the social relations they constructed as they created a mass production, mass consumption society in the USA» (Rupert, 1995, p. 59). And it was always Mark Rupert, progressing in his analysis, who wrote: «Mass production involves high output of standardized goods over long production runs using specialized machinery and less skilled labor. According to the conventional economic calculus, in return for a huge increase in fixed costs (relative to variable costs), manufacturers were able to take advantage of economies of scale, spread fixed costs over vast production runs, and suppress unit costs to historically unprecedented levels. The products of mass production, then, could potentially be made available to masses of people who for the first time could afford to become “consumers”» (Rupert, 1995, pp. 59-60).

Concerning such a point, Enzo Rullani provided a peculiar description of this phenomenon, showing its setting within a long historical period, whence the doctrine moved on: «The division of labor within the Fordist paradigm is built on the precondition of control. It is control (be it on demand, on competition, on technology and the like) to allow the fine-tuning of operations and specialized resources, “dedicating” machinery and workers to a single manufacturing and a single product. Therefore, the *sunken costs* and the irreversible elements these choices bring along are no obstacle, provided the situation is under control and allows for reliable long-term planning. Focusing on control, the Fordist division of labor is carried out through internal lines first and foremost, within the boundaries of proprietary and management power of big enterprises. Furthermore, such power prefers physical contiguity, i.e. great manufacturing (factories) and tertiary (metropolises) agglomerates as the places within which efficient solutions and experience-laden relationships can sediment» (Rullani, 1999, p. 1 [6]).

This representation seems to be as far as possible from the developments currently underway in the markets, as they feature a more and more production-oriented openness, taking the growth in the roles of the consumers of goods and of the users of services all the more seriously into account in order to focus company choices and their output. Therefore, the one described by Rullani is a reality being more and more behind the times, as it considered and interpreted the contrary of those tools and actions called “collaborative innovation” and “open innovation”, currently affirming themselves as the most advanced frontier for current marketing and economies [7]. Within such a new system, the creation of value is no

longer limited to production plants and to their connection to the markets; it is defined by the degree of openness any given economy has, as well as by the relationships between the owners of ideas, creativity and knowledge, aptly represented by figures such as that of the “cloudworker” [8], and those promoting the creation of product and services, such as the so-called “prosumers” [9].

Marketing arose practically together with the establishment of mass markets and with the birth of modern consumers, themselves potential buyers of the products offered by big enterprises. Given the changes in size enterprises were undergoing, reflecting their new production management and their crucial technological innovations, starting with assembly lines and mass production, the need of a new market penetration and to reach, inform and involve the potential buyers of any given good, available in almost limitless quantity, presented itself. Dedicated company offices and employees were given those exact tasks, thus giving birth to the season of marketing techniques for those companies having a more significant size and reach.

However, marketing never stayed the same for long; rather it has always followed the evolution of markets and the more and more complex articulation of contemporary societies very closely, widening both its boundaries and its reach towards territories and sectors being very different from those it started in. Furthermore, marketing has been able to significantly change its prospective and the cornerstones of its actions, turning into an essential component for customer involvement and participation in the choices managing the economic process and creating products and services, therefore becoming an essential tool in order to “conceptualize” a new kind of market and to describe a new kind of proactive consumer from its beginnings as a mere instrument of production (Dalli and Romani, 2000; Fabris, 2003).

2. The evolution of marketing as a concept

Examining the change the definitions marketing experienced during their progressive creation and growing complexity [10] is the path to follow in order to fully understand the distance marketing covered from its initial, very elementary and ordinary, model, up to the achievement of the new and constantly wider formulae, themselves able to let us perceive not only do the significant change within the mainstream, but also the revolution in prospective brought by marketing within the society of knowledge. As a term, *marketing* comes from the English verb *to market*, meaning “to put up for sale”, “to put on the market”, “make available for trade”. During the 1950s, Italy attempted an early technical translation of this term, leading to the adoption of the “mercatistica” term, something akin to “market science”; this Italian word went on to become the name of a review as well. However, marketing is much more varied than what a single English term is able to define, as it represents a significantly wider field of knowledge and research, something going well beyond the dimension of sales as mere actions and affecting all those activities concerning the relationships between consumption and production at large.

Adam Smith, well before marketing was even born, had constructed a concept – which was to become a characterizing feature of this discipline –, like this: «Consumption is the sole end and purpose of all production; and the interest of the producer ought to be attended to only so far as it may be necessary for promoting that of the consumer. The maxim is so perfectly self-evident that it would be absurd to attempt to prove it» (Smith, 1776, IV.8.49). However, looking at the reality of the mercantile world, it was quick to add: «But in the mercantile system the interest of the consumer is almost constantly sacrificed to that of the producer; and it seems to consider production, and not consumption, as the ultimate end and object of all industry and commerce» (Smith, 1776, IV.8.49). It was only much later that several definitions of marketing your following each other, remarking the progressive change into the contents and the methodologies of marketing as a subject, was taking more and more the shape of a scientific discipline (Bartels, 1951), actually turning into one. Indeed, from the second half of the 20th Century onwards, a constant activity of research has been underway in order to find the most apt definition to completely express the concept and mission of marketing.

Therefore, in order to take a long overall glimpse of the matter, one may very well start from the definition offered in 1955 by Harry Walker Hepner, according to which “marketing” as a term includes each and every activity involving logistics and shipping of goods, from the point they are produced in from the one in which they are consumed. Therefore, marketing includes the study of advertising, of pricing, of product planning and of market analysis, considering both actual and potential consumers

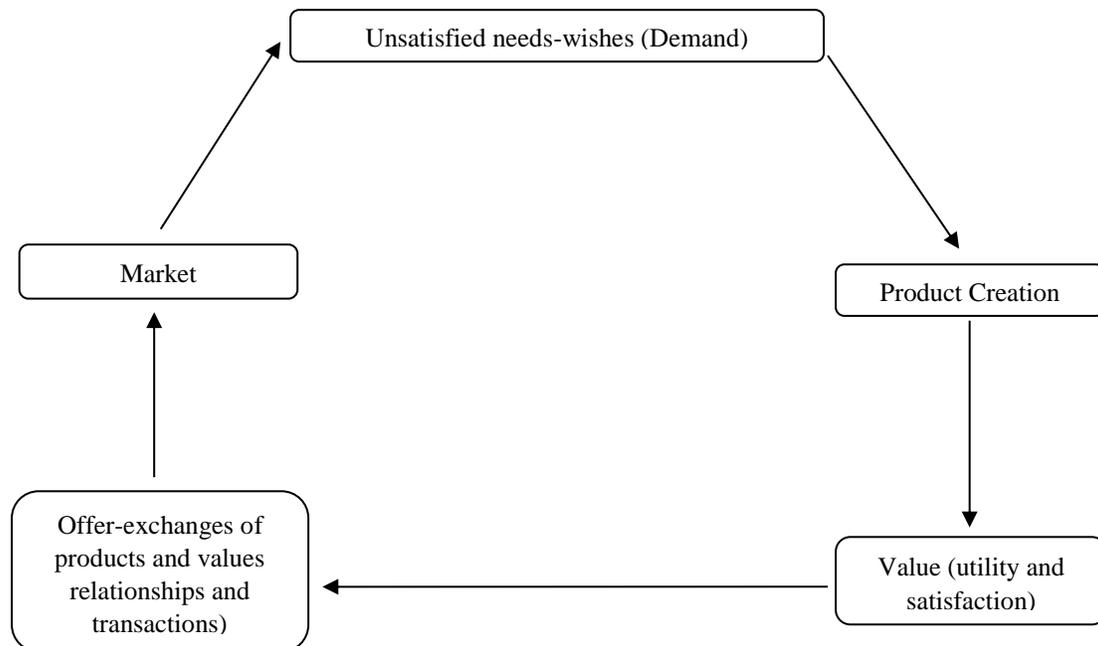
[11]. Another definition is the one proposed in 1960 by Robert J. Keith, who highlighted how enterprises were no longer the main focus of the business world, since customers and their satisfaction were the true focus of the system and marketing had to become the motivating function for companies as a whole: consumers, not enterprises are at the center of the system. In economy, nowadays, men or women buying products are at the center of the business universe, and not the other way around [12].

According to Theodore Levitt, in his famous article titled *Marketing Myopia* he published in 1960, a document that may be considered the founding act of marketing as a scientific discipline, the undergoing change had to be taken into account, so much that it is vital for every businessman to understand the idea that industry is a process satisfying clients, not a process producing goods [13]. Peter Drucker noted in turn – in different moments – that there is only one valid definition of business goal: creating satisfied customers, so much that customers determine what business is. Given its goal of creating customers, every enterprise has two – and only two – basic functions: marketing and innovation [14]. Furthermore, Drucker himself further specified that marketing is so important that it cannot be considered as a separate function. It encompasses enterprises considering them from their outcomes, i.e. from the viewpoint of their customers [15].

Another very important definition of marketing is the one given by Philip Kotler, clarifying the terms of conceptual innovation as it was built during the 1960s: the “marketing concept” substituted an older commercial setup, according to which enterprises must succeed in selling everything they produce. The new “marketing concept” turned this issue around and required enterprises to produce everything they can sell. Such a new point of view enables to search for areas where unfulfilled wishes by consumers still exist [16]. Afterwards, Kotler widened such a concept, stating that marketing is the social and management process by means of which persons or groups gain what they need and desire, creating offering and exchanging products and value with others [17] (see Fig. 1).

Nonaka, 2005, vol. II, p. 308).

Fig. 1. Marketing as a process, according to Kotler’s definition



Source: Personal elaboration based on the data made available in Kotler, 1994, pp. 6-7 (Also see Nonaka, 2005, vol. II, p. 308).

The American Marketing Association (AMA) [18], the most important professional marketing

association in North America [19] – and, therefore, in the whole world –, established in 1937, created several offers shall definitions of marketing, starting from 1948 [20]. However, the first official definition of marketing has been adopted in 1935, by the National Association of Marketing Teachers (NAMT), an organization that preceded the birth of the AMA [21]: marketing is the ensemble of entrepreneurial activities carried out in order to govern and manage the flow of goods and services from producers to consumers [22]. The American Marketing Association made such a definition its own, first in 1948 and, again, in 1960 [23], deciding not to modify it. So much that this definition remained in force for half a century, up to 1985, when it was updated through a new text, chosen among 25 different definitions: marketing is the process of planning and making concepts a reality, of pricing, of the promotion and dissemination of ideas, goods and services in order to create exchanges allowing for the satisfaction of the objectives of both individuals and organizations [24].

The Board of Directors of the AMA, in 2004, chose a more complex definition, indicating the role marketing carried out, more generally, within any given society, shaping it as a science, an educational process and as a philosophy, more than as a management system: marketing is both an organizational function and an ensemble of actions focused on creating, communicating and providing value to customers and managing relationships with them according to ways generating advantages for the organization and for its stakeholders [25]. The shift marketing completed from the logic of transactions, having as its main objective to make these changes happening inside any given market effective, to the logic of relationships, focusing on improving the quality of customer relationships [26], was signaled even more strongly by the adoption, in October 2007, of a new definition by the AMA, according to which marketing is the activity, the ensemble of activities, institutions and processes to create, disseminate, deliver and exchange those offers having a value for buyers, customers, partners and the society at large [27]. In 2013, the last definition: «Marketing is the activity, set of institutions, and processes for creating, communicating, delivering, and exchanging offerings that have value for customers, clients, partners, and society at large» (*About AMA – Definition of Marketing – American Marketing Association*, <<https://www.ama.org/AboutAMA/Pages/Definition-of-Marketing.aspx>>).

The new marketing paradigm, i.e. the one focused on relations, does therefore present significant diversities and substantial innovations when compared with traditional marketing management, something even more evident whenever these two models are compared (see Tab. I).

Tab. I. The new marketing paradigm

Traditional Marketing Management	Relationship Marketing
Functionality for customers	Emotions - Shopping experience
Product differentiation	Customized solutions
Transactions	Relationships
Competition between enterprises	Competition between enterprise networks
Economy of scale	Scope economies and growing returns

Source: Fontana and Caroli, 2003, p. 295.

Moreover, it should be noted that an effort in the conceptualization of marketing was carried out in Europe as well, even if it was more gradual in nature. That was the action carried out by the main organization in the field, the Chartered Institute of Marketing – established in London in 1911 and staffed by *professional marketers* [28] –, who adopted, in 1976, a definition, according to which marketing is that specific management process having the task of profitably identifying, anticipating and satisfying the needs of customers [29].

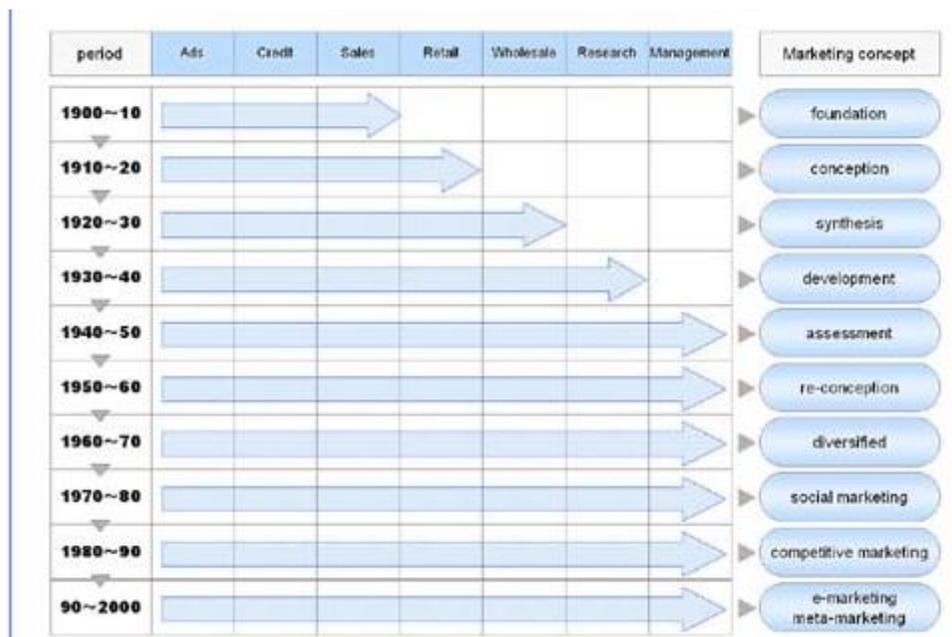
In Italy, especially during the more recent years and after a long period of inertia, a significant commitment focused on contributing towards a constantly updated concept of marketing. Michele Costabile in particular, starting from the several definitions being available within the relevant literature, created a very interesting and concise one, according to which: «Marketing is a metaprocess (i.e., an ensemble of coordinated and coherent processes) with the final goal of creating exchanges and relationships between individuals and organizations, with a twofold outcome: creating economic and

social value for enterprises; acquiring and using value in its manifold configurations (be it functional, symbolic, emotional or experience-based), for customers» (Costabile, 2001). Another, more recent, definition was proposed by Anna Claudia and Giorgio Pellicelli, transcending the economic boundaries set by the discipline and highlighting, within the framework of their overall vision, that: «Marketing is the ensemble of activities by means of which any given organization (which may have or not have profit as its main goal) aims to satisfy the needs of persons or of other organizations, making products or services available for them, supporting ‘ideas’ or affirming ‘values’ within societies» (Pellicelli and Pellicelli, 2006, p. 3).

Therefore, the shift from the classical definition, concerning the overall activities of any given enterprise, ranging from the creation of products and/or services up to their final usage by consumers, to the modern definition concerning the ensemble of the activities by means of which any given organization strives to satisfy the needs – and, sometimes, even the wishes – of persons or of other groups, by providing products or services, or by sharing and circulating ideas and values deserving to take root far and wide, making consumers and users that protagonists of such a process.

An effective synopsis, concerning the evolution of marketing concepts during a century, was posted on the website of the Japan Consumer Marketing Research Institute, based on the study by Robert Bartels (1976), dedicated to the *The History of Marketing Thought* [30]. Within this graph, subdivided into decades, it is possible to verify the development of marketing concepts, examining several phases, articulated as follows: the discovery and exploration of basic concepts, the conceptualization, classification and definition of specific terms; principle-based integration; the development of specialization and of theoretical changes; the evaluation and the revision of theory based on the new needs and of a more significant scientific approach within the discipline; the new conceptualizations of marketing taking managerialism, social development and quantitative methodologies into account; the differentiations carried out in marketing based on managerialism, on the holistic approach, environmentalism, systems and internationalism; the socialization and the adaptation of marketing in the face of social changes; the advent of competitive marketing; the spreading of e-marketing and meta-marketing, both connected to the growing online networks (see Fig. 2 [31]).

Fig. 2. The development of marketing concepts



Source: JMR Japan Consumer Marketing Research Institute, <http://www.jmr-marketing.com/user/478/100_Years_Marketing_japan_consumer_link_history_Mitsukoshi/>.

3. The periods of marketing development

In order to have a more accurate idea of the historical framework marketing is in, one needs to shift from individuating those definitions having been created and adopted as time went by to the actual reconstruction of the evolution of this discipline [32], taking the periods having characterized its theoretical, conceptual and application-based development into account. Considering historiography, not single kind of periodization prevailed, since the various marketing eras have been classified in different ways according to the significance of the changes happened, to the relationships with the relevant theories and concepts, as well as to the complexity and beauty duration of the main issues and aspects scholars took.

Giorgio Corigliano (1999) put the concept of marketing within a specific periodization allowing to consider three phases of its development, i.e. the pioneering, classical and competitive phase respectively (see Table II). The first period, whose effects have been underway between 1945 and 1960, featured a change of heart and an unheard-of fervor by consumers, who had a hand in building the cornerstones for a renewed and wider economic growth. Marketing represented a tool to achieve the best possible distribution levels, while consumers were still considered as a passive element for the sale of company products and services at the time. During the second period, which was to be called the “classic” one, covering the years from 1960 to 1975 – i.e. those during which the *golden age* was at its peak – the productive potential grew at an amazing rate, offering the opportunity of focusing on finding out and satisfying both the actual and the eventual needs of consumers. Therefore, marketing was changing its approach, shifting more and more towards considering consumers as the cornerstone of its activities and the competitive advantage for companies moved more and more towards demand diversification and segmentation, rather than on an overall spreading of exchanges. Therefore, the new concept of marketing modified the criterion of sales-oriented companies and adopted the criterion of market-oriented companies. The third period, involving the years from 1975 to the current times, featured the end of the illusion for limitless progress and a strong incidence of the moments of instability within the social and economic contexts. The aforementioned period featured a substantial change in customers’ behavior, as they chose to move towards customized individual consumption opportunities, as well as in the actions carried out by enterprises, as they – having discovered the crucial importance of intangible assets and of relationships, moved on from mere turnover to a new qualitative relationship with consumers. Within such a framework, marketing is not a series of tools, but rather a focus the enterprises have chosen towards customer satisfaction, itself a precondition for company success. Therefore, marketing shifted from being based on “mass” exchanges to a decidedly modern focus on “relations” [33], in order to acquire consumers’ preferences before their competitors and considering customers as the essential element, not only concerning the distributive process but also a different mode of production.

Tab. II. Main marketing concepts and periods

Period	Availability Of Goods	Main Focus	Typical Tools	Objective
Pioneering	From limited to adequate	Productive and Distributive efficiency	Emphasis on sales and distribution	Maximizing sales’ volumes
Classic	From adequate to abundant	Consumers	Analysing consumers’ expectations	Achieving profit through consumers’ satisfaction
Competitive	Exceeding	Competition	Competitive analysis and quest for excellence	Gaining consumers’ preference before competitors

Source: Corigliano, 1999, p. 9.

However, in order to consider marketing as a full-fledged theory and as a scientific discipline besides as a technique, a much more complex definition should be called upon, together with a periodization featuring profound changes. As it has been noted: «the first era of formal marketing thought began shortly after the turn of the twentieth century, when more structured academic attention started to be given to a specific portion of the business system that was evolving and assuming ever greater prominence in the marketplace: the area of market distribution. In general, economists had not been handling this topic, as the thrust of traditional economic theory had focused on production (and thus land, labor, and capital) as the creator of economic value and had placed little emphasis on services of the sort provided through distribution. This view was somewhat understandable when markets were entirely localized. By the turn of the century in the United States, however, immigration, migration to urban centers, production and technology gains, and improvements in transport and storage were combining to change the state of the marketplace dramatically, and the growth and evolution of distribution systems were developing apace. Thus, there was a genuine need for some economists to step forward to embrace and then to explain those elements of this new world that were not incorporated into the body of thought of the time» (Wilkie and Moore, 2003, pp. 117-118). Therefore, at the beginning of the 20th Century, despite the fact that the evolution of the economic system focused on distribution, by progressively and unstoppably building a mass market as the natural complement of mass industrialization, traditional economic thinking still overlooked the services sector. By the same token, the scholars having the objective of interpreting this innovation theoretically were very limited in number.

Together with this overall misunderstanding of a change which was to affect the economy for a whole century, particularly concerning the evolution of the more advanced western countries, as they were to shift, during the second half of the 1900s, from a model based on industry to another, decidedly based on the “tertiary” sector, a new methodology arose and took root, becoming, besides a function in enterprises, a full-fledged scientific subject: marketing. Therefore, this kind of innovation could not connect with an adequate knowledge and analysis framework and neither could it connect with up-to-date theoretical tools in economics; rather, it was somehow beginning to bridge a gap and bring a remedy for the lacking evolution of traditional thinking in the face of the deep change the means of productions had undergone.

However, according to Robert Bartels (1962), considering the concepts of market, value, enterprise, consumers, economic conditions and governance, the first marketing experts have been able to rely on the works of classical economists, such as Adam Smith, David Ricardo and John Stuart Mill; by the same token, they made use of the writings of the neoclassical school, particularly those by Alfred Marshall and by his American analogous, Frank William Taussig, as well as of the ideas belonging to the “Austrian school” of economics, such as those created by Carl Menger and Eugen von Böhm-Bawerk. Furthermore, during the first years of the 1900s, the overall trends in economic thinking, together with the analysis carried out by the German School of history, especially the “second-generation” considerations by Gustav Schmoller, who introduced an inductive method [34] in the field, contributed towards creating an intellectual *humus* being conducive to the idea of scientific management (Taylor, 1998 [35]), an advancement which was to prove fundamental for future marketing developments.

Therefore, the early spreading of marketing, was founded on the existing orientations and theoretical contents, even if another limit of economic thought was to always pushed aside those issues connected with behavioral motivations and human psychology, thinking, on one hand, that the actual behaviors carried out by consumers reflected their preferences and, on the other hand, that their attitudes were unveiled by their behavior. However, based on these elements, a series of techniques, activities, experiences, researches and theories have been built. As these elements followed the more and more complex market trends while taking a shape able to enter every nook and cranny of society, they were able to provide more and more convincing responses to the major issues modern economies were experiencing. In so doing, marketing has become an indispensable tool to analyze, evaluate and process

reality and the choices to be made, both in production and on the market, by a wider and wider group of economic actors and experts.

However, the shift from the earlier to the more recent marketing phase has not been simple nor instant; rather, it required a significant diversification in setting from an era to another. Indeed, marketing arose as a branch of “applied economy”, something focused on analyzing the distribution channels of consumer goods. Afterwards, marketing became a sector of management focused towards the overall objective of maximizing exchanges. Finally, more recently, marketing took the shape of an applied behavioral science, concerning both those sellers and buyers being involved in trading products and services.

Three articles (Stowe, 1983; Hollander *et al.*, 2005; Shaw, 2009) contain specific orientations on all the disparate periodizations proposed by those scholars focusing their work or reconstructing the evolution marketing underwent during a century [36]. This is a complex mosaic of evaluations, themselves conducted from different criteria and viewpoints, which were connected with marketing practice or theory [37] and featured both short-term and long-term analysis. In any case, the judgement by Stowe on the matter, according to which: «maintaining the unity of a discipline by using single, linked linear time periods for categorizing all thought development has the unfortunate effect of submerging the complexity of thought» (Stowe, 1983, p. 7). Also, as he has noted: «It is probably impossible to organize large chronological chunks of writing in the postwar years because the intellectual dimensions of marketing thought expanded so significantly during this time» (Stowe, 1983, p. 7 [38]) should be dutifully considered.

In conclusion of the analysis of his contribution, striving to achieve a summary thereof while considering the juxtaposition of every periodization effort and of the value of marketing studies, Stowe observed that: «Historical measures can help us to understand changes in marketing thought over time and thus gain control over the past. Better questioning to create more sophisticated periodization is one step toward gaining that control. Such history has contemporary meaning, for it supports heightened self-awareness. Understanding the past can help practitioners and theorists evaluate lines of thought, build better theories, and make more effective decisions. As comparisons are made between the present and past and analogies are drawn, the experience of previous generations can be more skillfully selected and used. The past can be a useful tool if we are not controlled by it because we misapprehend what occurred. Within the study of marketing, the history of marketing thought should be carefully delineated as an important field component. Study of the intellectual development of the discipline is too important to be left out. Periodization is but one aspect of this powerful historical tool. Specifically, periodization can lead to more awareness of the direction thought has taken and is taking, it can suggest the origins of the thinking in control of the field at any given time, and it can reveal the presence of schools of thought or the existence of a generation of thinkers strongly influencing the discipline» (Stowe, 1983, p. 10).

4. The different eras and orientations in marketing

The main framework of the subdivision of the path marketing followed during its evolution does not end with detecting some general criteria and by showing the difficulty connected with those works involving articulate historical reconstructions. Other challenging efforts concerning analysis, classification and summaries, themselves enabling an effective contextualization of the discipline as it developed. Indeed, together with very articulate periodizations, such as the one by Robert Bartels, which considers the main changes having happened from a decade to the other [39], other elaborations exist to significantly simplify the understanding of the main historical events marketing was a protagonist of. In particular, the articles by D.G. Brian Jones and Eric H. Shaw (2002) and those by William L. Wilkie and Elizabeth S. Moore (2003), shaped by a wide vision of the growing and transformation processes marketing underwent, offered a series of wide periodizations on the matter. On the other hand, Jones and Shaw, even if they foresaw a wider classification for those periods predating the birth of marketing, settled for “2 eras” for the 20th Century, with the first epoch, from 1900 to 1957, featuring the appearance of marketing as a discipline and of the traditional schools of thought, followed by a second epoch, which began in 1957 with the publication of the volume by Wroe Alderson (1957), which stimulated a significant spreading of new schools of marketing thought in turn. Furthermore, Shaw and Jones

modified their stance, bringing the different marketing eras of the 1900s to 3: the first one went from 1900 to 1955 and featured the more traditional approaches to marketing theory; the second one, from 1955 to 1975, featured a paradigm shift, due to the work by Alderson; the third era, going from 1975 to 2000, widened its paradigm based on Kotler's work (Shaw and Jones, 2005).

On the contrary Wilkie and Moore, within their significant and deep-seated contribution, considered a subdivision of the 20th Century into "4 eras" based on a reasoned evaluation of the events and of the evolution of marketing thought [40]. The authors stated very clearly their starting point: «The academic field of marketing formally began shortly after the turn of the last century and is now about 100 years old. Both the real world of marketing and the real world of society have undergone massive changes during this time. A rich body of marketing literature has been developed. However, all scholars should recognize that an examination only of today's research cannot come close to capturing the total expanse of thought in the marketing domain. This point is especially clear when it is recognized that the focus of today's academic field of marketing is squarely on firms and household consumers and that few people, even in the mainstream of marketing thinking, have deeply considered marketing from a broadened, more aggregate perspective. However, across the span of the last century, many interesting insights on the field of marketing have been developed. Beyond this, many interesting insights into marketing's broader relationships with society have also been developed. This article explores the advances that have occurred across this time» (Wilkie and Moore, 2003, p. 116).

In particular, Wilkie and Moore categorized, besides the so-called "pre-marketing" phase – concerning those phenomena preceding the formal beginnings of this analysis sector – [41], four distinct eras of marketing thought. The first era, called "Founding the Field", covers the years from 1900 to 1920, when greater care was taken, even in academia, to that part of the entrepreneurial system undergoing an evolution and a significant expansion on the market, i.e. the sector of distribution. During such an era, the emphasis was on shaping the field of marketing initiatives as an "economic institution" and the first University courses concerning the various aspects of this subject and its related systems [42]. Furthermore, different conceptual approaches began arising, which were collected to marketing [43]. However, the main objective of such orientations revolving around the understanding of markets and of their inner workings, somewhat more abstractly than today and without considering management decisions first and foremost, as it is the case today instead [44].

The second era, called "Formalizing the Field", developed between 1920 and 1950, when the system of mass production required more and more complex forms of distribution, as well as a greater understanding of the tools needed to shape consumers' demand, while, at the same time, thanks to technological innovation, a wider range of new products was able to spread [45]. During this era, there was the issue of the evolution of the academic sector of marketing into a full-fledged study field. The most significant progress towards such an evolution concerned, on one hand, the construction of a formal infrastructure in order to widen marketing-related knowledge – a professional association, meetings, publications, and the like [46] – and, on the other, the integration of those contents needed to establish a shared and coherent concept of "marketing principles" [47]. Also, during this second phase, marketing orientation was very different from the current setup of the subject, since a more descriptive orientation of marketing operations, something less oriented towards solving management problems [48].

The third era, called "A Paradigm Shift – Marketing, Management, and the Sciences", developed during the years between 1950 and 1980, when the American system experienced an actual boom through their primacy in mass marketing and the significant consolidation of overall marketing theories [49]. During such a time, itself a watershed in the history of marketing, two mainstream theories came decidedly to the fore [50]: on one hand, there was the crucial contribution towards making management visions a reality to consider [51], while, on the other hand, there were references to behavioral and quantitative sciences as elements being essential to the evolution of knowledge [52]. Furthermore, a substantial growth in knowledge infrastructure was made a reality. Such a development triggered an extraordinary increase in the activities of university structures, in specialization courses and India articles being published within scientific reviews, besides activating an actual think tank, the Marketing Science Institute (MSI), and other study centers, such as the Ford Foundation, the "marketing college" belonging to the Institute of Management Science (TIMS), the Association for Consumer Research (ACR), the

AMA Doctoral Consortium, and the like, as well as the spreading of meetings and seminars focused on marketing (Wilkie and Moore, 2003, pp. 126-128). Finally, considering the relationship between marketing and society, two speeds came into play: while, during the first years of the third era the orientation reached in the previous phase was kept, analysis and initiatives concerning topics such as the social responsibility of enterprises, consumers and their rights and behavior, the activity of marketing operators and experts, the performance of the marketing systems (*macromarketing*) and the alternation between specific business objectives and social issues (especially concerning the marketing of products, services, places, ideas, characters, up to demarketing, network marketing, and mega marketing) started being taken into account during the second part of the third era; by the same token, this period considered the start of social marketing, the spreading of public policy and the like (Wilkie and Moore, 2003, pp. 130-132).

The fourth era, called “The Shift Intensifies – A Fragmentation of the Mainstream” started in 1980 and is still undergoing today, after several changes, themselves due to the effects of the turning points of the previous phases as well as by the saturation of many previous mainstream channels, together with the opening of “new directions”, both in the field of academia than in marketing practice [53]. Anyway, the management perspective kept a preeminent position within the discipline [54]. During this period, also because of the then-starting, and then more and more widespread phenomenon of globalization and of progressive integration within the markets, new significant challenges have revealed themselves within the economic and enterprise system [55]. Some conditions changed within American economy as well and they were the introduction to more general changes. For example, those financial strategies being connected with the leveraged buyout speculation practices gave, during the last two decades of the 20th Century, the upper hand to those goals connected with short-term profit, something reverberating on the value of stocks. Therefore, the role of marketing within enterprises and its functional autonomy were reduced [56]. Another distinctive element of the last era considered are the controversies affecting the marketing community, such as the one concerning the prevalence awarded to the works and papers having theoretical and scientific features, compared with those being more concerned with practical application in the “Journal of Marketing”, or the controversies being internal to the academic sector of consumer behavior, focusing, on one hand, the preeminence of the positivist approach in research activities and, on the other hand, on the dominant position management had in consumer research, as it was seen like an external imposition, being outside every kind of free development of a social dimension in research (Wilkie and Moore, 2003, p. 132). Furthermore, in academia, more and more draconian formulae, such as the one called *publish-or-perish*, make themselves known and are focused on qualifying scientific activities within a more general evaluation in University infrastructures [57].

This phase of further change enabled a wider and wider extension of marketing-related knowledge at the global level, bringing along a diversification of this discipline into specific areas of interest. Therefore, together with scientific specialization, a fragmentation in the contents and in its main areas of interest have become the main feature of mainstream marketing [58], even if such a phenomenon has been considered as: «an indication of the natural progression into a mature discipline» (Wilkie and Moore, 2003, p. 135). Furthermore, this period signaled the birth of a significant number of marketing reviews; the increase and the diversification of academical meetings on the subject; to this was added, at first, to the reflection on the relationships between marketing and societies; the focus shifted back afterwards, mostly due to the personal commitment of several scholars (Wilkie and Moore, 2003).

Within the Tab. III, itself a part of the work carried out by Wilkie e and Moore, the main features of each of the “4 eras” of marketing thought are summarized.

Tab. III. The “4 Eras” of Marketing Thought

Era	Distinctive Characteristics
“Pre-Marketing” (Before 1900)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No distinguishing field of study; issues are embedded within the field of economics.
I. “Founding the Field” (1900–1920)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development of first courses with “marketing” in title. • Emphasis on defining purview of marketing’s activities as economic institution. • Focus on marketing as distribution.
II. “Formalizing the Field” (1920–1950)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development of generally accepted foundations or “principles of marketing.” • Establishment of knowledge development infrastructure for the field: professional association (AMA), conferences, journals (<i>Journal of Retailing</i> and <i>Journal of Marketing</i>).
III. “A Paradigm Shift—Marketing, Management, and the Sciences” (1950–1980)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Growth boom in U.S. mass market and marketing body of thought. • Two perspectives emerge to dominate the marketing mainstream: (1) the managerial viewpoint and (2) the behavioral and quantitative sciences as keys to future knowledge development. • Knowledge infrastructure undergoes major expansion and evolution.
IV. “The Shift Intensifies—A Fragmentation of the Mainstream” (1980–present)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New challenges arise in business world: short-term financial focus, downsizing, globalization, and reengineering. • Dominant perspectives are questioned in philosophy of science debates. • Publish-or-perish pressure intensifies on academics. • Knowledge infrastructure expands and diversifies into specialized interest areas.

Source: Wilkie and Moore, 2003, p. 117.

In order to conclude this overview of the periodizations of marketing history, yet another way of subdividing the various phases of this discipline according to their strategic orientations should be described. Considering that the relationships with any given market are connected with both the geographical and the historical milieu every system is in, besides by the capacity every enterprise has of connecting with the demand following a more or less innovative path, the several ways enterprises use to enter the sector their products (and services) go in can be classified following four canonical phases for marketing (Keith, 1960, pp. 35-38; Kotler, 1967) as well: production orientation; products orientation; sales – or transaction – orientation; market orientation – including marketing –, an element being further specified by the marketing management approach, as well as by the most recent social marketing and relationship marketing approach. In particular, Philip Kotler classified the strategies companies use in approaching any given market through the tools mentioned above within his volume titled *Marketing Management* (Kotler, 1967) and even if such an articulation has been revised and modified many times.

Production orientation, something which developed between the industrial revolution and the early years of 1900, is characterized by the fact that enterprises sell every good they can produce, focusing on improving production and distribution processes. The markets usually feature an excess of demand compared with supply and the, in such a situation, enterprises must increase their production volumes while attempting to achieve economies of scale (themselves focused on reducing production costs through increases in productivity), basing their competition on prices, especially on those markets where commodities prevail.

Product orientation, something that lasted until the 1920s, was focused on the activities enterprises carried out towards constant improvements in products or services, with a specific emphasis on the technological aspects of production. The risk of such a strategy revolves around the so-called “Marketing Myopia” (Levitt, 1960), that is to say a lack in the evaluation of the existence of any given market, due to the focus enterprises have on products rather than on consumers’ needs.

Sales orientation came to the fore between the 1930s and the 1940s; it is mostly based on the objective of transferring what enterprises produce. In this case, markets feature an excess of supply

compared with demand and the enterprises cope with the excess by focusing on searching new clients and in completing transactions, rather than on constructing lasting relationships with their customers. This is an inside-out perspective, enabled to short-term objective is or by creating low-visibility products and/or services through short-term objectives and the creation products (or services) of low visibility (the so-called “unsought goods”). Also, in the case of this strategy, the main risk is a lack in understanding consumers’ needs.

Market orientation, which began between the 1950s and the 1960s, consists of the capacity enterprises have to listen to, analyze and interpret the needs and the wishes of consumers in building up an adequate and competitive offer of goods (or services). Such is an outside-in perspective, connected to a “pull” marketing strategy (that is to say, based on understanding the market and attracting customers), rather than to “push” marketing strategy (that is to say, a strategy involving the push of specific products on the market through the main distribution channels). During such a phase, the most advanced tools the discipline can rely on show themselves completely, giving birth to the marketing management paradigm, which knew its peak during the 1980s and the 1990s (see Tab. IV).

Tab. IV. A comparison between different strategic marketing orientations

Orientation	Production	Product	Sales	Market
Management perspective	Internal	Internal	Internal	External (Market)
Focusing element	Production	Product	Product	Clients’ needs and wishes
Main management tool	Reducing costs	Technology	Sales and promotions	Marketing mix (product, price, place and promotion)
Entrepreneurial goals	Profit, by reducing production costs	Profit, by investing in product innovation	Profit, by increasing sales volumes	Profit, by satisfying customers’ needs

Source: De Luca, 2006, p. 7.

During the more recent years, considering the process of innovation in marketing and the significant changes brought by globalization, as well as flexible production and IT technologies, a fifth phase of the life-cycle of marketing was drawn, concerning the orientation towards customer relations, i.e. customer relationship management (CRM). Within a reality having become more and more competitive because of technological innovation and market integration, customer orientation becomes a crucial strategy for enterprise development.

Kotler himself, in one of his most recent works he wrote with Kevin L. Keller, updated the setup of the discipline as a whole, clarified the meaning of marketing orientation and introducing holistic marketing as a category [59]. Considering this specific element, the two authors observed that: «A whole set of forces that appeared in the last decade call for new marketing and business practices. Companies have new capabilities that can transform the way they have been doing marketing [...]. Companies need fresh thinking about how to operate and compete in a new marketing environment. Marketers in the twenty-first century are increasingly recognizing the need to have a more complete, cohesive approach that goes beyond traditional applications of the marketing concept [...]. The holistic marketing concept is based on the development, design, and implementation of marketing programs, processes, and activities that recognizes their breadth and inter-dependencies. Holistic marketing recognizes that “everything matters” with marketing— and that a broad, integrated perspective is often necessary. Four components of holistic marketing are relationship marketing, integrated marketing, internal marketing, and social responsibility marketing. Holistic marketing is thus an approach to marketing that attempts to recognize and reconcile the scope and complexities of marketing activities» (Kotler and Keller, 2006,

pp. 16-17) [60]. Finally, Kotler and Keller opened the way to a renewed conception of marketing, through social marketing, according to which the main task of any given organization is to determine the needs, wishes and interests of market targets, satisfying them more efficiently and effectively than the competing organizations, and in a way preserving or strengthening welfare, both for customers and for society as a whole [61].

5. Conclusions

“Marketing” as a term, ever since it was used in the United States during the early 1900s for the first time, has undergone an intense evolution and, as it has been explained, changed its cornerstones and meaning several times during a century. Truly, by examining the life-cycle of marketing as a discipline, a constant flow onwards from the initial objectives, essentially connected with mass production systems, up to reaching the current degree of complexity, featuring a more and more visible link with the niche markets, with proactive consumers, as well as with the wishes, the values and the idea is of individuals and organizations, going well beyond the traditional economic boundaries.

Today, the field of marketing is sizable and involves “nonconventional” sectors as well, themselves being able to connect with marketing as a science and with the most diverse knocks and crannies of our reality. The creation of new, constantly growing approaches (such as, for example, those connected with tribal marketing, geomarketing, network marketing, experiential marketing, chrono-marketing, sensory marketing, knowledge marketing, ethical marketing, viral marketing and the like [62]), strengthened the cornerstones of marketing, while opening the way to innovative opportunities, significantly specialized interests and brand-new opportunities to generalize the role of marketing as a discipline. Therefore, marketing is a powerful tool to analyze, understand and act upon the main issues of what has been defined the society (and the era) of post-Fordism.

However, the history of marketing, besides its origin and its development, can be considered, from the methodological point of view, as a different way of observing and interpreting economic and social events. Truly, while economic history has the evolution of production and of the related relationship as its cornerstone, marketing history may very well represent a change in the observation point, granting “new eyes” to look at the economic processes, at the relationships between the enterprises and the market, starting with the end of the economic circuit, i.e. with the complex and constantly changing world of distribution, demand and consumers with. Therefore, marketing history is an important interpretive tool, not only concerning the economic events of the 20th Century, but also for what happened during the previous eras.

According to Peter Mathias, the decline of the so-called “hard economic history” made the promotion of “softer” disciplines easier. Within such a milieu, knowing that economic history keeps exploring new frontiers and settling territories having been previously inhabited by others; however, at the same time, this territories are opened to the raids carried out by others, Peter Mathias completed an exemplary general reflection, involving also one of the subjects belonging to the “new” history, such as marketing: «Economic historians have had a long tradition of concentrating on production rather than consumption: their consciousness has been focused on the spectrum of themes centering on production. The main themes of the ‘new’ social history reverse this priority: the study of consumption in many aspects covers a different spectrum and puts relationships in a new perspective. It brings to the fore the study of markets and marketing, with retailing at the fulcrum of supply and demand. Consumption trends have to be explicable in terms of such diverse considerations as disposable incomes, the distribution of income, channels of information about worldly goods for households and persons, family relationships, fashion and aesthetics, the cultural norms of social groups, the demands of emulation and ‘respectability’ in different social contexts, concepts and the operational embodiment of ‘luxury’, how taste is led, and a host of other relationships. Not all these trends originated in the progressive commercialization of relationships or were expressed in a commercialized nexus. Identifying perceived needs (helping to lead, encourage and persuade, if not actually creating, such trends) was becoming a progressive influence in shaping the path of growth in consumer goods industries from the seventeenth century, if not before. This new focus for explaining the basis of material life in the social and cultural matrix of family relations, social groups, class and culture has also integrated fields of study previously professionally

isolated in the fine and applied arts and ‘connoisseurship’, with professional standards as high as, and sometimes higher than, those of social historians» (Mathias, 2006, pp. 22-23).

To conclude, marketing history, if used well, considering the fact that its main viewpoints focus on demand development, consumption and market in general, can strive to offer a global historical framework being adequate to our times and to a quick interpretation of the global transformation process currently underway. Compared with business-related disciplines, marketing history has the advantage of not being actually limited to a short-term vision and to a “micro” dimension; rather, it can effectively tackle and design medium- and long-term scenarios, defining a “macro” dimension for evolutionary trends. Such a framework, doing away with simple models and with merely applicative techniques, is doubtlessly an instance of added value for one of the “new paths” economic history is now able to walk on.

The potential for expansion marketing history as is connected both to the wide range of subjects that can be provided within its field, as well as to the possibility of a crossover with other disciplines belonging to the same scientific group or to other scientific groups (such as psychology, semiotics, sociology, anthropology). However, this capacity for “cross-pollination” does connect with a specific innovative feature in marketing, allowing to make use of a tool – something Kotler believes in many cases to be more useful than economics – in order to provide up-to-date responses and answers to the questions posed by neo-industrial societies. Truly, its dynamic and flexible framework is able to follow the main issues of the ever-changing global market, of consumers and of modern society as a whole better, looking at them to the lens of the specific sector expertise. At the same time, such an approach within this discipline can create, through macromarketing, a direct relationship with the general policies of public institutions. Marketing history, considering its specific focus on reconstructing events, examining the evolution in thought and making the most of specific instruments, processes and techniques, may very well be useful in interpreting and managing the manifold development threads marketing itself is currently following, by offering not only a “practical” perspective for this doctrine, but rather providing it with a theoretical and practical structure able to cope with the long-term challenges of the contemporary world as well [63].

Speaking more generally, focusing his gaze behind again and making a reference to the conceptual and technical marketing system played during the 1900s Walter Giorgio Scott highlighted that: «it is worth to remember the outcome of the research carried out by Alfred Chandler, one of the best corporations’ scholars. If the industrial production of consumer goods and services – and that of the goods arising from it – has been able to reach exceptional levels of development [...], this was due, in no small part, to the progress the enterprises achieved in the areas of marketing and of mass distribution. In other words, mass production and mass marketing are two intertwined and complementary dimensions of the same phenomenon, i.e. advanced market capitalism. Meaning that marketing tools and techniques have been strictly functional to the development of those advanced countries featuring market economies» (Scott, 2005, p. 3) [64].

Therefore, studying marketing and its evolution is very useful, both in understanding the current world and in assessing the globalization process, including the analysis of economic crisis. Furthermore, studying marketing is also useful in reconsidering a past having never completely been studied in depth considering its nature of economic system and development tool. However, such an effort and such a commitment cannot be limited to those events already being or about to be behind us. Contributing towards predicting the future is another of the interests shaping the field of marketing evolution, including the possibility of using brand-new tools to draft the history to come and to focus the main task of study and investigation, in order to solve the unresolved problems of our reality, avoiding the mistakes of the past and going beyond the whitening of some disciplines which have proved unable to perform such a function. As noted by Alderson: «It is the responsibility of the marketing profession, therefore, to provide a marketing view of competition in order to guide efforts at regulation and to revitalize certain aspects of the science of economics [...]. For surely no one is better qualified to play a leading part in the consideration of measures designed for the regulation of competition» (Alderson, 1937, pp. 189–190).

By all means, the research field opened by marketing history is very fruitful and filled with generally worthy references, significantly grounded within the most developed company and social practices

within the “globalized” word. It is the job of economic history and of economic historians – constantly on the lookout to detect “new paths” and keep its methods and contents constantly updated, bringing new life to this sector – to uphold their responsibility to make it, more and more, a tool used to push scientific frontiers forward, to strike a meaningful dialogue with other disciplines, without overlooking the need to strengthen its focus on observation, teaching and research. To summaries, the evolution or marketing may very well be a meaningful engine to contribute towards the affirmation of an innovative role for economic history rising to rise to the challenge of the times.

Notes

[1] On this, please see Mazur, 1928; Foster, 1937; Bramson, 1945; Kettering and Orth, 1947; Burlingame, 1949; Kousoulas, 1958; Slocomb, 1959; Chandler Jr., 1962; Rosenberg, 1969 and 1972; Barry, 1973; Chandler Jr., 1977; Fraser, 1981; Hounshell, 1984; Strasser, 1989; Chandler Jr., 1990; Rupert, 1995; Beaudreau, 1996; Sabel and Zeitlin, 1997; Taylor, 1998.

[2] On this, please see Ford 1922; Marquis, 1923; Stidger, 1923; Ford, 1929; Simonds, 1929; Graves, 1934; Barclay, 1936; Sinclair, 1937; Raushenbush, 1937; Simonds, 1943; Borth, 1945; Caldwell, 1947; Richards, 1948; Sward, 1948; Gramsci, 1949; Nevins and Hill, 1954, 1957 and 1963; Rae, 1969; Herndon, 1969; Lewis, 1976; Doray, 1981; Gelderman, 1981; Lacey, 1986; Collier and Horowitz, 1987; Bryan, 1989; Cahill, 1992; Banta, 1993; Batchelor, 1994; Biggs, 1995; Shiomi and Wada, 1995; Brinkley, 2003; Wood and Wood, 2003; Segal, 2005; Watts, 2005. A website proving particularly useful for the reconstruction of the history of Ford and Fordism is the one called *The Henry Ford: America's Greatest History Attraction*, <<http://www.thehenryford.org/index.aspx>>, containing the section dedicated to the *Henry Ford Museum* as well, <<http://www.thehenryford.org/museum/index.aspx>>.

[3] On this, please see Polanyi, 1944; Bell, 1973; Aglietta, 1976; Toffler, 1980; Stonier, 1983; Dohse *et al.*, 1984; Piore and Sabel, 1984; Lipietz, 1985; Tolliday and Zeitlin, 1986; Cohen and Zysman, 1987; Hayes *et al.*, 1988; Scott, 1988; Bartocci, 1988; Blackburn, 1989; Montani, 1989; Bramble, 1990a; Bramble, 1990b; Bonefeld and Holloway, 1991; Brown and Lauder (eds.), 1992; Pine II, 1993; Boyer and Durand, 1993; Dankbaar, 1993; Stubbs and Underhill, 1994; Amin, 1994; Hamel and Prahalad, 1994; Kumar, 1995; Savage, 1996; Rullani and Romano, 1998; Reinhardt, 1999; Ekstedt *et al.*, 1999; Thursfield, 2000; Bagguley, 2000; Cullenberg *et al.* 2001; Arvidsson, 2003; Rullani, 2004; Deaglio, 2004; Boyer, 2007; Bechtle, 2005; Koch, 2006; Beynon and Nichols, 2006. For a wider reading list covering two decades (1980-2000), the website dedicated to the *Post-Mass Production Enterprise Reading List* can be visited (on this, please see *Post-Mass Production Enterprise Reading List*, <<http://www.cheshirehenbury.com/agility/post-mass-production-enterprise-reading-list.html>>). In this very same webpage, there is a reference to the definitions featured in those economic systems after Fordism: «The collapse of mass production economies and associated mass production firms has been evident for over 20 years, although it was only in the early 1990s that a wider state of awareness was achieved. Since about 1980, many reports and books have been published dealing with issues surrounding the development of post-mass production enterprise. The list of books and reports provided is only a sample but will give some background to the current interest in the catch all definition of agility and help to put it into context. What you will discover is that agility is only the latest in a series of names that have been given to the post-mass production era. Other names that you encounter are: niche production; flexible specialization; post-Fordism; human-centered manufacturing; anthropocentric production systems; neo-Fordism; lean production; mass customization; and several more». A unique viewpoint on Fordism and on its further evolution, particularly considering the advent of the World Wide Web is provided by an interesting and information-rich portal (on this, please see *Cyberspace and the Evolution of Fordism*, <https://www.cddc.vt.edu/digitalfordism/fordism_main/cyberspace.htm>).

[4] On this, please see *The Long Tail. Chris Anderson's blog*, <http://longtail.typepad.com/the_long_tail>. The “long tail” represents a demand curve, i.e. a new market form allowing very limited forms of production of goods and services, positioned within actual “market niches”, to contribute – if considered together, within the system as a whole – to spread a successful model as well. This model is based on the diverse preferences expressed by consumers and users, as well as on the variety and the personalization of offer, allowing the creation of value beyond the traditional industrial system, especially because of online networks and of new figures, such as *prosumers*, themselves able to completely overturn the previous inner workings of both markets and

production systems. The “Long tail” expression, created by Chris Anderson in 2004, does therefore connect with the spreading of a methodology and of analytical tools providing a new key to understand the shift from a Fordism society to a post-industrial or a neo-industrial one.

[5] On this, please see Arnold and Faurote, 1915; Stern, 1955; Clymer, 1955; Quackenbush, 1978; Flink, 1988; Gilbert, 1962; Bryan, 1990; Simonds, 1991; McCalley, 1994; Hooker, 1997; Wood, 1999; Weitzman, 2002; Wright, 2003; O’Hearn *et al.*, 2006; Rausch, 2007. In a nutshell, “Fordism” may be rightly considered as a “practical doctrine”, as it was the case with mercantilism, since Fordism juxtaposes a structured theoretical base, such as that of *scientific management* and a strong propension towards solving the issues of industrial assets, enshrining them within the actual transformations the productive process and mass markets underwent.

[6] Furthermore, please see E. Rullani, *Economia Globale e Post Fordismo*, <https://www.cddc.vt.edu/digitalfordism/fordism_materials/rullani.htm>.

[7] *Collaborative innovation* is a new tool for enterprise development, allowing for constant interaction with those professionals able to create innovation and enable new technologies. It is therefore possible to reach unexpected objectives, considering both company effectiveness and efficiency. As it has been noticed: «It was thanks to the significant recent changes in communications technologies, the customers themselves can become a part of the innovation process of enterprises. If in the past customers were considered an important source of knowledge for companies since their knowledge allowed companies to test the products the latter imagined before putting them on the market and enabling them to optimize them based on the cues the customers provided them with, today the competencies customers have, together with the possibilities technology affords to employ them, become a vital clue to set innovation by. While it is true that companies can use market research companies relying on sophisticated tools in order to better access the knowledge of their customers, they can also internalize such tools progressively in order to directly access the knowledge of their customers directly. In other words, they can shift from outsourcing to the progressive insourcing of the vital functions of market intelligence» (Prandelli and Verona, 2006). *Open innovation* is a term created by Henry Chesbrough in order to indicate a new paradigm in industrial innovation and, more generally, an up-to-date vision of the dissemination and management of knowledge at the global level. In a world becoming more and more open thanks to the ubiquitous online networks and to real-time connections, limitless usage of universal sources of knowledge, as well as taking part in the construction of knowledge involving Internet users, the experts and everybody interested in any given field. In other words, that is exactly what is being called *crowdsourcing* – a word still not having an equivalent in Italian and defining a model in which companies or institutions request the development of a project, a service or a project to a decentralized group through the Web –. Such a tool is a new, most advanced and simpler at the same time, frontier of the development of ICT networks. Those designing an idea, an innovative tool or simply an exchange of knowledge and making it a reality are no longer a very small number of researchers in a cramped company office, even if it is a “research and development” office, but rather they become the population of the Internet as a whole, i.e. those competencies and brains spread over a very wide array of territories – as they can be easily gathered through and connected with each other through the Internet, interacting in problem solving or, at the very least, in detecting the main issues. As it has been noted, open innovation means that enterprises should make greater use of external ideas and technology, letting other companies make use of their discarded ideas. Such a framework must have companies open their business models in order to absorb external ideas and technologies, while sharing its internal knowledge with others and as its cornerstone. In the presence of more open business models, Open Innovation offers the possibility of reducing innovation costs, speeding the time to market up and sharing risks with other subjects. In order to reach success, companies should adapt their business models, making them more open to external ideas and market approaches. Those companies “importing” external ideas more effectively allowing other companies to use them in turn, will find a way to create and identify new value in an era such as this, where globalization and competition are constantly growing (Chesbrough, 2003).

[8] *Cloudworkers*, according to a term created by *blogger* Venkatesh Rao (see *ribbonfarm – experiments in refactored perception*, <<http://www.ribbonfarm.com>>), are workers in knowledge being more and more dematerialized using, whenever required, collaborating technology and tools and sharing information, so that they may operate anytime and anyplace. Considering them more widely, cloudworkers represent each and every professional owning knowledge and competencies connecting with others through ICT networks. According to V. Rao: «The cloudworker is the prototypical information worker of tomorrow. He overachieves or coasts remotely, collaborates or backstabs

virtually, and delivers his gold or garbage to a shifting long-tail micro-market defined only by his own talents or lack thereof. The cloudworker manages pers is h recessions and bubbles, he navigates fluidly back and forth between traditional paycheck employment, slash-work and full, untethered-to-health-insurance free agency. To paraphrase William Gibson, the cloudworker is already here; he is just unevenly distributed in the workforce» (*ribbonfarm – experiments in refactored perception – The Cloudworker’s Creed*, <<http://www.ribbonfarm.com/2008/10/23/the-cloudworkers-creed>>; on this, please see *The Science in Science Fiction: NPR*, <<http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=1067220>>).

[9] The figure of the *prosumer*, a term created during the early 1980s by Alvin Toffler (1980), symbolizes a change in function and activities for consumers by unifying two roles being separate since the Industrial Revolution: that of producer that of consumer. During the years of market segmentation and of the “IT revolution” consumers distanced themselves more and more from standardized products, focusing their attention on those goods (and services) produced according to their preferences. Indeed, prosumers are proactive, able to anticipate transformations, interpreting the new behaviors, habits and relationships between markets and production. This term is gaining several different meanings at once: business tends to see a prosumer (producer-consumer) as strongly independent from mainstream economy. Speaking more generally, users, from their traditionally more passive role, have now taken a more active position in their consumption, production, creation and the like. Therefore, *prosumers* are resilient individuals, relying on innovative and advantageous resources, being protagonists of the changes promoted by network economics; therefore, prosumers are users, not only consumers, but also authors and content producers, taking part in the creation of goods, be they tangible or intangible.

[10] Walter Giorgio Scott observed that: «Marketing is a very wide and complex subject, as it is hard to define and to precisely focus on systematically. The field of action of marketing involves a wide range of activities, from the more technical ones, such as logistics management, to the more complex ones, dealing with studying consumers’ behavior, as well as with design in those products and services being more suitable in satisfying consumers’ needs. Furthermore, the activities usually focuses on I also the object of the activity of other company functions, such as production, finance or HR management. To these elements of complexity, those connected with the specific city of any given sector or market must be added: durable and non-durable consumer goods, those goods produced for industry and institutions, private goods, public goods and the like. Faced with so complex and mutable a field, one would be tempted to forsake every effort to detect common features and trends, leaving the day to spontaneous or empirically-based behaviors. However, the ever-growing relevance marketing gained within the economic, social, political and environmental milieus is so that an effort to understand it, analyses it and to develop those scientific laws making the behavior of economic operators ever more aware and “rational” is needed. To achieve such a result, it may now be useful to carry out an overview of the evolutionary path leading marketing to rise to a top shelf role within all those disciplines having business strategy and market competition as their focus» (Scott, 2005, p. 1).

[11] The original passage, in English, goes as follows: «The term “marketing” includes every activity that has to do with the movement of goods from the point where they are produced to the point where they are consumed. It includes the study of advertising, sales policies, pricing, product planning, and the analysis of the market in terms of its present and potential customers. It seeks to discover where and how the customers live, their habits and motivations, and their responsiveness to varying forms of marketing stimuli» (Hepner, 1955, p. 20).

[12] Also, in this case, it is worth providing the original quote: «The consumer, not the company, is in the middle. In today’s economy the consumer, the man or woman who buys the product, is at the absolute dead center of the business universe. Companies revolve around the customer, not the other way around. Growing acceptance of this consumer concept has had, and will have, far-reaching implications for business, achieving a virtual revolution in economic thinking. As the concept gains ever greater acceptance, marketing is emerging as the most important single function in business» (Keith, 1960, p. 35). Therefore, Keith predicted a revolution within the marketing world, highlighting the need for enterprises to shift their focus from producing what they were able to produce to what consumers wanted them to produce.

[13] The original passage goes like this: «The view that an industry is a customer-satisfying process, not a goods-producing process, is vital for all businessmen to understand» (Levitt, 1960, p. 55). This article, itself a cornerstone contribution to the evolution of market studies, highlights how the unfavourable performance some companies experienced was due to an excessive internal focus,

something preventing an effective link between the activities of any given company and the needs the markets had. The evaluation Levitt carried out does indeed go on as follows: «An industry begins with the customer and his or her needs, not with a patent, a raw material, or a selling skill. Given the customer's needs, the industry develops backwards, first concerning itself with the physical *delivery* of customer satisfactions. Then it moves back further to *creating* the things by which these satisfactions are in part achieved. How these materials are created is a matter of indifference to the customer, hence the particular form of manufacturing, processing, or what have you cannot be considered as a vital aspect of the industry. Finally, the industry moves back still further to *finding* the raw materials necessary for making its products». Within a previous passage of the same article considered this very same concept as a comparison: «The difference between marketing and selling is more than semantic. Selling focuses on the needs of the seller, marketing on the needs of the buyer. Selling is preoccupied with the seller's need to convert his product into cash; marketing with the idea of satisfying the needs of the customer by means of the product and the whole cluster of things associated with creating, delivering, and finally consuming it» (Levitt, 1960, p. 50).

[14] The first quote by Drucker, contained within a work of his published in 1954, but still noticeably relevant nowadays, has been called “Drucker's Law”: «There is only one valid definition of business purpose: to create a satisfied customer» (Drucker, 1954, p. 52). The following quote can then be given in its entirety: «It is the customer who determines what a business is. It is the customer alone whose willingness to pay for a good or for a service converts economic resources into wealth, things into goods. What the business thinks it produces is not of first importance – especially not to the future of the business and to its success. The typical engineering definition of quality is something that is hard to do, is complicated, and costs a lot of money! But that isn't quality; it's incompetence. What the customer thinks he is buying, what he considers value, is decisive – it determines what a business is, what it produces, and whether it will prosper. And what the customer buys and considers value is never a product. It is always utility, that is, what a product or service does for him. And what is value for the customer is, as we shall see [...], anything but obvious. The customer is the foundation of a business and keeps it in existence. He alone gives employment. To supply the wants and needs of a consumer, society entrusts wealth-producing resources to the business enterprise [...]. Because its purpose is to create a customer, the business enterprise has two – and only these two – basic functions: marketing and innovation. Marketing and innovation produce results; all the rest are “costs”. Marketing is the distinguishing, unique function of the business. A business is set apart from all other human organizations by the fact that it *markets* a product or a service. Neither church, nor army, nor school, nor state does that. Any organization that fulfills itself through marketing a product or a service is business. Any organization in which marketing is either absent or incidental is not a business and should never be managed as if it were one» (Drucker, 2007, pp. 61-62).

[15] The original text is as follows: «Marketing is so basic that it cannot be considered a separate function (i.e., a separate skill or work) within the business, on a par with others such as manufacturing or personnel. Marketing requires separate work, and a distinct group of activities. But it is, first, a central dimension of the entire business. It is the whole business seen from the point of view of its final result, that is, from the customer's point of view» (Drucker, 2007, p. 63).

[16] Kotler, in his original definition, indicated the following: «The “marketing concept” supersedes an older concept that marketing is the task of selling whatever the company makes. The new “marketing concept” reverses this logic and calls on the company to make what it can sell. The marketing concept calls for the identification of areas of unsatisfied customer needs. It calls for seeking profits through the creation of want-satisfaction. It calls for coordinating all the company functions that impinge on the customer» (Kotler, 1965, p. 70).

[17] According to this interpretation by Kotler: «Marketing is a social and managerial process by which individuals and groups obtain what they need and want through creating, offering, and exchanging products of value with others» (Kotler, 1994, pp. 6-7). He then continued describing this concept, noting that: «A human need is a state of deprivation of some basic satisfaction. People require food, clothing, shelter, safety, belonging, and esteem. These needs are not created by society or by marketers. They exist in the very texture of human biology and the human condition. Wants are desires for specific satisfiers of needs. Although people's needs are few, their wants are many. They are continually shaped and

reshaped by social forces and institutions, including churches, schools, families and business corporations. Demands are wants for specific products that are backed by an ability and willingness to buy them. Companies must measure not only how many people want their product but, more importantly, how many would actually be willing and able to buy it». More recently, Kotler presented, together with Armstrong, a new version of the definition of marketing, to be considered as the process by means of which companies create value for their customers, having with them reliable relationships, in order to gain further value in turn (Kotler and Armstrong, 2006, p. 6).

[18] On this, please see *American Marketing Association*, <<https://www.ama.org/Pages/default.aspx>>.

[19] As it is written on their website: «The American Marketing Association (AMA) is the essential community for marketers. In 1953, Neil Borden transformed the business world when he articulated the strategy of “Marketing Mix” in his AMA presidential address. Borden was just one of many AMA leaders who were not satisfied with existing best practices. These thought leaders sought answers for the future that would propel business growth and elevate the role of marketing. Today, the AMA leads an unparalleled discussion on marketing excellence. Continuing in the tradition of Borden and so many others, the AMA offers differentiated content that focuses on the tension between Best Versus Next Practices™. With content coming from unrivalled scholarly journals, like the *Journal of Marketing*, and award-winning publications, like *Marketing News*, the AMA offers a robust perspective that understands marketer are expected to provide both solutions for today and solutions for tomorrow. No other organization provides more ways for marketers and academics to connect with the people and resources they need to be successful» (*About AMA – American Marketing Association*, <<https://www.ama.org/AboutAMA/Pages/About.aspx>>; furthermore, on this, please see *History of the American Marketing Association – American Marketing Association*, <<https://archive.ama.org/Archive/AboutAMA/Pages/History.aspx>>).

[20] Indeed, as it has been noted: «Since 1948, the American Marketing Association has been responsible for the official definition of marketing, used in books, by marketing professionals and taught in university lecture halls nationwide» (Keefe, 2004, p. 17).

[21] The National Association of Marketing Teachers (NAMT) was established, in 1933, from the National Association of Teachers of Advertising (NATA), itself established in 1915. Therefore, the American Marketing Association (AMA), was born of the merger between the National Association of Marketing Teachers (NAMT) and the American Marketing Society (AMS), in 1937 (on this, please see *History. 1915-1938 Milestones – American Marketing Association*, <<https://archive.ama.org/Archive/AboutAMA/Pages/1915-1939%20History.aspx>>).

[22] On such issues, it is worth reporting the original definition, itself based on the theory of product classification as it was proposed by Melvyn T. Copeland in 1923: «(Marketing is) the performance of business activities that direct the flow of goods and services from producers to consumers» (*The American Marketing Association Releases New Definition for Marketing*, Chicago, IL, January 14, 2008, p.2,

<<https://archive.ama.org/archive/aboutama/documents/american%20marketing%20association%20releases%20new%20definition%20for%20marketing.pdf>>); Keefe, 2004, p. 17; furthermore, on this, please see Copeland, 1923). It was then indicated that: «Marketing, as it evolved in the early twentieth century, was synonymous with distribution. In 1937, the American Marketing Association (AMA) defined marketing as “business activities involved in the flow of goods and services from production to consumption”. This definition had a strong supply and distribution focus and represented the primary focus of marketing at the time when producing tangible products and taking them to market was the mission critical to most firms in the economy. During the Great Depression, there was scarcity of demand. However, the entry of the United States into World War II changed this, and many goods became rationed as the country’s production and distribution capabilities were directed at supplying the troops» (*American Marketing Association, Marketing’s Evolving Identity: Defining Our Future*, <<https://archive.ama.org/Archive/AboutAMA/Pages/AMA%20Publications/AMA%20Journals/Journal%20of%20Public%20Policy%20Marketing/TOCS/summary%20fall%2007/MarketingsEvolvingjppmf%20all07.aspx>>).

[23] On this, please see Alexander *et al.*, 1960, p. 15. During this period, marketing made another significant leap forward, as it has been highlighted: «By the 1950s, the industrial and distribution sectors of the economy were able to generate enormous supplies of consumer and industrial products. No longer was efficient distribution the primary problem, but a shortage of customers and markets became of

paramount importance. Therefore, organizations became more market and/or customer oriented. Although it is difficult to define the turning point in marketing thought and practice, it is probably best identified with a set of events closely connected in time: John Howard's publication of *Marketing Management: Analysis and Decisions* in 1957, a presentation in that same year at an AMA conference by J.B. McKitterick on the marketing management concept, and E.J. McCarthy's publication of *Basic Marketing: A Management Approach* in 1960. McKitterick perhaps summed up best what this philosophy intended: "The principal task of the marketing function in a management concept is not so much to be skillful in making the customer do what suits the interests of the business as to be skillful in conceiving and then making the business do what suits the interests of the customer"» (*American Marketing Association, Marketing's Evolving Identity: Defining Our Future*, <<https://archive.ama.org/Archive/AboutAMA/Pages/AMA%20Publications/AMA%20Journals/Journal%20of%20Public%20Policy%20Marketing/TOCS/summary%20fall%2007/MarketingsEvolvingjppmfall07.aspx>>).

[24] The original version of the definition, chosen in 1985, goes as follows: «(Marketing is) the process of planning and executing the conception, pricing, promotion, and distribution of ideas, goods and services to create exchanges that satisfy individual and organizational objectives» (*The American Marketing Association Releases New Definition for Marketing*, Chicago, IL, January 14, 2008, p. 2, <<https://archive.ama.org/archive/aboutama/documents/american%20marketing%20association%20releases%20new%20definition%20for%20marketing.pdf>>; Keefe, 2004, p. 17; furthermore, on this, please see Ferrell and Lucas, 1987). As has been noted: «The AMA was a bit slow in revising its definition of marketing and catching up with the trend toward consumer or market orientation. However, in 1985, a half-century after AMA's first officially sanctioned definition, the AMA adopted a new definition of marketing [...]. The new definition signaled that marketing was about organizations "marketing to" customers. For both the 1937 (which expressed a "to market" philosophy) and the 1985 (reflecting a "marketing to" philosophy) definitions, the implicit assumption was that the customer was exogenous» (*American Marketing Association, Marketing's Evolving Identity: Defining Our Future*, <<https://archive.ama.org/Archive/AboutAMA/Pages/AMA%20Publications/AMA%20Journals/Journal%20of%20Public%20Policy%20Marketing/TOCS/summary%20fall%2007/MarketingsEvolvingjppmfall07.aspx>>).

[25] The original version of the text adopted in 2004, goes as follows: «Marketing is an organizational function and a set of processes for creating, communicating and delivering value to customers and for managing customer relationships in ways that benefit the organization and its stakeholders» (*The American Marketing Association Releases New Definition for Marketing*, Chicago, IL, January 14, 2008, pp.1-2, <<https://archive.ama.org/archive/aboutama/documents/american%20marketing%20association%20releases%20new%20definition%20for%20marketing.pdf>>). Furthermore, on this, please see Gundlach, 2007; Ringold and Weitz, 2007; Wilkie and Moore, 2007; Zinkhan and Williams, 2007; See, 2007 (http://www.customerthink.com/blog/definition_marketing); Sheth and Uslay, 2007. As it has been noted: «This definition was an improvement over the 1985 definition because of its focus on value, relationships, and multiple stakeholders. However, it did not go far enough in capturing a "market(ing) with" philosophy, which is increasingly arising in practice and suggests that the customer is endogenous and a partner in the cocreation of value. This philosophy is increasingly being expressed and developed in what has become known as the service-dominant logic of marketing. Under service-dominant logic, customers are active participants that bring needed skills or competences to the exchange process; in this context, they are endogenous to the marketing process. The role of the customer is central because he or she is a cocreator of value. As such, marketing is a process of doing things in interaction with the customer. Value is perceived and determined by the consumer on the basis of "value in use." Consequently, firms cannot add value but only offer value propositions» (*American Marketing Association, Marketing's Evolving Identity: Defining Our Future*, <<https://archive.ama.org/Archive/AboutAMA/Pages/AMA%20Publications/AMA%20Journals/Journal%20of%20Public%20Policy%20Marketing/TOCS/summary%20fall%2007/MarketingsEvolvingjppmfall07.aspx>>). Furthermore, within a general summary, it was reminded that: «Since 1935, the American Marketing Association (AMA) has offered to both practitioners and academics its version of the

definition of marketing. The first official definition of marketing was adopted in 1935 by the National Association of Marketing Teachers, a predecessor of AMA. With only slight revision, this definition was formally adopted by the AMA in 1948 and again in 1960, when the AMA revisited the definition and decided against changing it. This original definition stood for 50 years, until it was revised in 1985. In 2004, the AMA announced a new definition of marketing» (Gundlach, 2007, p. 243). And in the same issue: «The benefits of a definition that reflects modern marketing include an institution and discipline that is more inclusive of institutions, actors, and processes in society that make up and are affected by it; a field of practice and scholarship that more fully recognizes and appreciates differing perspectives and viewpoints about it; and a world that stands to benefit from a view of marketing that possesses greater sensitivity to its role in society and embraces greater responsibility to its inhabitants» (Gundlach, 2007, p. 248).

[26] Trans-national marketing, i.e. the classic marketing model, pursues the essential goal of achieving noteworthy sales volumes through the acquisition of the greatest possible number of customers within the short term. Such a process can be described as the process by means of which any given retailer of seller provides their customers with a specific good. Therefore, in this case, their relationship is limited to the exchanges of good (or services) during any given moment. On the other hand, relationship marketing, initially drafted by Theodore Levitt (1983), Evert Gummesson and Christian Grönroos (2012), belonging to the so-called “Nordic School”, is a new method allowing to highlight and optimize the whole of the relationships between companies and their customers, with an emphasis on *customer service*, as well as on the quality and the frequency of the transactions with consumers, considering a medium or long-term viewpoint. In such cases, the mere relationship between retailers and customers is no longer a focus; rather, there is the creation of a network of *stakeholders*, themselves having a hand in identifying and constructing any given good or service, creating value for both parties (i.e. producer and consumer) in turn. Concerning the shift from trans-national to relationship marketing, the following has been noted: «This is a paradigm shift having an impact both on marketing processes and on the performance-assessing criteria. Considering processes, if, on one hand, trans-national marketing is based on linear and sequential processes (beginning with market analyses, then the customer needs analysis is carried out, followed by market segmentation, the identification of target markets and supply positioning), on the other hand relationship marketing is based on a virtuous cycle, (whose phases range from individuating customers, their insertion into a database, their “profiling” through an analysis of their transactions, followed by the creation of clusters and of customers portfolios based on the worth of any given customer to the company). The changes within the performance-assessing criteria are all the more meaningful: those criteria featured in trans-national marketing, such as *turnover* (i.e. the capacity for sales of any given company), the *market share* (i.e. the skills a company has in assessing its effectivity compared with its market and competitors) and *direct product profitability* (that is the direct ROI of any product whose contribution to company development and growth is under assessment) are replaced, in the case of relationship marketing, by three new indexes, all concerning customers: customers’ value (i.e. the buyback and the expenditure volume any given activity can generate), the customers’ share (that is, the capacity any given enterprise has to increase the penetration of its offering on single clients, by means of cross and up selling operations) and customers’ profitability (i.e. the direct generation of income by customers compared with the costs needed to activate and manage them)» (*Dal paradigma transazionale al paradigma relazionale: marketing e Ict*, <www.assolombarda.it/fs/20041028114836_51.PDF>).

[27] Also, the definition adopted in 2007 may be offered here in its original version: «Marketing is the activity, set of institutions, and processes for creating, communicating, delivering, and exchanging offerings that have value for customers, customers, partners, and society at large» (*The American Marketing Association Releases New Definition for Marketing*, Chicago, IL, January 14, 2008, pp. 1-2, <<https://archive.ama.org/archive/aboutama/documents/american%20marketing%20association%20releases%20new%20definition%20for%20marketing.pdf>>; Alexander *et al.*, 1960). In addition, it is useful to point out a glossary of the definitions of marketing, existing on the Web (on this, please see *Glossary of Marketing Definitions – Section on Management and Marketing*, <<http://archive.ifla.org/VII/s34/pubs/glossary.htm>>). Furthermore, it may be useful to recall the definition of marketing research as it was approved in 2004: «Marketing research is the function that links the consumer, customer, and public to the marketer through information-information used to identify and define marketing opportunities and problems; generate, refine, and evaluate marketing

actions; monitor marketing performance; and improve understanding of marketing as a process. Marketing research specifies the information required to address these issues, designs the method for collecting information, manages and implements the data collection process, analyzes the results, and communicates the findings and their implications» (*About AMA – Definition of Marketing – American Marketing Association*, <<https://www.ama.org/AboutAMA/Pages/Definition-of-Marketing.aspx>>).

[28] As it has been noted concerning this Institute: «We have been representing our members and our industry for nearly 100 years. This rich heritage provides us with a strong base on which to build our future» (*The Chartered Institute of Marketing – Our History*, <<https://www.cim.co.uk/about-cim/our-history/>>; on this, please see *The Chartered Institute of Marketing*, <<https://www.cim.co.uk/>>). Furthermore, between the reasons this institution was established for – initially with the name of The Sales Managers' Association – it may very well be highlighted the push towards promoting, encouraging and coordinating «the study and advancement of sales management in all its branches, both home and overseas», as well as to carry out «investigation and research into the best methods of sales management» and to ensure «the development and improvement of sales management, market research, advertising and the conduct and handling of all sales of commodities, goods and service in the higher interest of the British people» (*The Chartered Institute of Marketing – Our History*, cit.).

[29] The original version of this definition goes as follows: «At CIM, we define marketing as, 'The management process responsible for identifying, anticipating and satisfying customer requirements profitably'» (*The Chartered Institute of Marketing – What is marketing?*, <<https://www.cim.co.uk/qualifications/get-into-marketing/>>).

[30] A new and ambitious work detailing the history of marketing thought was published, edited by Mark Tadajewski and D.G. Brian Jones (2008), with the goal of providing a wide and updated view on the subject. The contents of these three volumes concern several fields through a qualified selection of articles. The first volume is partly dedicated to the development of marketing thought and that part is further subdivided between the theories preceding the 20th Century, including the beginnings of marketing as a discipline and the historical surveys carried out about the spreading of marketing theories and, partly, to the pioneers in marketing thinking. The second volume of the collection follows the path of describing the history of marketing pioneers and then provides a context to the development of marketing thinking. The third volume following its definition of the context, focuses, using a significant number of references, the theme of marketing schools (*The Functions School, The Commodities School, The Institutional Approach, Interregional Trade School, Marketing Management School, Consumer Behavior School, Macromarketing School, Exchange School*). Within the introduction of their first volume, the two editors clarify that: «[...] we want to provide those new to the history of marketing with a brief journey through some of the key influences that have impacted upon the development of the discipline [...]. After all, we are trying to provide an account of how the discipline developed, what connections it might have or could have had with economics, what possibly interesting avenues for research were ignored or forgotten and which areas are less revolutionary than some might claim» (Tadajewski and Jones, 2008, I, p. XIX).

[31] The starting point for the contents of the Fig. 2 is indicated, albeit summarily, on the JMR website: «Some 100 years ago, the concept of marketing was born in the heart of the United States. Dr. Robert Bartels, in his classic and panoramic history of marketing, *The History of Marketing Thought*, pinpoints the period when the word 'marketing' was first used as noun. Previously, the term 'marketing' had been used strictly as a verb to refer to the activity of merchants. But, in a business course at Ohio State University in 1905, we find it being used as a noun to refer to the subject matter of those engaged in a profession. The general public on the other hand, had no clear concept of the justification of marketing as a productive activity or as a contribution to economic production. Rather, most simply regarded the marketer as a middleman that added cost, instead of value. In [Figure 2] here, we have outlined the key events in marketing's history» (*JMR Japan Consumer Marketing Research Institute*, <http://www.jmr-marketing.com/user/478/100_Years_Marketing_japan_consumer_link_history_Mitsukoshi/>).

[32] On this, it may be useful to highlight a website containing many important references to marketing theory and history considering the possibility to download the majority of the reproductions of the original texts, subdivided by topic (please see *MKTG 670: Marketing Theory, Course Readings*, <<http://business.nmsu.edu/~mhyman/m670rd.htm>>).

[33] Concerning relationship marketing, the following has been stated: «Increasingly, a key goal of marketing is to develop deep, enduring relationships with all people or organizations that could directly

or indirectly affect the success of the firm's marketing activities. Relationship marketing has the aim of building mutually satisfying long-term relationships with key parties – customers, suppliers, distributors, and other marketing partners – in order to earn and retain their business. Relationship marketing builds strong economic, technical, and social ties among the parties. Relationship marketing involves cultivating the right kind of relationships with the right constituent groups. Marketing must not only do customer relationship management (CRM), but also partner relationship management (PRM) as well. Four key constituents for marketing are customers, employees, marketing partners (channels, suppliers, distributors, dealers, agencies), and members of the financial community (shareholders, investors, analysts). The ultimate outcome of relationship marketing is the building of a unique company asset called a marketing network. A marketing network consists of the company and its supporting stakeholders (customers, employees, suppliers, distributors, retailers, ad agencies, university scientists, and others) with whom it has built mutually profitable business relationships. Increasingly, competition is not between companies but between marketing networks, with the prize going to the company that has built the better network. The operating principle is simple: Build an effective network of relationships with key stakeholders, and profits will follow. The development of strong relationships requires an understanding of the capabilities and resources of different groups, as well as their needs, goals, and desires. A growing number of today's companies are now shaping separate offers, services, and messages to individual customers. These companies collect information on each customer's past transactions, demographics, psychographics, and media and distribution preferences. They hope to achieve profitable growth through capturing a larger share of each customer's expenditures by building high customer loyalty and focusing on customer lifetime value. The ability of a company to deal with customers one at a time has become practical as a result of advances in factory customization, computers, the Internet, and database marketing software» (Kotler and Keller, 2006, pp. 17-18).

[34] Indeed, it has been noted that: «As it is known, Schmoller (together with the historicist philosophical current led by Wilhelm Dilthey) was against the axiomatic – deductive approach, itself based on the belief in general and universal laws operating in history, contrasting such a viewpoint, concerning social and economic sciences as well, an approach being inductive, ideocratic and multidisciplinary coordinating and juxtaposing the social, psychological and philosophical aspects of economic issues. Certainly, economic life had, according to Schmoller “its own laws”, but these were not the absolutist, universal and determinist ones as stated by the classical authors (and by Karl Marx). Rather, economy had historical and relative laws, depending also on places, historical moments, the cultural and psychological features of specific peoples, as well as on economic mechanisms. In order to find such laws, an accurate series of historical and empirical researches on the establishment of social classes and on their struggles towards a knowledge being free from false abstractions and based on sturdier psychological and cultural foundations was needed. Such knowledge had to be free from places, historical moments, as well as from the cultural and psychological features of peoples, as well as from economic mechanisms. By the same token, this ‘young historical and economic school’ opposed the science-based standardization of positivism, itself a philosophy considering history as a simple list of events, and it was done exactly through the introduction of a reference to the heuristic value of the cultural and psychological features being ingrained in individuals and peoples. Furthermore, it opposed marginalism, an ideology basing its economic theory on the existence of an *homo oeconomicus* created by theorems being completely outside any kind of historical research» (Malandrino, 2006, pp. 8-9).

[35] As Taylor himself noted: «Scientific management fundamentally consists of certain broad general principles, a certain philosophy, which can be applied in many ways, and a description of what any one man or men may believe to be the best mechanism for applying these general principles should in no way be confused with the principles themselves»; and also: «Scientific management, in its essence, consists of a certain philosophy, which results [...] in a combination of the four great underlying principles of management: First. The development of a true science. Second. The scientific selection of the workman. Third. His scientific education and development. Fourth. Intimate friendly cooperation between the management and the men» (Taylor, 1998, p. 20 and p. 102).

[36] Considering only the article by Hollander, Rassuli, Jones and Dix, an amazing 28 different periodizations, all arising from marketing history, from the history of marketing thought and from business history: «This article explores some of the purposes, advantages, problems, and limitations of periodizing marketing history and the history of marketing thought. A sample of twenty-eight well

known periodizations taken from marketing history, the history of marketing thought, and business history is used to illustrate these themes. The article concludes with recommendations about how to periodize historical research in marketing» (Hollander *et al.*, 2005, p. 32).

[37] In this regard, it was noted that: «Traditionally, historical research can be approached in two distinct, but not necessarily incommensurate, ways. The first approach might be to study the history of marketing practice. Second, we could examine the history of marketing thought by focusing on the ideas about marketing related phenomena. This is not to say that marketing practice was not driven by any reflection on what should be done to make marketing more effective. Nor that the history of marketing thought was not influenced by marketing practice. The sheer number of marketing scholars having an active interest in business practice indicates the complex nature of this division» (Tadajewski and Jones, 2008, I, p. XXII).

[38] In the very same page, Stowe elaborated on his definition, noting that: «Two factors suggest that a more complex approach is needed. First, the discipline's well-acknowledged eclectic nature, manifested in its reaching out to the theories, concepts, ideas, and techniques of the other social sciences, resulted in a vast expansion of the thought horizon. Second, the broadening of marketing discussion may be the best evidence of the discipline's own self-adjustment to the recognition of diversity (Kotler and Levy 1969). Increased discussion or controversy over the generic concept, macromarketing, marketing as exchange, and social marketing may represent not only the charting of new directions but also the recognition and careful definition of the conceptual growth of the discipline. The retrospective comments of Levitt on the significance of his "myopia" article (1960) might be taken at face value as indicating such a situation: "*Marketing Myopia* was not [...] a new idea – Peter F. Drucker, J.B. McKitterick, Wroe Alderson, John Howard, and Neil Borden had each done more original and balanced work on 'the marketing concept' [...] My contribution, therefore, appears merely to have been a simple, brief, and useful way of communicating an existing way of thinking" (Levitt 1975, p. 180)».

[39] On this, please see Bartels, *The History of Marketing Thought*, <<http://www.faculty.missouristate.edu/c/ChuckHermans/Bartels.htm>>. Here is available the periodization proposed by the same author: «1900-1910 Period of Discovery. Initial teachers of marketing sought facts about the distributive trades. Theory was borrowed from economics relating to distribution, world trade, and commodity markets. The conception of marketing occurred, and a name was given to it. 1910-1920 Period of Conceptualization. Many marketing concepts were initially developed. Concepts were classified, and terms were defined. 1920-1930 Period of Integration. Principles of marketing were postulated, and the general body of thought was integrated for the first time. 1930-1940 Period of Development. Specialized areas of marketing continued to be developed, hypothetical assumptions were verified and quantified, and some new approaches to the explanation of marketing were undertaken. 1940-1950 Period of Reappraisal. The concept and traditional explanation of marketing was re-appraised in terms of new needs for marketing knowledge. The scientific aspects of the subject were considered. 1950-1960 Period of Reconception. Traditional approaches to the study of marketing were supplemented by increasing emphasis upon managerial decision making, the societal aspects of marketing, and quantitative marketing analysis. Many new concepts, some borrowed from the field of management and from other social sciences, were introduced into marketing. 1960-1970 Period of Differentiation. As marketing thought became expanded, new concepts took on substantial identity as significant components of the total structure of thought. Among them were such elements as managerialism, holism, environmentalism, systems, and internationalism. 1970 Period of Socialization. Social issues and marketing became much more important, as the influence not of society upon marketing, but of marketing upon society became a focus of interest».

[40] The following has been specified in the introduction to this article: «Today's body of marketing thought is expanding geometrically, pushing frontiers in numerous domains – quantitatively, behaviorally, strategically – with much enhanced technology and on an increasingly globalized basis. As this pushes forward on many fronts, however, it is also worthwhile to ask what is in danger of being left behind. What is the benefit, if any, of discerning the roots of this field? On the basis of an extended look across the last century of marketing thought, this article paints a wide-ranging portrait of (1) the general course that has been taken by the body of marketing thought over its "4 Eras" and (2) how the treatment of societal dimensions of marketing has fared during each period. On the basis of these

findings, the authors pose several key issues for further consideration by interested thinkers concerned with the progress of marketing scholarship» (Wilkie and Moore, 2003, p. 116).

[41] As it has been noted: «From the time of the ancient Greeks through the time of the great economists of the 1700s and 1800s (including Smith, Malthus, Jevons, Ricardo, Mill, and Marshall), the concepts of markets, marginal analysis, value, production, humans as social and economic entities, competition, and the role of governments had already been raised and extensively debated [...]. As of the turn of the twentieth century, therefore, the area that would become “marketing” was firmly ensconced within the field of economics» (Wilkie and Moore, 2003, p. 116).

[42] More precisely: «The marketing field began to take on its own distinct identity when professors at a number of universities across the country independently began to develop new courses to examine various aspects of the marketing system, including “distributive and regulative industries” (University of Michigan), “the marketing of products” (University of Pennsylvania), “methods of marketing farm products” (University of Wisconsin), and “mercantile institutions” (New York University)» (Wilkie and Moore, 2003, p. 118).

[43] On this issue, it has been noted that: «Three of these approaches later came to be known as the *commodity approach* (focusing on all marketing actions involved in a particular product category), the *institutional approach* (focusing on describing the operations of a specialized type of marketing agency, such as a wholesaler or a broker), and the *functional approach* (focusing on the purposes served by various marketing activities)» (Wilkie and Moore, 2003, p. 118).

[44] The authors elaborated on the following: «Overall, it is instructive to note that the thought leaders of Era I were quite willing to use economic efficiency criteria to express negative as well as positive judgments about marketing, advertising, and selling performance and potentials. The focus was very much on business: Government appeared not to be a central concern in this literature. In contrast to today, these writers did not much address government’s role as a regulator, but they did maintain an appreciation for its functioning as a facilitator of marketing through such activities as setting grades and standards» (Wilkie and Moore, 2003, p. 118).

[45] Considering this viewpoint: «Consumers’ choices also expanded exponentially with the introduction of newly convenient packaged goods, delivered in new retail formats such as the supermarket (circa 1930). These developments brought new challenges to consumers who were inexperienced in this more complex and technologically sophisticated marketplace [...]. The resurgence of the “Consumer Movement” in the 1920s and 1930s was centered in part on frustrations with prices; the quality of some products; a shortage of product information (and resultant consumer confusion); and increasing use of emotion, image, and even fear appeals in advertising [...]. All of these difficulties were exacerbated by the Great Depression, then wrenched into a different domestic reality by World War II [...], and finally launched into the dawn of an uncertain new world as the postwar period ensued» (Wilkie and Moore, 2003, p. 119).

[46] Indeed, it has been noted that: «The availability of an academic infrastructure (i.e., formal organizations, scheduled conferences, and chronicles of knowledge developments such as newsletters and journals) is virtually a necessary condition for a vibrant body of thought in a field» (Wilkie and Moore, 2003, p. 119). This objective became a reality after the publication, in 1925, of the “Journal of Retailing” and upon the establishment, in 1937, of the American Marketing Association, itself born of the merger of the main associations of the main scholars and economic operators, who gave rise, amongst other things, to the new “Journal of Marketing”.

[47] Considering this point, the following has been highlighted: «Early textbooks served an especially important role in laying down the foundation for the academic field of marketing [...]. It was also during this time that business schools were beginning to develop on a widespread basis, and these types of textbooks represented a significant impetus to a more standardized curriculum development across the nation. Thus, marketing textbooks also facilitated the evolution of this field away from its earlier roots in economics and agriculture and into a more formal treatment of the business system in general. *The primary emphasis in the Era II textbooks was on the development and integration of generally accepted marketing principles.* In addition, the essential presentation was descriptive of prevailing marketing operations. The approaches of these texts were generally similar, which enabled dissemination of a core content about marketing to the college of thinkers in this field [...]. Over time, the functional approach especially gained wide acceptance among marketing thinkers» (Wilkie and Moore, 2003, p. 119 and p. 121).

[48] Furthermore: «Evident in the textbooks and *JM* is a willingness to ask important economic, social, and political questions about marketing's impacts in society. Appraisals of the performance of the marketing system are embedded in the many discussions about the costs of distribution, value of advertising, and pricing policies that appeared. Finally, in an important sense, it appears that marketing thinkers viewed their scholarly and professional roles more broadly than we do today» (Wilkie and Moore, 2003, p. 123).

[49] As it was highlighted by the two authors: «The infrastructure and body of marketing thought likewise expanded geometrically during the 30 years from 1950 to 1980 [...]. For example, the AMA's membership rose from just less than 4000 members in 1950 to nearly 17,000 members in 1980. The annual production of doctorates in business (with marketing receiving its share) rose from about 130 per year at the beginning of Era III to more than 750 per year at its close [...]. Even more striking, however, was the growth in graduate business education during Era III; MBA degrees soared from some 3000 per year to more than 50,000 per year (a 1,561% increase) and helped fuel the demand for university professors to teach these courses» (Wilkie and Moore, 2003, pp. 123-124).

[50] To be precise, the main features of marketing were changing: «A new mainstream was formed during this time, a mainstream that was (1) *steeped in science as the basis for marketing thought development* and (2) *devoted to viewing the field from the perspective of marketing managers in order to help them undertake successful marketing programs*» (Wilkie and Moore, 2003, p. 124).

[51] This phenomenon was rooted in an overall change. Indeed, as it was accurately described: «The world of marketing was now dealing with an exploding mass market. This was driven by pent-up demand from the war years' restrictions on supplies of consumer goods, as well as an explosive growth in population [...]. In addition, marketers faced new opportunities through significant infrastructure developments for distribution [...], new regions experiencing substantial growth, a shift to suburban living [...], and the development of a new communicator, television, and a national audience toward which to advertise each evening during "prime time." Overall, the scope of the real world of marketing in the United States was becoming much larger and much more national in character. This changing world offered huge new opportunities but at the same time demanded significant adaptations, trials, and risks by companies and their marketing managers [...]. The strength of the shift to the managerial perspective in marketing during the early portion of Era III is strikingly evident in the burst of significant new concepts that were introduced during this time. It is startling to realize just how many of these, now almost a half century old, are still prominent in the field today: the marketing concept (John McKitterick 1957); market segmentation as a managerial strategy (Wendell Smith 1956); the marketing mix (Neil Borden 1964); the 4 P's (E. Jerome McCarthy 1960); brand image (Burleigh Gardner and Sidney Levy 1955); marketing management as analysis, planning, and control (Philip Kotler 1967); the hierarchy of effects (Robert Lavidge and Gary Steiner 1961); marketing myopia (Theodore Levitt 1960); and the wheel of retailing (Stanley Hollander 1960; Malcolm McNair 1958)» (Wilkie and Moore, 2003, p. 125).

[52] As it was highlighted: «Management science and behavioral science emerged into the marketing mainstream at roughly the same time. Their progress into the field was assisted by the offering of some mutual support by academics in each area: Although well separated in terms of projects, specialists in the two approaches agreed with each other's beliefs in the scientific method, in underlying disciplines (science and social sciences), and in the body of marketing thought needing to be improved through new forms of knowledge and reliance on advanced empirical research methods. The sciences arrived in stages, slowly during the 1950s (*Management Science* was started in 1954), increasingly during the 1960s, and, as doctoral programs completed their adjustments, in a dominant manner through the 1970s. By the end of Era III, there was no question that the future of the mainstream of marketing thought would be governed by people who had these forms of training and these basic perspectives about the field» (Wilkie and Moore, 2003, pp. 125-126). Furthermore, this effort was also supported by two very important external factors, such as the growth in quantitative instruments experienced by mathematics and statistics in business schools, coupled with the rapid development of computer technology applied to scientific research. Furthermore, at the time, the sector of consumer research arose within marketing, as a response to the new needs of mass markets, especially regarding the planning of new products, to advertising, retail and other essential fields concerning marketing choices.

[53] The analysis carried out by the two authors on this era starts like that: «Era IV, which extends from 1980 to the present, is characterized by a much-changed face of the field, brought about by

adaptations and reactions to the powerful shifts that had captured marketing during Era III. In a sense, it appears that the pressures that had been building on the mainstream of marketing thought finally reached a stress level that demanded relief through the infrastructure, much as an overfull dam might burst so that the pent-up waters can find their new courses and destinations. The new directions taken during Era IV have had far-reaching consequences for both the marketing mainstream and the field's treatment of marketing and society» (Wilkie and Moore, 2003, p. 132).

[54] Indeed: «Thus, in Era IV, the managerial perspective, or the belief that the major purpose for academic work is to enhance the effectiveness of managers' marketing decisions, continues to maintain a preeminent position in the field [...]. Virtually all researchers today have been trained in and bring to their work some mix of behavioral and management science perspectives. In important other respects, though, the field is very different today than it was in 1980» (Wilkie and Moore, 2003, p. 132).

[55] Globalization acted, within the different areas of the world, as a powerful tool for the transformation – and the spreading of marketing –, together with the global spreading of the new IT technologies and networks: «For example, it was during this period that the command economies of many communist nations faltered, then fell, and then began to be replaced with new experiments in market-based systems. Increasing globalization ensued, partially as a result of marketers from Western nations seeking new lands of opportunity and partially from people of those lands seeking to learn more and to apply business methods for successful enterprise. Then, as the Internet opened communication across international boundaries, interest in marketing concepts exploded geometrically» (Wilkie and Moore, 2003, p. 132).

[56] As it has been observed: «On the domestic front, leveraged buyouts and related financial strategies altered the domestic business landscape of the 1980s and 1990s, placing the attainment of short-term profit (and its impact on a firm's stock price) in a new, premier position. This and associated forces had important negative impacts on marketing's role within corporations, causing that role to shrink, shift, and synthesize with previously distinct functional domains» (Wilkie and Moore, 2003, p. 132).

[57] It actually happened that: «On related fronts, scientific advances had brought more complex concepts and methodologies into the marketing field. Growth in business school enrollment continued, particularly in MBA programs and on a global scale, and led to strong demands for new marketing faculty members. Furthermore, an increasing number of universities adopted "publish-or-perish" career paths for their new faculty, which added pressures for increasingly sophisticated research training in doctoral programs. Thus, three powerful forces were bearing on the academic infrastructure to create Era IV: (1) a growing globalization of business education and application, bringing new thinkers from around the world into the marketing field; (2) a substantial need for more opportunities for research contributions to be communicated to interested peers; and (3) a substantial and increasing need to allow for sophisticated perspectives and language as the frontiers of marketing thought were being explored» (Wilkie and Moore, 2003, p. 133).

[58] As it has been underlined: «It is clear that the evolution to research specialties has been deliberate, but it is not clear that a fragmentation of the marketing field was also desired. However, it does appear that this has been a result. *Notice that it is difficult today for a person who wishes to monitor the developments in marketing to stay current with the sheer volume of articles being published*» (Wilkie and Moore, 2003, p. 135). However, five sections of this fragmentation of marketing theory have been identified: *core marketing, consumer behavior, managerial marketing, marketing applications* and *marketing education* (Wilkie and Moore, 2003, p. 135).

[59] According to Kotler and Keller: «The marketing concept holds that the key to achieving organizational goals consists of the company being more effective than competitors in creating, delivering, and communicating superior customer value to its chosen target markets» (Kotler and Keller, 2006, p. 16).

[60] Furthermore, these two scholars have explained the meaning of each of the four components of holistic marketing further: «Relationship marketing aims to build mutually satisfying longterm relationships with key constituents in order to earn and retain their business [...]. Marketers must create prosperity among all these constituents and balance the returns to all key stakeholders [...]. Integrated marketing occurs when the marketer devises activities and programs to create, communicate, and deliver value for consumer such that "the whole is greater than the sum of its parts." [...]. Internal marketing [...] is the task of hiring, training, and motivating able employees who want to serve customers well. Smart marketers recognize that marketing activities within the firm can be as important as, or even more

important than, those directed outside the company [...]. Performance marketing requires understanding the financial and nonfinancial returns to business and society from marketing activities and programs [...], top marketers are increasingly going beyond sales revenue to interpret what is happening to market share, customer loss rate, customer satisfaction, product quality, and other measures. They are also considering the legal, ethical, social, and environmental effects of marketing activities and programs» (Kotler and Keller, 2007, pp. 35-36).

[61] These two authors completed their reasoning as follows: «The societal marketing concept calls upon marketers to build social and ethical considerations into their marketing practices. They must balance and juggle the often-conflicting criteria of company profits, consumer want satisfaction, and public interest» (Kotler and Keller, 2006, p. 22).

[62] These are some of the fields the so-called “nonconventional marketing” is active in; these fields are the new frontier of this discipline. Tribal marketing highlights the shift in focus from the consumer, considered as a single reference, to groups as tribes, themselves a cornerstone element of marketing strategies. Geomarketing is a method focusing on territorial studies, moving towards an accurate examination of local markets, considered as a research field. Network marketing tends towards strengthening the connections between markets and customers, making the most of the widest and more diverse interaction mechanisms made available by online networks. Experience-based marketing revolves more around the emotional experience connected with the consumption more than on the actual product value. Chrono-marketing focuses on time analysis and management, in order to understand consumers’ needs. Sensory marketing is based on spreading and using sensorial stimuli within shops and the like in order to favor purchases. Knowledge marketing considers customers as active protagonists, while companies focus their attention on the knowledge of final consumers. Ethical marketing revolves around the juxtaposition of economic principles and of ethical goals having an overall usefulness in defining company strategies. Viral marketing is the ensemble of techniques and procedures – extensively used by social networks – used to spread and circulate the knowledge of any given brand, product or service, multiplying its impact, using a reproductive process akin to that of a propagating virus.

[63] According to the curators of the work on *The History of Marketing Thought*: «Certainly, while the status of the history of marketing thought as a research area waxes and wanes like that of any research specialty, the interest in historical research does beg the question: why has it become more popular recently and connected with this, what is the value of historical research in marketing. In other words, why *should* marketing scholars examine the history of their discipline? Perhaps the first and most obvious response to this question might be that those who do not know the history of their discipline are likely to repeat it, mistakes and wrong turns included. As Mark Twain recognized, history does not strictly speaking repeat itself. We do not live in some groundhog-day cycle of endless repetition. History might not necessarily repeat itself but sometimes, said Twain, it might rhyme [...]. It might, in other words, be able to shed some light on our present situation and offer us some limited guidance about how to proceed. More prosaically, if scholars do not know the history of their discipline then they are likely to misrepresent the issues that they purport to possess expertise in. In equal measure, an understanding of marketing history can go some way in helping scholars to avoid reinventing conceptual, theoretical and methodological ‘wheels’, so to speak [...]. Certainly, not knowing our history is indicative of a failure to learn from Isaac Newton’s famous dictum, based on an aphorism by Bernard of Chartres, that each generation essentially needs to stand on the shoulders of those who have preceded them in order to see further» (Tadajewski and Jones, 2008, I, p. XX). Such an indication is particularly noteworthy for the situation in Italy as marketing studies risk painting themselves in a tight corner, focusing on models and operativity, without using the whole of their strength – as it has been proven by the significant evolution this discipline experienced during a century – itself represented by the capacity of creating (and enabling) very effective methods, concepts and theories, themselves able to adapt themselves to every angle of contemporary economy and societies, as well as to provide adequate answers when facing the main issues of the crisis and the need to recover a global path to development, as well as in both the national and territorial dimensions.

[64] Upon the end of this paper, Scott reached a meaningful conclusion, quoting Sheth and Sisodia: «As it has been acutely noted by two scholars of marketing theory and practice, J.N. Sheth and R. Sisodia, “The *raison d’être* for marketing is indeed a noble one: only marketing can harmonize the interests of both enterprises and their customers (and, by extension, of society as a whole). Marketing can have a civilizing influence over the brute force of capitalism [...] One should never underestimate the power market and marketing forces have to shape practically every aspect of attitudes, culture and society. If

employed wisely and considering its limits, marketing can effectively develop and focus the significant energies free-market systems possess, in order to achieve good results for consumers, companies and with society as a whole. Whenever it is used without the needed awareness and knowledge, marketing can achieve the opposite effects instead". Therefore, the main effort marketing professionals should busy themselves should concern the development of a vision having its focus on the interest of society, in full awareness of the fact that marketing tools and principles could provide a vital contribution towards promoting such interests» (Scott, 2005, p. 6).

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