

Scholarly Research in Marketing: Exploring the “4 Eras” of Thought Development

William L. Wilkie and Elizabeth S. Moore

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.

[Note to readers: This article is the second report from an extended, multiyear project in which we have been attempting to explore the nature and scope of our academic field of marketing. The initial article, “Marketing’s Contributions to Society,” appeared in the millennium Special Issue of the Journal of Marketing (1999). We originally conceived of the historical analysis presented here as serving as a useful background for that article, but it quickly spiraled far beyond the bounds of a mere section there. We therefore set it aside until that article was completed and then returned to this topic with alacrity. Several years later, we are pleased with the education we have received throughout this process. However, this very education has also caused us to become increasingly puzzled by certain aspects of our modern academic condition in the marketing field. For example, it is clear that our field has been benefiting from increasing research specializations. However, this powerful force has apparently not been accompanied by public discourse within the community of scholars as to whether we are headed toward a point wherein a central coherence for the field of marketing is being lost. Although we do not discuss it much directly in this article, we view this as an important latent dimension for future consideration on a broad scale. More pointedly for this article, there is little question that some higher levels of marketing analysis, such as those reflecting larger views of the aggregate marketing system, have been recently disappearing from the priority perspectives of most modern marketing researchers. Thus, the primary goal for this article is to address a broad range of thoughtful people in the field with a piece that will engage interest and stimulate further thought about the scope of the field and its undertakings. It is not written with the didactic intent of advising readers what should be done, but it is meant to stimulate contemplation and discussion about the more valuable options for progressing. Thank you for your attention to it.]

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

WILLIAM L. WILKIE is the Aloysius and Eleanor Nathe Professor of Marketing, and ELIZABETH S. MOORE is Associate Professor of Marketing, University of Notre Dame. The authors thank the following people for their provision of significant background insights and information: Stephen Greyser, Thomas Klein, Daniel LeClair, Angela Lyzinski, Robert Nason, and Ross Rizley. The authors also express their appreciation for the significant editorial improvements suggested by the three anonymous *JPP&M* reviewers.

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.

Rather than a steady, cumulative advance of a unified body of marketing thought, the past century has experienced periodic shifts in dominance of prevailing modes of thinking. Table 1 outlines what we consider the “4 Eras of Marketing Thought” since the field’s formal beginnings.¹ As we will discuss, distinct issues and approaches affected mainstream marketing thinking during these times and very much affected interest in and treatment of marketing’s relationship to its society.

Table 1’s first row, “Pre-Marketing,” is included to acknowledge that considerable thought about marketing-related phenomena was available prior to the formal beginnings of this field of study. 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 (e.g., Dixon 2002; Shaw 1995). As of the turn of the twentieth century, therefore, the area that would become “marketing” was firmly ensconced within the field of economics.

¹Table 1’s four time periods, era names, and descriptions represent our conclusions based on the study of many primary books and articles published over the years. Of special note, however, is that in the early stages of the project, we obtained considerable guidance from Robert Bartels’s (1988) *The History of Marketing Thought*.

Table 1. 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.

Meanwhile, business was changing the day-to-day life of society by investing in basic industries that fueled the growth of the United States. Key issues were presenting themselves through the sheer energy and size of productivity gains brought by the Industrial Revolution (e.g., the 20 years from 1880 to 1900 alone brought the invention of electricity, aluminum, the steam engine, automobile, telephone, phonograph, rechargeable battery, tractor, cellulose film, and various types of electric motors; Desmond 1986). During this time, societal issues were of considerable importance, as economists had long viewed the development of public policy as a central focus of their endeavor. For example, some “robber barons” found that they could amass even greater profits by using questionable business methods. These included illegally gaining control of land and raw materials, ridding themselves of competitors (by creating giant trusts or employing predatory practices), using low wages and dangerous work conditions to lower production costs, and choosing in other ways to place their avarice ahead of others’ interests. The larger question of *laissez-faire* versus government oversight of business was increasingly raised as a social and economic issue, leading to landmark legislation that provided foundations for a government regulatory system for business, such as the Sherman Antitrust Act in 1890. *However, it is important to note that the thinkers of this booming time of market growth clearly viewed government as a balance of competing interests, that is, as both a facilitator and a restrainer of business* (e.g., Dickson and Wells 2001). Thus, in addition to restrictive legislation, considerable efforts were devoted to the ways governments could properly *assist* businesses to invest and to grow (as through railroad lands, trading treaties, mineral and water rights, patent protections, and so forth).

The remainder of this article deals with the formal body of thought from the time the academic field of marketing began. As our exploration deepened, it became increasingly clear that marketing thought has been simultaneously responsive to the exigencies of its times, yet also highly volitional in terms of the topics and approaches chosen for development. Thus, for each era in this article, we will discuss how knowledge development reflected (1) the impact of external societal events and (2) the orientations and preferences of that era’s prevailing marketing thought leaders. We address the “4 Eras” in chronological order. Within each, we first explain why it is significantly distinguishable with respect to marketing thought in general, and then we specifically review how broader societal issues were treated during that time.

Era I: “Founding the Field of Marketing” (1900–1920)

General Characteristics of the Period

As indicated in Table 1, 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.

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) (Bartels 1951b, 1988). Substantively, these courses reflected the realities of their time and place (e.g., agriculture was extremely important in those times, and significant attention was paid to distribution of farm products, so it is no happenstance that Big Ten universities have long been leading contributors to marketing scholarship).

As the period progressed, especially during the second half of Era I (from 1910 to 1920), articles in economics journals and freestanding books helped the fledgling field of marketing begin to create distinct conceptual approaches to knowledge development (Bussiere 2000; Savitt 1990). 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).

Era I's Attention to Marketing and Society Issues

Before turning to details, it may be helpful to briefly indicate that “marketing and society” is broadly conceived here in terms of an Aggregate Marketing System: a huge, powerful, yet intricate complex operating to serve the needs of its host society (Wilkie and Moore 1999). The Aggregate Marketing System is recognized as different in each society, as an adaptive human and technological institution reflecting the idiosyncrasies of the people and their culture, geography, economic opportunities and constraints, and sociopolitical decisions. The three primary sets of actors within the system are (1) consumers, (2) marketers, and (3) government entities, whose public policy decisions are meant to facilitate the maximal operations of the system for the benefit of the host society.² How has the academic field of marketing dealt with this larger system? As we noted, our coverage in this article spans roughly a century of knowledge

²As we will discuss at the end of this article, different combinations of system actors and levels of aggregation afford numerous research areas under the umbrella of marketing and society. For example, focus on consumers might lead to consumer interest research, whereas focus on consumer/government might lead to consumer protection research. Attention to marketer/government could lead to antitrust research, and marketer/marketer could lead to research dealing with judicial challenges; moving to not-for-profit venues could lead to social marketing, whereas a focus on individual or firm behavior could involve marketing ethics; and so forth. Our focus at this point is primarily on *perspective* rather than specific topics: We employ the marketing and society rubric to suggest any of these areas.

development, placing an appropriate context on how broader issues involving marketing have been viewed during various times.

During Era I, the societal domain was an implicit issue in the body of marketing thought. As we noted previously, focus was strongly on the distribution sector, with stress directed at explicating the economic rationales for the development of these enhanced and more complex systems evolving in the society of the time. In a real sense, reflecting scholars' disciplinary training in economics, a strong emphasis was on understanding markets and their operation. In contrast to today's focus on managerial decision making, these approaches were more abstract and clearly encompassed societal concerns, as Shaw (1912, pp. 708, 706, and 737, respectively) demonstrates in the following:

- (1) “The accepted system of distribution was built up on the satisfying of staple needs ... this sort of activity has ... contributed to the progress of civilization”;
- (2) “Society can no more afford an ill-adjusted system of distribution than it can inefficient and wasteful methods of production”;
- and (3) “The middleman is a social necessity.”

The stress on economic efficiency stimulated exploration of the roles being played by marketers and the government. For example, the passage of the Clayton Act and creation of the Federal Trade Commission, both in 1914, reflected serious societal concern with pricing and other competitive behaviors within the growing capitalist economy (e.g., Murphy and Wilkie 1990). In addition, contributing to the development of theory in this domain, the concept of marketers as specialists was advanced to explain efficient performance of necessary tasks within the distribution system (e.g., Weld 1915, 1916).

As befits the unstructured beginnings of a field of study, different writers employed different frameworks to address this area (Hollander, Keep, and Dickinson 1999). Shaw (1912), for example, included both personal selling and advertising as topics within distribution, Weld (1915) continued to include marketing under the production function, and Butler (1914) concentrated attention on advertising and selling as distinct activities in themselves. Cherington (1920), writing at the end of this period, added an important basis for future thought by asking whether marketing performance (and thus societal welfare) might be enhanced by focusing on the underlying functions that marketing activities serve.

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 (see, e.g., Weld 1916). Era I's literature was also willing to raise and address larger questions, such as the following:

- Are there too many middlemen? Does distribution cost too much?
- Does advertising raise or lower prices?
- What control, if any, should be exerted over new combinations in distribution?

- Of the total costs paid by consumers, which elements are desirable? Indispensable?
- What about “nonessential” services such as credit availability; should these be eliminated?

In the absence of elaborate theory, data, or structure, the authors then attempted to provide nonempirical but relatively objective answers about these social issues that reflected their evolving marketing system.

Era II: “Formalizing the Field” (1920–1950)

General Characteristics of the Period

At the start of Era II, in 1920, marketing was an ill-formed, nascent field. By 1950, at the end Era II, it was a flourishing, vibrant academic field. Some of the major characteristics of this important time in marketing are chronicled in Table 2. The rapid development of the field during this period actually accompanied (and reflected) several profound societal changes (indicated in the left-hand column of Table 2). In only 30 short years, the United States moved through boom and prosperity in the 1920s, to the Great Depression of the 1930s, to the cataclysmic World War II, and to the postwar period of the 1940s. In many respects, this was a remarkable time in U.S. history.

A key characteristic of the marketing system is that it is embedded within the day-to-day life of the society (e.g., Wilkie and Moore 1999). As the world shifted and evolved in Era II, so did the marketing system. Mass production capabilities required more complex and varied distribution systems and a more sophisticated understanding of tools to influence mass consumer demand. Technological developments led to the introduction of a vast array of new products. For example, as electricity was brought into U.S. homes (53% of homes by 1925 from only 8% in 1908), innovations such as the electric iron, washing machine, refrigerator, and vacuum cleaner eased the lives of the average consumer (Cross 2000; Lebergott 1993). 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 (Mayer 1989). 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 (Allen 1952; Cross 2000). All of these difficulties were exacerbated by the Great Depression, then wrenched into a different domestic reality by World War II (for interesting reports on consumer contexts, see Cohen 2003; Hill, Hirschman, and Bauman 1997; Witkowski 1998), and finally launched into the dawn of an uncertain new world as the postwar period ensued.

The middle column of Table 2 reflects that the vast opportunities and difficult challenges of the time called for the academic field of marketing to become a formalized area of study. Two significant developments in this regard were (1) the creation of a formal infrastructure for the develop-

ment of marketing knowledge and (2) the integration of substantive content into a coherent and generally agreed-on view of the field, reflecting “Principles of Marketing.”

The Development of Marketing’s Infrastructure

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. Until the early 1920s, the American Economic Association’s conference had served as a setting for a small number of marketing people to meet for discussion, and the association’s journal had served to convey the small number of formal articles in the fledgling field (Bussiere 2000). Then, in 1925, *Journal of Retailing* was launched at New York University. It was published on a quarterly basis and contained primarily short articles (one to five pages) aimed at understanding the management of retail functions and processes (e.g., Mensch’s 1925 article “The Merchandise Division: Why It Exists, and Its Job,” Straus’s 1926 article “Some Observations on Merchandise Control”). Thus, for the retail sector of the field, a valuable communications vehicle had become available.

Meanwhile, in 1924, the National Association of Teachers of Marketing and Advertising was formed, and in 1930 the American Marketing Society, which represented the interests of practitioners, came into being. This society began *American Marketing Journal* in 1934, which was changed in 1935 to *National Marketing Review*. In 1936 and 1937, the teaching and practitioner associations merged to form the American Marketing Association (AMA), and the new group’s publication was renamed *Journal of Marketing (JM)*, which continues today with the explicit mission of communicating across the broad range of marketing activities (Bartels 1988; Kerin 1996).

The value of the AMA’s infrastructure became quickly apparent as marketing thinkers began to convey their thoughts and opinions more readily and as others read, considered, learned, and responded. In the first decade alone, *JM* published some 500 articles (Kerin 1996). In some significant ways, however, the early journal was very different from that of today. First, a much wider range of contributors was evident in these early years: Marketing academics were in the minority (contributing approximately 40% of the articles in Volumes 1–10) and were joined by business practitioners (45%) and government officials (15%) to advance thought about marketing (Appelbaum 1947). Second, these articles were brief (about five pages), nine of ten were single authored, and commentaries and debates were a common feature (a section titled “Notes and Communications” was added in Volume 5 to provide this forum). Finally, proceedings of AMA conferences were also published in early issues of *JM*, though this ceased in the 1940s in support of war-related resource conservation efforts. Thus, conference sessions afforded opportunities for discussion that could then be disseminated to a much larger audience through the journal.

Establishing a Foundation for the Field

Early textbooks served an especially important role in laying down the foundation for the academic field of marketing (e.g., Clark 1922; Converse 1924; Ivey 1922; Maynard,

Table 2. Era II: Formalizing the Field, 1920–1950

General Features of the Period (in the United States)	Academic Thought in Marketing	Treatment of Societal Domain in Marketing (Roughly Across Time)
<p>Across Era II: Enormous Growth but Social and Economic Upheaval</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Early era: mass production expands (e.g., from 1922 to 1929 there is 34% growth in output in agriculture, manufacturing, and construction). • Sharp income rise in the Roaring Twenties. • Burst of innovative technologies appear (e.g., some based on electricity). • Major products diffuse in society and reach average consumers (e.g., the number of autos registered rises from less than 2.5 million in 1915 to more than 26.5 million by 1930). • New media landscape changes news and entertainment (e.g., commercial radio broadcasts begin in 1920). • Expansion of new retail forms (e.g., first supermarkets appear in 1930). • Great Depression begins in 1929, economy slows sharply, and incomes and wealth decline across society. • Consumer movement reappears in 1920s; gains strength in 1930s. • Key books on consumer problems appear and serve as catalysts for protest (e.g., <i>100,000 Guinea Pigs</i>). • Consumers' Union forms in 1936. • Tremendous growth in size, power, and complexity of federal government under New Deal and then during World War II. • Key business/consumer laws passed (e.g., <i>Robinson-Patman Act</i>; <i>Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act</i>; <i>Wheeler-Lea Amendment</i>). • Onset of World War II alters economic priorities (e.g., leads to diversion of production, price controls, and rationing of some products from 1941 to 1945). • Postwar return of soldiers unleashes a new world for marketing (e.g., pent-up consumer demand fuels new mass market, baby boom begins). 	<p>Academic Organization (Growth in Formation of Colleges of Business and Departments of Marketing)</p> <p>1924: Formation of National Association of Teachers of Marketing and Advertising.</p> <p>1930: American Marketing Society (focus on practitioners) forms.</p> <p>1937: Two groups merge to form the AMA, which provides bases for sharing marketing thought.</p> <p>Academic Journals and Proceedings</p> <p>1925: <i>Journal of Retailing</i> begins at New York University.</p> <p>1936: • <i>Journal of Marketing</i> debut: <i>JM</i> becomes center for advancing marketing thought.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Early <i>JM</i> contributors are quite diverse (39% academics, 46% business, and 15% government). • <i>JM</i> serves as forum for communication: encourages commentaries on prior articles ("Notes and Comments" begins in Volume 5). • Considerable coordination of AMA conferences and <i>JM</i> (proceedings published in <i>JM</i>: 41% of <i>JM</i> articles had been originally presented at AMA conferences). <p>Substantive Content and Orientation</p> <p>For first half of Era II (until <i>JM</i>), marketing textbooks serve as the primary repositories of academic marketing knowledge (e.g., successful textbooks run through numerous editions, preserving main lines of thought).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Primary orientation of textbooks of Era II is descriptive of marketing operations and grounded in economic theory. • Notable aims of textbooks of Era II are the development and integration of generally accepted marketing principles. • Three approaches dominate Era II: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> –Functional –Commodity –Institutional • At end of Era II, there is an emerging interest toward theorizing: systems and scientific approach. 	<p>Continued General Emphasis on the Economic Efficiency of Marketing</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Costs of distribution • Economics of advertising • Pricing policies <p>Laws on Pricing Practices a Major Focus</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Impacts of Robinson-Patman Act • Fair Trade and Unfair Practices Act • Analysis of specific state laws • Taxation (especially chain stores) <p>Special Attention to Agricultural Marketing</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Grade labeling, pricing issues, regulation of supply, cooperative marketing <p>Exploring Government's Role in the System</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As a protector of certain sectors • Marketing appraisals of New Deal legislation • Regulatory agencies (especially FTC and FDA) • Key areas: competition, pricing, false advertising <p>Questioning of Particular Marketing Activities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advertising appeals (e.g., fear, style, image) • Aggressive salesmanship <p>Representation of the Consumer Interest</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Key areas of concern: product quality, standardization, and lack of objective information • Impacts of the consumer movement • Roles for government and business in system <p>Marketing's Role in a National Emergency</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Industrial mobilization and production • Supply rationing to retailers and consumers • Marketing of national policies (propaganda) • Analysis of wartime impacts on markets <p>Emergence of Foreign Nation Focus</p> <p>Postwar Planning</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Marketing's role in national economic planning, community betterment, and business • Industrial and regional planning • Price controls in postwar economy • Retail arrangements • Allocation of surplus goods <p>Analysis of Economic Indicators</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Size and scope of postwar markets • Marketing and employment • Consumer savings (and dis-savings)

Weidler, and Beckman 1927; Phillips 1938). During Era II, the mainstream textbooks in effect represented much of the mainstream body of academic thought, because marketing journals did not yet exist in numbers. In addition, their reach and influence could extend over many years, as the major texts were published in multiple editions, providing a continuity of perspective across the era.³ 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. A reasonable understanding of typical content is available in Table 3, which illustrates chapter contents of Clark's 1922 text. Notice how reflections of the commodity, institutional, and functional approaches are each present in this listing: Some degree of integration across approaches was a common feature in these early works. Over time, the functional approach especially gained wide acceptance among marketing thinkers. It was valued as a means of defining and rationalizing the field of marketing and its numerous activities and for its usefulness in analyzing marketing problems (Fullbrook 1940). Many functions were identified, falling under three general categories: (1) physically supplying the market, (2) creating opportunities for exchange, and (3) auxiliary or facilitating functions.⁴ Grounded in economic theory, functional analysis also extended interest in the efficiency with which the functions were being performed.

As Era II was ending, academic books and journal articles began to seriously address a new topic: What could the role of theory and science be for this field? Leading figures such as Paul Converse (author of the 1945 article "The Development of the Science of Marketing"), Wroe Alderson and Reavis Cox (authors of the 1948 article "Towards a Theory of Marketing" and editors of the 1950 work *Theory in Marketing*), and, dated slightly beyond our boundary, Robert Bartels (author of the 1951 article "Can Marketing Be a Science?") began to explore new parameters for the body of thought. This development presaged a major shift in the future.

Era II's Attention to Marketing and Society

As illustrated in the third column of Table 2, marketing and society topics were quite prominent between 1920 and 1950.

³For our analysis, we consulted 20 different textbooks from Era II, some mainstream and some not, according to Bartels's (1988) work. This analysis revealed the continuity in thought presented through multiple editions. For example, the original Maynard, Beckman, and Weidler (1927) text was in its fifth edition as Era II came to a close (with some changes in authorship over the years), and a sixth edition was soon to follow.

⁴Although the functional approach achieved wide currency among marketing thinkers in Era II, lists of functions varied across authors. For further discussion, see Hunt and Goolsby (1988).

Table 3. Illustrative Era II Textbook: Substantive Content

Chapter	Contents
I.	Introduction
II.	The Marketing Functions
III.	Marketing Farm Products
IV.	The Wholesaling of Farm Products
V.	Middleman of the Agricultural Wholesale Market
VI.	Marketing Raw Materials
VII.	Marketing Manufactured Products
VIII.	Wholesale Middleman of the Manufacturer's Market: The Jobber
IX.	Wholesale Middleman of the Manufacturer's Market (continued)
X.	Direct Marketing of Manufactured Products
XI.	Retail Distribution
XII.	Large Scale Retailing
XIII.	Distributive Cooperation
XIV.	The Elimination of Middlemen
XV.	Physical Distribution
XVI.	Market Finance
XVII.	Market Risk
XVIII.	Market News
XIX.	Standardization
XX.	Competition and Prices
XXI.	Market Price
XXII.	Price Maintenance & Unfair Competition
XXIII.	The Relation of the State to Marketing
XXIV.	The Elements of Marketing Efficiency
XXV.	The Cost of Marketing
XXVI.	Final Criticism

Notes: From Clark (1922). Text chapters that are particularly relevant to the commodity approach are 3–10; the institutional approach, 4, 5, 8–14; and the functional approach, 2, 11, 15–19.

In contrast to today, marketing was frequently examined as a social instrument, as is evident in Breyer's (1934, p. 192) work:

[M]arketing is not primarily a means for garnering profits for individuals. It is, in the larger, more vital sense, an economic instrument used to accomplish indispensable social ends.... A marketing system designed solely for its social effectiveness would move goods with a minimum of time and effort to deficit points. In doing so, it would also provide a fair compensation, and no more, for the efforts of those engaged in the activity. At the same time it would provide the incentive needed to stimulate constant improvements in its methods. These are the prime requisites of social effectiveness.

This orientation was evident in both textbooks and *JM*. As we would expect, however, the coverage of specific topics differed between these two sources.

Textbooks' Treatment of Marketing and Society

For this section, we consulted a wide range of Era II textbooks. Substantial variability in explicit attention to marketing and society was evident, from as few as 2 chapters, or 10%, in Converse's (1924) work to as many as 13 chapters, representing almost 50% of text content in Breyer's (1934) text.

Societal issues of general interest. Three of the most common issues presented in most textbooks of Era II are pricing practices, costs of distribution, and value of advertising. In

particular, resale price maintenance (fair trade legislation) was much debated: Should a manufacturer have the right to determine the minimum price at which a branded or trade-marked item can be resold by a wholesaler or retailer? Controversy over price maintenance was intense early on in Era II, stimulated by the price-cutting policies brought about by the rise of large, powerful retail chains. The movement to exert control at the federal level gained support during the Great Depression, which began in 1929, and achieved (at least short-term) success in 1937 with the passage of the Miller-Tydings Act.⁵ The pro arguments reflected desires to protect small businesses and advanced arguments that price cutting (1) can reduce a brand's value in the eyes of consumers; (2) can interfere with proper distribution (if, over time, retailers are unwilling to carry certain price-cut brands); and (3) can pressure manufacturers to reduce product quality, much to the detriment of the consumer. The con arguments reflected beliefs that price maintenance legislation would (1) effectively eliminate price competition, resulting in higher prices, fewer options, and reduced consumer welfare, and (2) discriminate against some classes of resellers (e.g., chain stores, mail order houses) and impair competition. Later, with passage of the Robinson-Patman Act in 1936, textbooks began to discuss the merits of prohibiting price discrimination (the legality of price discounts based on quantity or class of trade). Thus, students of marketing were learning about the larger issues of the day, here the impacts of pricing practices on competition, market efficiency, and public welfare.

Significant attention during Era II was also given to widespread marketing criticisms. Advertising and channel members were particularly singled out: Two long-standing controversial topics involved the "economic value of advertising" (e.g., Moriarity 1923; Phillips 1938; Vaughan 1928) and the question, Does distribution cost too much? (e.g., Converse 1924; Maynard, Weidler, and Beckman 1927). This question was stimulated by the importance of the agricultural sector and the recognition that farmers were receiving only a low proportion of the final prices paid by consumers for their food products. The geographic location of many marketing thought leaders in Midwestern universities was no accident: Distribution system cost and performance for the agricultural sector was a real and controversial issue, as were the prices charged to consumers for the food processed by this system (in contrast to a prevailing view in our field today, manufacturers at this time were not the focus of the system but were instead considered part of the distribution system that processed the food supplied by the farm sectors).

Additional issues of interest in textbooks of the time. Beyond these three foundational issues, coverage varied as a function of each author's interests and background. For example, Era II brought a tremendous growth in the size, complexity, and authority of the federal government, and it was common to find discussion of the government's role in the marketing system in textbooks (e.g., Clark 1922; Duddy and Revzan 1947; Phillips 1938; Vaughan 1928). Substantively, although the authors might be critical of potential encroachments on

marketer freedoms, recognition of the government's role as a protector of certain sectors (e.g., farmers, small retailers) was also apparent. Appraisals of marketing's performance in relation to specific legislative issues were also provided, as in Breyer's (1934) examination of marketing's social effectiveness in light of New Deal legislation enacted during the depths of the Great Depression years. Some textbook authors would also question specific marketing practices, such as the increasing use of fear and other image appeals in advertising. Misrepresentations of various forms (e.g., product origin, content, workmanship), aggressive salesmanship, and actions that might impede competition were also raised for critical appraisal (e.g., Duddy and Revzan 1947; Maynard, Weidler, and Beckman 1927; Vaughan 1928; White 1927). Needs for greater consumer protections within the marketing system were also acknowledged in some texts (e.g., Alexander et al. 1940; Phillips 1938). Particular concerns centered on cases of questionable product quality, insufficient standards, and a shortage of objective product information to aid consumer decision making.

JM's Treatment of Marketing and Society

Although *Journal of Retailing* had been serving its constituency since 1925, from its start in 1936, *JM* played a crucial role in marketing's emergence as an academic field. This was also true for the area of marketing and society. The larger events of the times (the economic depression of the 1930s and World War II in the early 1940s) sparked special interest in exigencies of the marketing and society relationship, and the early years of *JM* were replete with articles on these issues. Although *JM* was only available for about half of this era (1936–1950), 146 articles and commentaries related to marketing and society appeared during this time.⁶ Many of these examined marketing issues in the light of unfolding world events; thus, attention to particular topics shifted across time.

At the journal's start, in the late 1930s, the proper role of the government's trying to protect both competition and competitors was among the most frequently discussed topics. As was noted about textbooks, within the context of the economic pressures of the Great Depression, chain stores had exploded into rapid growth, offering consumers sharply reduced prices from those that could be charged by existing independent small retailers. In the first several years of the journal, by the end of 1939, some 30 articles and commentaries had appeared in *JM* on pricing issues. These especially addressed the wisdom and drawbacks of the two key governmental responses mentioned previously: fair trade laws and the Robinson-Patman Act (e.g., Engle 1936; Grether 1937). The journal appeared to welcome commentary on controversial issues, and occasional criticisms of prevailing practices appeared (e.g., Montgomery 1937). Other areas of significant interest in *JM* during this time included agricultural grade labeling, price stabilization policies, taxation, and developments in government's anti-

⁵With the passage of the Consumer Goods Pricing Act in 1975, the Miller-Tydings Act and related federal legislation (i.e., McGuire Act of 1952) were effectively repealed (Stern and Eovaldi 1984).

⁶This total is based on listings in *JM's* cumulative index for Volumes 1–15 under the subject headings "Government Issues," "Social Marketing," and "Social, Political, and Economic Issues." However, we should note that this is a conservative number because these listings tended not to include the many articles devoted to the role of marketing in a national emergency, specifics on the war effort, or postwar planning and analysis.

trust regulation (e.g., Bain 1941; Buehler 1937; Holt 1936; McHenry 1937).

Because the Great Depression was a time of social and political upheaval among consumers, numerous articles discussed issues in this realm, including efforts to create consumer cooperatives, and controversies about advertising and pricing practices (e.g., Cassady 1939; Drury 1937). Attention was also given to understanding the rapidly expanding consumer movement (e.g., Bader and Wernette 1938). Ready contributors to discussions of this period were government officials (e.g., from the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, National Resources Planning Board), business and trade association representatives (e.g., from Dun & Bradstreet, American Association of Advertising Agencies, American Retail Federation), and marketing academics.

As war progressed in Europe and tensions mounted domestically, *JM* articles about the role of marketing in a national emergency, industrial preparedness, and shifting foreign trade practices began to appear (e.g., Hobart 1940; Rutherford 1940; Thomas 1940). At the same time, ongoing assessments of marketing's efficiency, pricing policies, economic impacts of advertising, and legislative developments such as the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act of 1938 continued (e.g., Borden 1942; Copeland 1942; Engle 1941; Touseley 1940). The specific problems of World War II increasingly moved onto the marketing thought stage; topics included wartime rationing of goods, government price controls, consumers' shifts and adaptations, and the role of marketing in the defense program (e.g., Derber 1943; Grether 1943; Taylor 1943; Watson 1944). Discussion of forms of marketing-system industry and government cooperation was much in evidence, and academics and other interest-group members (e.g., Republic Steel Company, War Production Board, Office of Price Administration) made these contributions to the journal. *It was at this point that the proportion of JM attention to marketing and society peaked for the entire period we have studied.* With the country galvanized by the war effort, according to our calculations, 55% of *JM*'s content was devoted to societal issues.

As prospects for the war's end increased, articles began to explore prospects for the coming postwar period. Although in retrospect the postwar prosperity is known, fears of an economic downturn at the close of the wartime economy were much in evidence as well (a byproduct of the depression period, which had not been clearly resolved at the start of the war). Contributors to the journal thus focused significant attention on postwar planning and analysis. *Underpinning these efforts was an explicit recognition that the efficiency and performance of the marketing system played a critical role in ensuring economic prosperity.* Issues such as the long-term impacts of price controls, impact studies in key industries, and the forecasting of demand for postwar markets came to the fore (e.g., Alderson 1943; Grether 1944; Nance 1944; Wittausch 1944).

After 1945, in the postwar period itself, new coverage was dedicated to topics such as the growth of the mass market, employment, consumer savings, and industrial development (e.g., Grether 1948; Hahn 1946; Vance 1947). In addition, given the need to better comprehend the burgeoning consumer market, a surge of articles on developments in marketing research began to appear at the end of Era II and

continued into the early stages of Era III (this surge was estimated as representing almost 50% of *JM*'s content by the early 1950s; Grether 1976). There was also a return to some older issues such as resale price maintenance, agricultural grade labeling, and false advertising (e.g., Brown 1947a, b; Grether 1947; Payne 1947). The journal continued to support in-depth scholarly analyses of significant marketing and society topics, as in the series of articles by Ralph Cassady (1946a, b; 1947a, b) on the marketing, economic, and legal aspects of price discrimination. Overall, however, the level of attention to marketing and society topics began to decline during the postwar period as thought leaders turned their attention to the set of concerns that would characterize the new Era III.

Before closing this section, we should indicate that *Journal of Retailing* also carried several marketing and society articles during this time (e.g., Howard's 1933 "The Whole Truth in Retail Advertising," Nystrom's 1948 "The Minimum Wage in Retailing," Severa's 1943 "Retail Credit in Wartime"). *Journal of Retailing* also published a notable special issue, "War Problems," in April 1942 that covered analyses of retail buying policies, customer service and advertising under war conditions, wartime rationing, and retailers' contributions to national defense. Finally, articles devoted to retail planning in the postwar period also emerged at the end of Era II.

Closing Observations on Era II

As we look back over the field in this second era, it is clear that marketing academics had a very different orientation to the study of marketing than we do today. Their approach was much more descriptive of marketing operations and less oriented toward solving managerial problems. Significant attention was paid to external developments and the exigencies of the time (see Hollander, Keep, and Dickinson 1999). 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, as Alderson (1937, pp. 189–90) demonstrates in the following:

"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."

Era III: "A Paradigm Shift in the Marketing Mainstream—Marketing, Management, and the Sciences" (1950–1980)

The Boom Arrives

Era III was very much built on the arrival of mass marketing dominance and a period of booming growth in the U.S. marketing system. The infrastructure and body of marketing

thought likewise expanded geometrically during the 30 years from 1950 to 1980. Table 4 provides some interesting indicators of the growth in the field and its academic infrastructure. 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. Both phenomena were fueled by the enormous growth experienced in university business education programs, as represented by awards of nearly 2 million business bachelor's degrees and almost a half million MBA degrees during Era III.

Figure 1 depicts the associated growth patterns across the period. Notice that professional AMA membership and bachelor's degree-level business education both grew strongly and steadily (fueled by the vanguard of baby boomers beginning to graduate from college in 1967) and were four to six times larger at the end of Era III than they had been at its start. 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. Doctorates, though still low on an absolute basis, also soared during this time. Between 1960 and 1965, for example, the number of business doctorates awarded per year actually tripled and then increased to seven times the 1960 rate only ten years later. Thus, on all bases, the field of marketing grew rapidly during Era III.

The Field Evolves in New Directions

Although precursors existed prior to this time and the momentum carried on afterward, the period after 1950 marked a watershed in the history of marketing thought. 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. In some senses, the turn to a managerial perspective was not entirely a radical shift in that marketing thinkers had always been

Table 4. Indicators of Growth in Field During Era III

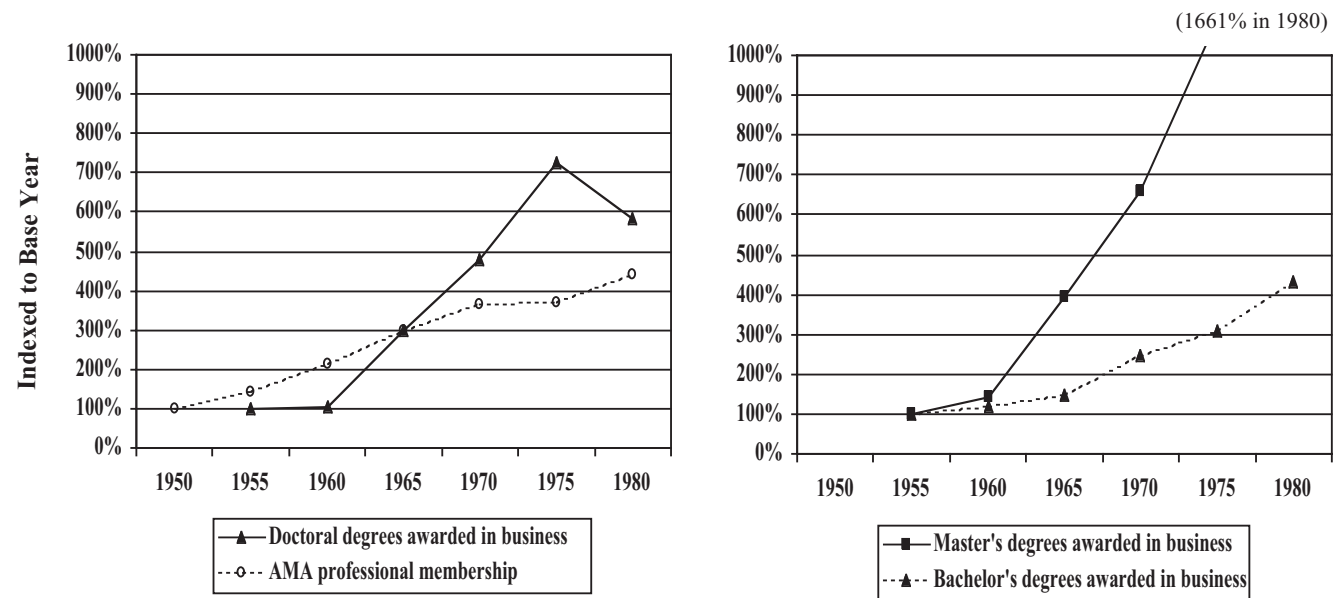
	At Beginning of Era III	At Close of Era III	Percentage of Base Year	Cumulative Degrees in Era III ^a
AMA professional membership	3797	16,770	442%	—
Annual doctoral degrees awarded in business	129 ^b	753	584	10,820
Annual bachelor's degrees awarded in business	42,813	184,867	432	1,932,854
Annual master's degrees awarded in business	3280	54,484	1661	476,212

^aRefers to academic degrees awarded in 1955–1956, the first year data are reported.

^bGovernment data report begins in 1955–1956, so five years of Era III are not represented.

Notes: Information from U.S. Department of Education (2001) and the AMA. The AMA membership is as of December 23, 1949, as reported in *JM* (14 [April], 781).

Figure 1. Growth Patterns During Era III



*Notes: U.S. Department of Education (2001); degrees indexed relative to 1955.

interested in the activities undertaken by marketers. What was different about this perspective, however, was its overt interest in helping the individual manager make better decisions in Era III. In earlier times, the efforts of marketing thinkers were somehow more idiosyncratic: Some leading academics seemed to be standing apart more clearly to observe and describe the operations of marketing. From this perspective, they could offer expert, empathetic, and yet objective and sometimes critical evaluations of actions being taken by marketers. As Myers, Massy, and Greyser (1980, p. 96) summarize: “The study of marketing as an interesting subject to think about and reflect on gave way to a much more action-oriented view of the training of potential marketing managers.”

The Turn to a Managerial Perspective

Several key factors were influential in bringing about the shift in marketing thought to viewing the field from the vantage point of the manager. This perspective certainly brought professional and vocational appeal to university courses, in the sense that it directly prepared students for jobs they would undertake after graduation. Beyond this, the field had been experiencing an increasing impatience on the part of some thinkers, such as Wroe Alderson at the Wharton School, with what they saw as a too-heavy reliance on the description of marketing institutions and activities rather than efforts to develop theory in the field.

External factors were also very significant at this time. 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. The baby boom had begun in 1946, bringing a cohort of an additional 4 million babies per year, which began to strain institutional and market capacities as it unfolded across time, until a total of 76 million new consumers had arrived 19 years later. In addition, marketers faced new opportunities through significant infrastructure developments for distribution (e.g., the new interstate highway system), new regions experiencing substantial growth, a shift to suburban living (altering the nature of locations in the retailing sector), and the development of a new communicator, television, and a national audience toward which to advertise each evening during “prime time.”⁷ 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).

The shift toward the managerial perspective of marketing was also much enhanced by several key textbooks that appeared during the early portion of Era III. Jones and Shaw (2002) identify three textbooks in particular: Wroe Alderson's (1957) *Marketing Behavior and Executive Action*, John Howard's (1957) *Marketing Management: Analysis and Planning*, and E. Jerome McCarthy's (1960) *Basic Marketing: A Managerial Approach*, in addition to Eugene Kelley and William Lazer's readings book, *Managerial Marketing: Perspectives and Viewpoints* (1958). Alderson's work reflected efforts to develop a comprehensive theory of marketing based on concepts from the physical and social sciences, but with the intent that theory should view marketing as management behavior in an institutional and environmental context. In their historical overview of marketing thought, Lichtenthal and Beik (1984, p. 147) depict Howard's impact as follows: “In effect, John Howard's text hallmarks the arrival of the marketing management era.” For McCarthy, meanwhile, they report (pp. 148–49): “Eugene J. McCarthy, in his classic text ... explains the manager's job ... [using] an essentially new unique concept, the four P's.” Although perspective shifted toward management, the substance of marketing thought in these books did retain much of the key foundational elements from Eras I and II, particularly the insights contained in the functionalist approach (Myers, Massy, and Greyser 1980).

Somewhat later, in 1967, Philip Kotler virtually cemented the turn to the managerial mainstream with the publication of his classic textbook, aimed at more-advanced students in the burgeoning graduate programs of the time, with the famed Analysis, Planning, and Control framework (Kotler 1967).⁸ In addition to influencing MBA students, the Kotler text influenced many young academics and developing researchers in the doctoral programs of the time and thus helped direct the research that was to come by explicitly incorporating the quantitative and behavioral sciences as part of the new thrust in marketing thought.

The Emergence of the Quantitative and Behavioral Sciences

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

⁷We thank an anonymous reviewer for pointing out that the explosive growth in media across the century likely led to increasing attention to societal issues involving advertising and promotion, first with increasing print modes (e.g., catalogs, newspapers, magazines, direct mail, flyers); then joined by sound (e.g., radio, telephone) and sight and sound (movies); followed by in-home sight and sound (television); and finally, today's evolution of the Internet and its concurrent concerns about personal privacy.

⁸The framework is expanded to “Analysis, Planning, Implementation, and Control” in the sixth edition (Kotler 1988).

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.

The Nationally Planned Infusion of Management Science into Marketing

Although linked by science, many differences existed between management scientists and behavioral scientists in substance, orientation, and routes into the marketing field. The tale behind the rise of management science is particularly interesting. It was significantly enhanced in the United States by two external factors: (1) a national effort to infuse mathematics and statistics into business schools and (2) the development of the computer as a research tool.

In the early 1950s, the Ford Foundation began a multiyear initiative to infuse scientific theory, methods, and analysis into the U.S. business system, in which few managers were at all technically trained. The focus of the effort was on changing the research agendas, doctoral educations, and teaching approaches of the faculty members at work in U.S. business schools. The early portion of the effort, beginning in 1953, involved a rollout of program change experiments at five selected schools in turn: Carnegie, Harvard, Columbia, Chicago, and Stanford (Schlossman, Sedlack, and Wechsler 1987). As experience accumulated at the five experimental sites, emphasis began to shift late in the decade to trickle down dissemination efforts aimed at other universities. The Ford Foundation efforts included a series of “new-developments” seminars held during the summers at the five schools (more than 1500 faculty members from some 300 schools attended) and an impactful commissioned study, the “Gordon–Howell Report” (Gordon and Howell 1959; see also Schmotter 1984), which provided powerful arguments for changes in business education. This report, together with another the same year, pointed out that business professors were teaching business in a largely descriptive fashion that represented the past, not the future, and that they were doing so in part because they had simply never been trained to do anything else.

To foster fundamental long-term changes, the Ford Foundation also sponsored a special year-long program in 1959 (The Harvard/Massachusetts Institute of Technology Institute of Basic Mathematics), in which a select group of promising young business faculty members was tutored deeply for a year by the mathematics faculty. This cadre, according to the plan, would return to their schools and begin to infuse the new knowledge into the curriculum and, more generally, into their field’s body of thought by undertaking new forms of research.

The success of this effort was felt strongly and almost immediately as the program’s marketing participants (including Frank Bass, Robert Buzzell, Philip Kotler, William Lazer, E. Jerome McCarthy, Edgar Pessemier, Donald Shawver, and Abraham Schuchman) returned to

their universities and went to work.⁹ In addition to their important personal contributions to research, members of this group contributed to the diffusion of the new perspective by writing highly influential textbooks, convening seminal conferences on research theory and methods, and training the next generations of thought leaders in this new approach to knowledge development. Their presence in the field was also helpful to new arrivals whose training had been in mathematics, statistics, or engineering, in terms of being able to discern and communicate useful problems to attack through the management science approach.

A second external factor crucial to the success of management science was *the rapid development of computer technology* in both industry and academia, especially during the 1960s. This new tool enabled researchers to undertake sophisticated efforts to model complex marketing problems, as with optimization models of marketing processes in such areas as physical distribution, sales force allocation, and advertising budgeting. In addition, new forms of multivariate statistical analyses could now be applied to large banks of information on the mass marketplace.

The Advance of Consumer Research

In contrast to the planned introduction of marketing science, the emergence of consumer behavior within marketing appears to have been a natural response by the field to the pressing needs for insights about the mass consumer marketplace, insights for use in new product planning, advertising, retailing, and other marketing decision areas. For example, a comparison of textbooks at the beginning of Era III to its close shows sharp contrasts in the level of analysis, sophistication, and actual content in the treatment of consumer behavior: “[Previous emphases on] sociodemographic profiles, income levels, and geographic spread ... [changed dramatically, and by 1977 drew] much more heavily from behavioral science concepts applied to marketing” (Myers, Massy, and Greyser 1980, p. 92). The growth in computers was also a positive factor, as it allowed for large-scale consumer surveys and the dissemination of new empirical research findings, their causes, and their implications.

No program similar to the Harvard mathematics training was available, however, so marketing professors who had been untrained in the underlying disciplines of psychology and sociology had to attempt to learn on their own or to hire new faculty from these fields. Upon arrival, however, those faculty members from other disciplines generally had little familiarity or experience with marketing itself, and many retained an interest in contributing to the literature in their base discipline as well as to that in marketing. Acceptance into the mainstream of marketing thought was somewhat slower for the consumer behavior area in general, and there is still some question among some of these people as to the extent their scholarly efforts are or should be directed toward assisting marketing managers (as opposed to, for

⁹As an aside of interest, the first author of this article was an undergraduate undecided between a liberal arts and mathematics major when he was recruited by the recently returned E. Jerome McCarthy into a new minor, management science, that Professor McCarthy was instituting in Notre Dame’s College of Business Administration. Some 20 students from various fields entered the new program, and 7 went on to doctoral work in business fields.

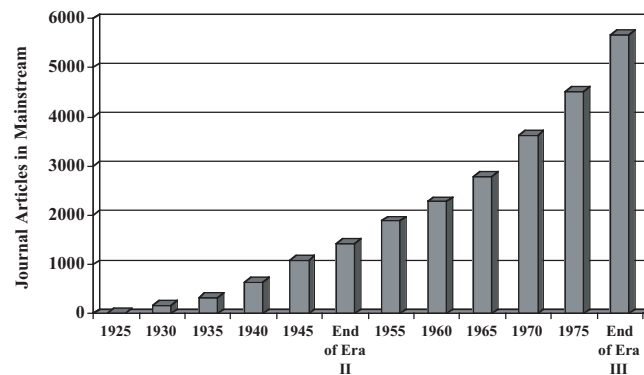
example, contributing basic insights into the body of knowledge about human behavior).

Growth in the Academic Infrastructure During Era III

As we documented in Table 4 and Figure 1, Era III experienced a sharp increase in the rate of doctoral degree production in business. Given our focus on the body of marketing knowledge, moreover, the *accumulation* of these degrees is the most relevant statistic to represent growth in the group most likely to be making thought contributions. By this cumulative measure, the growth is truly striking: A total of nearly 11,000 new business doctorates launched into action between 1955 and 1980. The data are not divided into fields within business, but if only 10% of degrees were in marketing, this would still represent 1100 new potential thought contributors to the field. Not surprisingly, this steady addition of many new marketing academics led to a dramatic increase in the sheer magnitude of new thought pieces relevant to marketing. Figure 2 depicts the impact of this infusion into the prevailing body of marketing thought by graphing the development of the cumulative body of new journal articles in a selection of mainstream publications of the field. Several points are notable. The body of thought reflected at the close of Era II was not insignificant: More than 1400 journal articles appeared in *JM* and *Journal of Retailing* by that time. This pace continued through the 1950s, when new journals began to appear, reflecting applications of the sciences to marketing. At this point, the slope of contributions steepened, first during the 1960s and again during the 1970s. By the end of Era III, the cumulative body of marketing thought was four times larger than it was at its start, reaching nearly 6000 articles.¹⁰

¹⁰This discussion is essentially illustrative and undercounts the actual increase, because other significant marketing publications had also started during the latter part of Era III.

Figure 2. Expansion of the Cumulative Body of Marketing Knowledge in Mainstream Journals During Eras II & III



Notes: This graph includes all articles in the following publications: *Journal of Retailing* (from 1925), *JM* (1936), *JAR* (1960), *JMR* (1964), and *JCR* (1974).

A Marketing Think Tank Emerges

As we noted previously, the impact of the sciences had become increasingly strong as Era III progressed. Beyond the sheer numbers, therefore, the nature of marketing's knowledge infrastructure needed to significantly expand to accommodate these new forces. Special conferences and workshops began to be held on behavioral and quantitative frontier topics, and the regular conferences incorporated sessions on them as well. New publications also emerged to accommodate this work. Another important infrastructure development also occurred during this time when a new think tank, the Marketing Science Institute (MSI), was formed in 1961. The MSI was the result of collaboration among Thomas McCabe, the president of Scott Paper Company; 29 sponsoring firms that underwrote expenses; and such leading marketing thinkers as John Howard, Albert Wesley Frey, and Wroe Alderson. According to McCabe (qtd. in Bloom 1987, p. 8), MSI's plan was to conduct research and educational activities designed to "(1) contribute to the emergence of a definitive science of Marketing and (2) stimulate increased application of scientific techniques to ... current marketing problems." The MSI began in Philadelphia (with Wendell Smith as its first president) and in 1968 moved its offices to Cambridge, Mass., to begin a lengthy relationship with the marketing area of Harvard Business School, first under Robert Buzzell and then under Stephen Greyser. The MSI was an interesting and bold effort: Over the ensuing years, the research it stimulated and supported became a major factor in advancing thought in the marketing field (Kerin 1996; see also Bloom 1987).

Building the Research Infrastructure for Marketing Science¹¹

The Ford Foundation's program during the 1950s began to bear fruit almost immediately in the 1960s. *Mathematical Models and Methods in Marketing*, a book written by the Harvard mathematics program participants (Bass et al. 1961), was soon followed by such other key books as *Quantitative Techniques in Marketing Analysis* (Frank, Kuehn, and Massy 1962), *Mathematical Models and Marketing Management* (Buzzell 1964), the comprehensive *Marketing Decision Making: A Model Building Approach* (Kotler 1971), and still others soon to follow (for a listing, see Montgomery 2001). These books provided an important foundation for the doctoral students and emerging scholars who would soon play leadership roles in advancing this new field. In addition, MSI was quite supportive of initiatives. One such impactful undertaking was the Profit Impact of Marketing Strategies (PIMS) Project, in which a number of major marketers contributed confidential information about business units' marketing strategies and operating results: This database was then explored with the latest statistical methods to learn more about the risks and rewards of various marketing alternatives (e.g., Bloom 1987).

During this time, articles on marketing topics were appearing with increasing frequency in the broader journal *Management Science*. In the mid-1960s, the "marketing college" in the Institute of Management Science (TIMS) was

¹¹This section is based on an informative history special section in the Fall 2001 issue of *Marketing Science* (pp. iii-iv, 331-81).

formed, thus providing an organizational infrastructure for the emerging marketing science area (Montgomery 2001). From its beginnings, the goal of the college was to foster professional exchange among industry practitioners, marketing academics, and management scientists from other disciplines. The marketing college flourished during this period; its membership doubled to more than 300 members between 1966 and 1972 (Little 2001). Intellectual ferment was evident in the marketing science sessions and symposia in these early years: Sessions at TIMS meetings, AMA Summer Educators' Conferences, and workshops sponsored by universities provided important venues for sharing research (Montgomery 2001; Wittink 2001). When the specialized annual Marketing Science Conference began in 1979, the marketing college ceased participating in the annual AMA meetings, which were perceived as having become "too large and too diverse to accommodate the need for ... serious discussion and interaction among marketing modelers" (Bass 2001, p. 360).

Additional infrastructure developments involved the academic journals. In 1969, the editorial structure of *Management Science* was altered, and marketing was given its own department; in 1971, an entire special issue, edited by David Montgomery, was devoted to marketing articles (Steckel and Brody 2001). Through the 1970s, *Journal of Marketing Research (JMR)* provided a key high-quality outlet for scientific articles, and output in the marketing science sphere blossomed. Storm clouds loomed, however, as the end of Era III neared. Increasingly, some marketing scientists perceived that *JMR* was not sufficiently welcoming of analytic models and that a new option was needed. Thus, just as the field was to enter Era IV, *Marketing Science*, with more of an engineering and operations research orientation than *JMR*, was ready to begin under the editorship of Donald Morrison (Montgomery 2001; Morrison 2001).

Building the Research Infrastructure for Consumer Behavior

Given that it was not the target of any organized foundation efforts, research in the consumer behavior domain began more slowly during the early portion of Era III. Some important advances did occur in the 1950s, however, on such topics as consumer purchasing, attitudes, sociodemographics, advertising research, and the controversial area of motivation research. A notable book during the early portion of the period was Lincoln Clark's (1955) edited volume *The Life Cycle and Consumer Behavior*, which featured articles by such leading researchers as David Riesman, Howard Roseborough, Burleigh Gardner, George Katona, Robert Ferber, William Whyte, and Joseph Newman. Notably, many of these research leaders reflected training in such social sciences as sociology, economics, and psychology, not marketing. Then, during the 1960s, consumer behavior's impetus was enormously enhanced by the appearance of textbooks such as Gerald Zaltman's (1965) *Marketing: Contributions from the Behavioral Sciences*; Engel, Kollat, and Blackwell's (1968) *Consumer Behavior*; the research-packed framework in John Howard and Jagdish Sheth's (1969) *The Theory of Buyer Behavior*; and Harold Kassarian and Thomas Robertson's (1968) influential research readings book, *Perspectives in Consumer Behavior*.

As the focal point of this domain, the consumer, was positioned on the other side of transactions from the marketer, it was natural that not all research in this area would fit comfortably within the increasingly dominant managerial approach to marketing. Thus, a number of consumer researchers carried out work with some (deliberate) distance from marketing's mainstream organization: the AMA. This desire for independence led to the formation of a new group, the Association for Consumer Research (ACR), in 1970. The field grew quickly: In its first ten years, ACR expanded to more than 1000 members in some 20 nations. Numerous young academics and graduate students flocked to this new area of opportunity, and it became a major force in academic marketing. For example, by actual count, at the 1977 AMA Doctoral Consortium some two-thirds of the doctoral dissertations were being conducted on consumer behavior topics. This movement was much assisted by the appearance in 1974 of *Journal of Consumer Research (JCR)*, with Ronald Frank as its first editor. In addition, the annual ACR conference had been healthy from the start. Thus, within only a few short years, the essential infrastructure for a field of study (an association with newsletter, journal, conference, and proceedings) had been created by the consumer behavior pioneers.¹²

New Topics in Marketing Knowledge Development

To conclude this discussion, imagine observing the body of thought in Era III as it unfolds. The field is growing, shifting, and grappling with the new challenges of how to market successfully in a booming yet competitive mass marketplace. Articles in *JM* are becoming longer and more empirical. Many new names are appearing on the roster of thought contributors, and a higher proportion of these are from academia. The clearest shift of all is the increasing dominance of marketing research. The first major research journal focuses on advertising specifically and is driven by the practitioner community (*Journal of Advertising Research [JAR]* in 1960). At this time, businesses are grappling with a huge new medium (television), huge national market-growth opportunities, and highly volitional decisions about how and how much to advertise. Exploration of many new research options to better understand both consumer markets and advertising effectiveness is underway by influential research departments in advertising agencies, and *JAR* clearly serves a knowledge need.

Shortly thereafter, in 1964, *JMR* begins, offering a broader forum for frontier advances, discoveries, and debates on both marketing research methodologies and empirical research studies. In addition, there is a steady rise in the proportion of consumer behavior articles appearing in *JM* and *JMR* into the 1970s, when *JCR* appears in 1974 (as an interdisciplinary, not specifically marketing, journal). Thus, by the end of Era III, three new major research outlets, *JAR*, *JMR*, and *JCR* (as well as other significant new publications), had joined *JM* and *Journal of Retailing* as vehicles for developing marketing thought.

¹²An interesting set of retrospective reports on the development of ACR and *JCR* is available in Kardes and Sujan's (1995) work. See Cohen (1995); Engel (1995); Kassarian (1995); Kernan (1995a, b); and Wells (1995).

What new content would we observe appearing during this time? Fortunately, a useful overview is readily available for almost the precise period covered in Era III. Table 5 is adapted from Myers, Massy, and Greyser's (1980) book on marketing knowledge development (this work represents the Commission on the Effectiveness of Research and Development for Marketing Management, a group of 18 prominent marketing thinkers [8 academics and 10 practitioners] sponsored as a joint activity of the AMA and MSI). Several brief points regarding Table 5 are worthy of note. First, as noted previously and expanded on in Column 1, a burst of important new managerial frameworks were being developed. *More broadly, Era III itself was a time of great change in which growth and innovation were much welcomed. In retrospect, the speed with which thought leaders adopted and*

worked with new ideas is a significant feature of the period. Second, although the listing is only illustrative, it is impressive in its sheer magnitude: The domain of marketing thought was expanding considerably during this time. To be sure, not all the concepts, theories, or methods listed in Columns 2–4 were original to marketing thinkers: Unabashed borrowing and trial was characteristic and, at times, was followed by further applications and refinements. Third, the emerging power of the behavioral and quantitative sciences is quite evident, as is the way they merge within a larger "marketing research" sphere. Notice that the academic training required to contribute to many of the topics listed here has changed dramatically from Era II. This supports the observation that the people leading the mainstream research thrusts of late Era III either were new to the

Table 5. Some Examples of Knowledge Developments in Marketing, 1952–1977

Managerial Frameworks and Approaches	Discipline-Based Theories	Research Methods, Models, and Measurement	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Marketing concept • Marketing mix, 4 P's • Product life cycle • DAGMAR • Development of marketing cases • Stage approaches to strategy development • New product development process • Physical distribution management • Marketing information systems • Product positioning and perceptual mapping • Segmentation strategies • New marketing organization concepts (e.g., brand management) • Territory design and sales force compensation • Marketing audit • Demand-state strategies • Creative approaches and styles • New search and screening approaches • Refinements in test-marketing approaches 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Market segmentation • General and middle-range theories of consumer behavior • Image and attitude theory • Theories of motivation, personality, social class, life style, and culture • Expectancy-value theory • Theories of advertising processes and effects • Information-processing theory • Attitude-change theories (consistency and complexity theories) • Attribution theory • Perceptual processes • Advertising repetition • Distribution theory • Refutation and distraction hypotheses • Theories of diffusion, new product adoption, and personal influence • Prospect theory 	<p><i>Data Analysis: Broad and Specific</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Causal models • Weighted belief models and determinant attributes • Bayesian analysis • Sensitivity analysis and validity tests • Response functions • Marginal analysis and linear programming • Multidimensional scaling and attitude measurement • Forecasting • Econometrics • Time-series analysis • Trade-off analysis and conjoint analysis • Analysis of variance • Multivariate dependence methods: multiple regression, multiple discriminant analysis, and canonical correlation • Multivariate interdependence methods: cluster and factor analysis and latent structure analysis 	<p><i>Data Gathering: Adoption and Refinement</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advances in survey research • Focus groups, depth interviewing • Experimental and panel designs • Motivation research and projective techniques • Hypothesis formulation, inference, significance tests • Psychographics and Activities, Interests, and Opinions studies • Unobtrusive measures, response latency, nonverbal behavior • Physiological techniques: (e.g., eye camera, GSR, CONPAAD) • Probability sampling <p><i>Marketing Models</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advertising (e.g., Mediac, Brandaid, Adbudg) • Sales management (e.g., Dealer, Callplan) • New product (e.g., Demon, Sprinte, Steam) • Product planning: Perceptor, Accessor • Bid pricing models • Stochastic brand choice • Market-share models <p><i>Marketing Cases and Simulations</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Simulation and marketing games • Computer-assisted marketing cases

Notes: Adapted from Myers, Massy, and Greyser's (1980) work.

field or had retrained themselves in the Ford Foundation program or elsewhere. Notice also that the heterogeneity presented in Table 5 is very high. This is quite significant for the future of knowledge development in that it calls for increasing specialization by individual researchers working to push back the frontiers of knowledge. This is the characteristic that drove the development of our next period of marketing thought, Era IV.

Era III's Attention to Marketing and Society

The First Half: Moving to the Sidelines

With all these explosive developments and undercurrents at work during Era III, what was happening with respect to marketing and society? Two major points are relevant to this question: (1) In general, Era III's major thrusts (an infusion of both a scientific perspective and a managerial view of marketing) are largely indifferent to the study of marketing and society, but (2) Era III itself actually saw substantial attention paid to these issues. This was due in part to certain pressing concerns of the period (which placed both government and business in defensive postures at times) and to the efforts of certain marketing thinkers who carried on societal perspectives from Era II.

Emphasis on societal issues early in Era III, during the 1950s, generally maintained the orientation of previous years. For example, in 1952, Vaile, Grether, and Cox's notable *Marketing in the American Economy* appeared. Its thesis centered on marketing as an intrinsic part of the U.S. economic system. Assessing marketing's performance of its social and economic tasks was an important issue for the authors. The specific element that characterized this approach was its view of marketing as a key operating system within the society, thus reflecting analysis at a higher level of aggregation than the newer emphases on the horizon of marketing thought.

Overall, however, the proportion of marketing and society articles in *JM* declined during the 1950s, reflecting the field's strong turn to new managerial and theoretical topics. This decline does not appear to reflect a change in the basic position about societal issues but rather a strong shift in research priorities, reflecting the challenges of the times in marketing. A number of articles did appear, however, and in 1951 the journal began the "Legal and Judicial Developments" section in each issue. The articles that appeared during this decade tended to focus on traditional questions in government policies toward business competition: major antitrust cases, administered price controls, and the Robinson-Patman Act. The early 1960s experienced a continuation of the shift toward the managerial perspective, now even in the work pertaining to government. Such articles dealt with how to market to the government, the effect of government actions on marketing programs, and legal advice for marketers (e.g., "How to Protect Your Trademark"), in addition to traditional antitrust issues.

The Second Half: Excitement and Exploration

Then, in the second half of the 1960s, a powerful new interest, marketing and society, began to emerge. As in earlier eras, this shift reflected the tenor of the times. Social unrest was spreading across society. Issues such as civil rights and the role of the government and the "military-industrial com-

plex" in waging a controversial war in Vietnam rose to the forefront of everyday life. Assassinations of national leaders and role models led to further urban unrest. Thoughtful people associated with business increasingly began to examine issues and options, and some academics began to pursue new courses of investigation to try to ultimately improve the equity and operation of their society. One such area of emphasis in marketing thought reflected "social responsibility of business" issues. During this period, the AMA formed a public policy division and established committees to address such topics as inner-city marketing and minority enterprise. Furthermore, *JM* published the special issue "Marketing's Changing Social/Environmental Role" (July 1971), which featured articles on such topics as planned social change; population problems; recycling solid wastes; food prices and vulnerable groups; self-regulation; and ecology, air pollution, and marketing strategy.

Another area of emphasis was on consumers. Increasingly, marketing academics were spurred to examine the possibilities of putting their theories and methods to use in the service of poor and vulnerable consumers; for better health (e.g., cigarettes, alcohol, drug use); or for better, "wiser," or more efficient consumer purchases. This movement was greatly enhanced in the political arena in 1962, when President John F. Kennedy announced the Consumer Bill of Rights (for a first-person account, see Lampman 1988). This important declaration established that within the framework of U.S. society, consumers have the rights to expect product safety, to be fully informed, to have freedom of choice, and to have a voice in the rules for the marketplace. Thus, marketers were presented with some formal constraints well beyond any residual notions that caveat emptor ("Let the buyer beware") might still rule the U.S. marketplace. The related academic infrastructure also expanded during this time, as the American Council on Consumer Interests began publication of its *Journal of Consumer Affairs (JCA)* in 1967: Over the years, numerous marketing academics have published articles reflecting concern for consumer rights in this volume.

The marketing and society stream of work continued to accelerate sharply throughout the 1970s until the end of Era III. Some 20 readings books on the topic appeared between 1966 and 1974 (Bartels 1988, p. 220). These collections brought a rich panoply of perspectives, experiences, and viewpoints about marketers, consumers, responsibilities, rights, and system performance. Authors of the articles in the readers included such high-profile nonmarketing figures as Ralph Nader, John Kenneth Galbraith, Senator Warren Magnuson, FTC Commissioner Mary Gardiner Jones, John D. Rockefeller III, and the president of Pepsi-Cola, Donald Kendall. Numerous distinguished marketing academics were also well represented. Some continue to be prominent today, though not necessarily in this area. For example, one leading readings book was edited by David Aaker and George Day (1982), who would later achieve acclaim for advancing thought on brands and strategic imperatives.

The appearance of several distinct subareas fueled the acceleration of societal research in the 1970s. Some marketing thinkers focused on extending historical emphasis on issues related to performance of the marketing system, a focus that would come to be known as *macromarketing*.

Others in the mainstream of marketing became embroiled in a controversy regarding the proper boundaries for the marketing field: Is marketing fundamentally a business topic, driven by the profit motive, or is it something broader, a technology or body of knowledge that can (should) be applied to social problems wherever they are found (Kotler and Levy 1969a, b; Luck 1969)? Many in the field approved of "broadening the concept of marketing," which allowed the emergence of a new and significant emphasis beyond the marketing of products and services, to such topics as the marketing of places, ideas, and personages and to consideration of such concepts as "demarketing," "network marketing," and megamarketing. This step also set the stage for development of *social marketing*, an area that would focus on the work of not-for-profit groups and government agencies concerned with effective intervention into social problem areas, such as the marketing of health, education, or alleviation of poverty.

A third division occurred when a number of academics, who typically had the new consumer behavior training, turned to study the area of *public policy*. This movement was greatly assisted by a new program sponsored by the Association to Advance Collegiate Schools of Business (AACSB) and the Sears-Roebuck Foundation to place approximately 20 business faculty members annually in government agencies for yearlong periods of consulting work and study. Similar to the effects of the Ford Foundation's mathematics program, this program led to significant diffusion of new research perspectives during the decade. A major focus of activity was the Federal Trade Commission (FTC), the chief regulator of the U.S. marketing system.

Beginning in 1971, marketing academics moved into the FTC as in-house consultants on leaves of about one year. During the next ten years, some 30 marketing faculty worked in this capacity and contributed significantly to the development of research in the public policy sphere (for a summary of this program, see Murphy 1990). The FTC issues in consumer protection became a major focus in the marketing journals and conferences of the 1970s. Government officials spoke at research conferences, MSI coordinated a number of public policy research projects, and marketing doctoral dissertations began to address the important questions in this sphere directly. Given the right issue, academics, government officials, and marketing practitioners would converge to address controversial topics. For example, a large audience of attorneys and marketers traveled from New York and Washington to Miami to attend a single-morning session, *Advertising to Children*, at the ACR conference in 1978 (for a session report, see Mazis 1979). These efforts also reflected the increasing influence of marketing academics in the FTC's actions. Their contributions included research and conceptual inputs into case selection, preparation and analyses of case evidence and testimony, consultation on remedy development, program evaluation of case impacts, and background investigations into the development of trade regulation rules. Marketing academics played key roles in the influential "Consumer Information Task Force Report" for the FTC. By the end of the decade, the FTC was spending \$1 million per year on marketing research, under the guidance of the marketing academic Kenneth Bernhardt.

Overview of Second-Half Activity: A Plethora of Riches

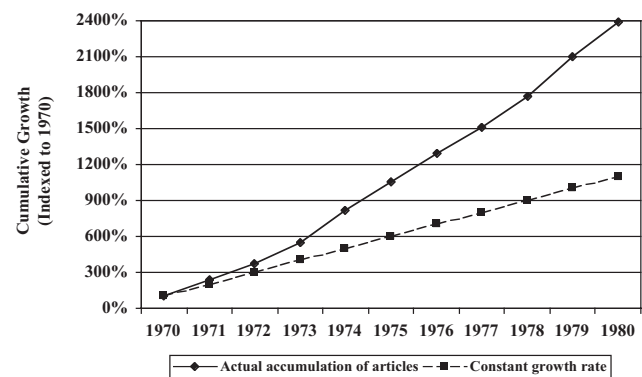
Overall, *JM*'s roster of articles during this decade well reflects the shift that had occurred, especially during the second half of Era III. In addition to social marketing topics, articles reflected the powerful impact of consumer behavior on the marketing field, with attention especially to developments at the FTC and other regulatory agencies on a range of consumerism issues, including deceptive advertising, consumer information, consumer complaints, warranties, credit practices, product safety, franchising law, and management of consumer protection activities. An excellent set of short articles describing this period is available in the Spring 1997 issue of *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing* (*JPP&M*; Andreasen 1997; Bloom 1997; Greyser 1997a; Kinnear 1997; Mazis 1997; Wilkie 1997).

As we noted previously, the range of marketing and society research both broadened and deepened during this time. We address the specifics of the range of topics in a following section; here, however, we close our discussion of Era III with Figure 3, a graphic depiction of the burst of public policy research that occurred during the 1970s. Figure 3 is based on the results of an extensive project aimed at cataloging all the marketing and public policy research published in major journals and conference proceedings during recent times.¹³

Two features of particular interest in Figure 3 are that (1) the absolute level of activity in this area (550 articles) is much larger than in any previous decades and (2) activity

¹³Unpublished data courtesy of the authors (for a previous report of findings, see Gundlach and Wilkie 1990, p. 335). Note that the data presented in Figure 3 reflect only marketing and public policy topics that involve some mix of consumerism, government, and self-regulatory issues. This study represents a considerable sampling of the major research venues in marketing, including the 12 most prominent journals published during all or part of this period (*JM*, *JMR*, *JCR*, *Journal of Advertising*, *JAR*, *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, *Business Horizons*, *Journal of Business Research*, *California Management Review*, *JCA*, *Harvard Business Review*, and *Journal of Retailing*), the proceedings of the conferences of the AMA (Educators') and ACR, and the publications of MSI.

Figure 3. Cumulative Publications in Marketing and Public Policy Between 1970 and 1980



Source: Gundlach and Wilkie (1990).

escalated over the period, as shown by the slope of the actual growth compared with a constant rate of publication. With respect to amount, this period produced many more publications than had appeared during the second half of Era II, a period previously described as highly involved with marketing and society issues. The primary reason for this difference is the vastly increased thought infrastructure and number of marketing contributors: The compilations in Figure 3 now represent many more outlets (12 journals alone) than the only 2 during Era II. *Thus, we may conclude that the proportional representation of marketing and society articles was lower during the end of Era III, but the absolute number of marketing and society contributions was much higher, and it was again a major topic of interest to the marketing field.* Thus, marketing and society was a vibrant, flourishing field in marketing as Era III drew to a close.

Era IV: “The Shift Intensifies—A Fragmentation of the Mainstream” (1980–Present)

The Overall Character of Era IV

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.

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. So, too, does reliance on the scientific approach to knowledge development: 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. How did this come to be?

The Pressures Build

Since 1980, there have been significant upheavals in the worlds of both marketing practice and academia, and Era IV reflects these upheavals within the body of marketing thought. 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. 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 (see, e.g., Day 1996; Greyser 1997b; Reibstein 2001; Webster 2002).

In addition, several controversies within the marketing thought community helped create the conditions for Era IV. One such controversy involved control of the mainstream journal for the field and the extent to which it should reflect theory and science rather than practical application. (During much of the 1970s, *JM* had encountered increasing difficulty in trading off the needs of marketing practice against an emerging consensus toward scientific perspectives of scholarship in the field. Both sides generally agreed on maintaining a managerial focus, but they disagreed sharply as to how to approach thought development.) *Just at the dawn of Era IV, a new editorial policy for JM was adopted: It would publish only scholarly articles* and would also strive to serve as a “bridge between the scholarly and practical ... for the thoughtful marketing practitioner and academician” (Kerin 1996, p. 6). Although likely formulated as a compromise, this policy change actually cemented the shift that had been occurring slowly over many years: the takeover of marketing’s body of thought by the academic community, together with the virtual disappearance of practitioner representation in the leading journals. To illustrate, as we reported previously, practitioners authored fully 42% of *JM* articles in the journal’s first 16 years, during Era II (Appelbaum 1952), but according to Kerin (1996), this proportion has dropped to less than 1% during Era IV. Furthermore, *JM*’s editorial board membership has also shifted sharply, from 60% practitioners in the early 1960s (Era III) to less than 5% in Era IV.

A quite distinct area of controversy also arose at the beginning of Era IV that was contained almost entirely within the consumer behavior sector of the academic community. It arose in reaction to the dominance and strictures of the prevailing positivist scientific approach to research and resulted in heated debates over development of knowledge (e.g., Anderson 1983; Hunt 1983, 1990, 1992; Peter 1992; Peter and Olsen 1983; Zinkhan and Hirschheim 1992). These debates also brought to the surface a second significant reaction that had been held by many consumer behavior academics; this against what was viewed as an imposition of a managerial viewpoint for consumer research. Here, it was pointed out that consumption could (and should, according to proponents) be studied as a social phenomenon unto itself. In addition, consumers’ interests clearly were not always perfectly allied with sellers’ interests.

The independent status of *ACR* and *JCR* were instrumental in advancing these academic positions on knowledge development during the remainder of Era IV. Postpositivism has flourished during most of Era IV, joining positivist research to populate this journal and this conference. Furthermore, consumer research has progressed with some attention to a managerial rationale for its efforts, but with a major proportion of its endeavors having no such purpose

whatsoever (e.g., Belk 1986; Holbrook 1987; Wilkie 1981). Following the insight of our colleague John Gaski, to get an idea of how strong this position has been within the consumer research community, our count of the nearly 900 articles published by *JCR* in its first 20 years showed that the word “marketing” appeared only three times in an article’s title. Furthermore, representation from practitioners and government personnel has also dwindled across Era IV, in keeping with the broader marketing body of thought.

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.

Business Education Goes Global: Bringing New Academics into Marketing

As we noted previously, a major trend during Era IV has been a dramatic globalization of business concepts, as entire blocs of nations have moved toward market-based systems and away from centralized command and control. For example, the Russian Association of Business Education now numbers more than 50 schools, all formed within the past 15 years, and the Central and Eastern European Management Association now has more than 100 member schools, up from only 13 in 1989.¹⁴ In China, the Ministry of Education has accredited more than 60 new MBA programs in the past ten years, and the MBA degree is now the largest single field of study for graduate program applications in China. Growth is not limited to the transitional nations, however. There are now more than 100 business schools offering MBA degrees in the United Kingdom; some 120 MBA schools in Austria, Germany, and Switzerland; and the European Union is pursuing plans to offer a single system for MBA degrees: This would be based on the U.S.–U.K. model and would facilitate economic competitiveness and employment mobility across national boundaries.

Within the United States, Era IV has maintained the momentum from Era III’s increasing emphasis on higher education in business, particularly at the MBA level. Recalling Table 4, some 55,000 U.S. MBA degrees were awarded in 1980, at the close of Era III. After 20 years of Era IV, that number has more than doubled, to some 115,000 MBA degrees awarded in 2000. This has contributed to a continuing increase in academic positions available in business schools and a concomitant increase (assuming a publish-or-

perish reward system in many universities) in marketing academics who wish to contribute to the body of thought.

The most important impact of globalization on marketing academia has not come from MBA programs but from the dramatic increase in international scholars contributing new theories, concepts, and findings. Earlier in Era IV, a major source was the increasing number of people born outside the United States who attended U.S. doctoral programs and developed the ethos to contribute to marketing knowledge. Many of these academics remained in the United States as faculty members and productive researchers, and others moved to other nations as business faculty positions became increasingly numerous and attractive there.

Has there been a major impact of internationalization on the marketing body of thought during Era IV? Table 6 reports the findings of a modest investigation we undertook to explore the degree to which the globalization impact has been evidenced during this time in five of the most prominent journals of the marketing field.¹⁵ As indicated by the column heads, we compared both the authorship of articles and the membership on the editorial boards for the two-year period 1986 and 1987 with the two-year period 2001 and 2002 for the following publications: *JPP&M*, *JCR*, *JM*, *JMR*, and *Marketing Science*. This enabled us to examine both direct contributions to the body of literature (journal articles) and gatekeeping and influence roles for academic field norms. It was our expectation that the article measure would show a substantial internationalization impact, but given lag times in research career development, we were interested to learn how strongly this had yet appeared for editorial boards.

In brief, Table 6’s results on both measures are extremely powerful. It is apparent that Era IV has brought about a huge change in the composition of the body of marketing thinkers. Scanning down the left-hand side of the articles section, we see that early in the era (1986–1987), the clear majority of contributors to marketing thought (in these journals) were U.S. natives and were at work in U.S. institutions. On the right-hand side, it is evident that each of these journals was operated by a majority of domestic U.S. academics. Internationally related scholars were much in evidence in both publication and editorial board activity, but they were in the minority across the outlets.

Today, however, the overall picture has changed substantially. As shown in Table 6, internationally related scholars have posted statistically significant gains on nearly every comparison. *Overall, with the exception of JPP&M, we were surprised to discover that for the four most prestigious U.S. marketing journals, internationally related scholars now constitute a majority of total article contributors* (the

¹⁴The educational program statistics in this section are courtesy of the AACSB (2003).

¹⁵To assess the impact of internationalization, we identified individuals who were affiliated with U.S. universities, firms, or agencies and who we knew were or believed were born in the United States as “domestic U.S.” We assigned the code “international” to anyone (including those who had been born in the United States) affiliated with non-U.S. institutions or who we either knew or strongly believed were born in another nation. If we could not confidently infer a given person’s code, we excluded them from the analysis (this occurred in less than 5% of the cases). Thus, the totals we obtained are properly only estimates. Given the clear magnitude of the differences, however, we are confident that the patterns shown are real.

Table 6. Indicia of Era IV's Globalization Impact on the Body of Marketing Thought

		Authorships			Editorial Board Memberships		
		Early (1986–1987)	Recent (2001–2002)	Significance	Early (1986–1987)	Recent (2001–2002)	Significance
<i>JPP&M</i>	International	10%	21%	*	14%	11%	N.S.
	Domestic	90	79		86	89	
<i>JCR</i>	International	22	39	*	14	23	N.S.
	Domestic	78	61		86	77	
<i>JM</i>	International	22	53	**	22	33	*
	Domestic	78	47		78	67	
<i>JMR</i>	International	34	63	**	13	43	**
	Domestic	66	37		87	57	
<i>Marketing Science</i>	International	37	75	**	40	60	*
	Domestic	63	25		60	40	

* $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .0005$.

Notes: N.S. = not significant.

actual difference is small [55% international versus 45% domestic], but the trend is very strong as internationally related authors have come from very far back to now take the lead). Substantial global gains in editorial board memberships have also occurred, but likely reflecting the aforementioned lag effect, domestic U.S. academics still constitute a clear majority of board membership overall and for all journals except *Marketing Science*.

To better appreciate these overall findings, we should also note that changes in the bases for both measurements (not shown here) are relevant. For example, a noticeable gain (67%) in the size of editorial boards has occurred, from an average of about 50 in 1986 and 1987 to an average of more than 80 recently. Thus, the international gains shown in Table 6 are somewhat understated (e.g., the number of internationally related *JCR* editorial board members has more than doubled during this period, but because the overall board membership increased so much [from less than 60 to more than 90], the proportional representation did not reach statistical significance). The picture with respect to authorship opportunities is quite different but interesting nonetheless. Apart from *JPP&M* (whose number of articles per year roughly doubled across this period because of the move from one to two issues per year), *the publication opportunities in the four most prestigious U.S. marketing journals have basically not changed during this time: The number of contributions per year is about the same today as it was in 1986 and 1987.*

Finally, examination of the individual journals also reveals some interesting findings. In brief, working from the extremes, *Marketing Science* has reflected a strong internationally related presence both in authorship and in leadership since its inception at the start of the 1980s, and *JPP&M* has continued to post high domestic U.S. numbers since its inception at about the same time (more on this in a subsequent section). The second-lowest impacts of internationalization are reflected by *JCR*, but even so, the trend is strong, and the proportion of publications from this source doubled during the 15-year period. In general, *JMR*'s patterns are

similar to those of *Marketing Science*, with a solid majority of internationally related scholars contributing and a tripling of international representation on its editorial board. Although our study did not extend to this issue, our observations of the strong quantitative/analytical backgrounds brought by many internationally related scholars support these results. Finally, we found *JM*'s profile to be of special interest, because this was the publication we have followed so carefully in tracking the mainstream of the marketing field during Eras II and III. In our view, the power of globalization is thus particularly well represented in the *JM* rows of Table 6, reflecting the umbrella vehicle for publication of current, mainstream marketing thought. For *JM*, internationally related scholars are now the majority of authors, with a slower rate of change on this largest of editorial boards (here slower change may reflect both the previously noted time lag and perhaps a different set of reviewing needs, given the broad expanse of topics and approaches for *JM* coverage).

An Outpouring of New Publication Outlets, 1980–1984

The confluence of forces near the end of Era III erupted in a startling burst of new and specialized journals at the very start of Era IV. As shown in Table 7, for just a brief period

Table 7. Marketing Journals Introduced During the 1980s

Date	Publication Outlet
1980	<i>Journal of Personal Selling & Sales Management</i>
1981	<i>Journal of Macromarketing</i>
1982	<i>Journal of Public Policy & Marketing</i>
1982	<i>Marketing Science</i>
1983	<i>Journal of Consumer Marketing</i>
1984	<i>Psychology and Marketing</i>
1984	<i>Journal of Product Innovation and Management</i>
1984	<i>International Journal of Research in Marketing</i>
1987	<i>Journal of Interactive Marketing</i>
1989	<i>Marketing Letters</i>

beginning in 1980, the introduction rate of significant new marketing journals began to rise sharply. *In the five short years from 1980 to 1984, the number of research-based marketing journal outlets more than doubled (from 7 to 15).*¹⁶ The slowly evolving infrastructure over the previous 45 years had clearly changed its pace and direction, at least at the margin, and has continued to do so, though at a lesser rate.

A perusal of the entries in Table 7 reveals that these new outlets were directly aimed at narrower constituencies within the marketing field: The era of research specialization had now arrived in full force.¹⁷ Numerous industry-specific trade publications were also introduced during this era, as were several magazine-style journals intended for practitioners and launched by the AMA.

The content and roles played by academic conferences also shifted during Era IV. The large general conferences continued to add simultaneous sessions, and an increasing proportion of these were “special topics” submitted by a small group of people interested in a particular issue. These have been joined by an increasing number of single-topic workshops, symposia, and “research camps” at which specialists gather to pursue advanced developments. As the era moved on, in the 1990s the AMA was forced to adapt to this trend by creating its new special-interest-group (SIG) format in which each academic member can join as many as three groups that hold targeted workshops and otherwise work to support their special facet of marketing thought. As the SIGs gained momentum, they also increased their weight in determining sessions for the AMA’s annual academic conferences, thus building in further specialization over time.

Research Specialization and the Fragmentation of the Marketing Mainstream

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.* For example, a recent publication analysis by Baumgartner and Pieters (2003) explores citation patterns for some 49 marketing-related journals as of 1997 and indicates that this number has doubled since 1982 (during Era IV).

¹⁶Of course, there are many types of publication outlets, so definition may be an issue for this calculation. To be clear, the seven existing marketing-related journals we used in this assumption were *JM*, *JMR*, *JCR*, *JAR*, *Journal of Retailing*, *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, and *JCA*. Generalized publications such as *Harvard Business Review* and *Management Science* were not included here.

¹⁷Some older journals also were specialized, as in advertising and consumer behavior and affairs, so the phenomenon was not new. However, the new journals during this period clearly extended research specialization into many new domains. Some reflected marketing decision areas, including in the international realm, and others were geared to applications of behavioral sciences. *Marketing Science* was born in 1982 of a perceived need for a quality outlet to welcome marketing model development (Morrison 2001), and *Marketing Letters* provided an opportunity for short articles with creative insights and findings. Finally, two new journals reflected societal interests.

With respect to fragmentation, Baumgartner and Pieters (2003) find that citation patterns indicate at least five natural subareas of marketing thought, which they label as follows:

1. Core marketing (8 journals, *JMR* is most influential),
2. Consumer behavior (9 journals, *JCR* is most influential),
3. Managerial marketing (9 journals, *Harvard Business Review* is most influential),
4. Marketing applications (21 journals, *JM* is most influential), and
5. Marketing education (2 journals, *Journal of Marketing Education* is most influential).

They also point out that the spans of citation influence for *JM* and *JMR* are particularly broad, as they are rated among the top five journals for each of the five subareas. Thus, these results indicate that there are simultaneous pressures both toward and away from cohesion for the academic marketing field.

However, on several other fronts it appears that fewer academics are interested in making the effort to pursue the entire mainstream of marketing thought: Instead, specialization has come to play the primary role in our professional lives. It is the case that increasingly specialized languages, theories, and methods have evolved. Although this should serve to enhance the rigor of thought, it also makes it increasingly difficult for people not engaged in that research to discern what is developing there. Thus, over time, the specialty areas have become more silo-like in their activities.

Is this a positive or a negative? It appears to be a reasonable view to be pleased with the general stream of developments during Era IV, viewing fragmentation of the mainstream as an indication of the natural progression into a mature discipline. Conversely, it could be the case that this evolution has brought about a situation in which (1) communication across the field is breaking down; (2) doctoral education is failing to present sufficient history, scope, and perspective upon which future scholars can build the body of thought about marketing as a field; and (3) cumulative responsiveness to important external challenges is lagging as a result. Whichever is the overall conclusion, it is clear that at present it is difficult to summarize the state of the marketing mainstream in the early years of the new century. The shifts just described have had strong impacts on the field’s viewpoints about itself and have directly affected the treatment of marketing’s relationship to its society.

Era IV’s Attention to Marketing and Society

A Puzzling Paradox

Era IV has experienced a paradoxical evolution of interest and coverage of marketing and society. *First, this era has brought the most significant decline in mainstream interest in this topic during the entire history (nearly a century) of marketing thought.* It is fair to say that most marketing thinkers’ attention has been directed elsewhere and that many have given virtually no research thought to this question during the entire Era IV. This does not appear to be due to any overt opposition to study of the issues here but rather reflects other priorities. For example, a quick look at the published lists of “MSI Research Priorities” over the past 30 years provides interesting illumination of the changes being registered at the field’s think tank, MSI:

- End of Era III: From 1975 to 1980, “Marketing and the Public Interest” and/or “Government Regulation and Marketing Practice” are listed each year as a research priority.
- Start of Era IV: From 1982 to 1985, “The Marketing Environment” is listed as a priority topic.
- Early Era IV: From 1986 to 1990, there is no listing for this area among the priorities.
- Mid-Era IV: From 1990 to 1994, marketing and society topics reappear as a priority.
- Recent Era IV: Since 1994, structures of the listing change fairly often. However, a chart summarizing the top seven MSI research priorities for the next five periods (1994–2004) shows no mention of marketing and society issues in any of the 35 listings (Lehmann 2002). This is not to suggest that these topics are not of interest to MSI, but the lack of a sense of urgency is clear (e.g., public issues were ranked at 14, 15, and 15 in the late 1990s, and “Marketing and Society” is currently listed as a third-tier priority for 2002–2004). Although not high on the list of priorities, however, MSI has been a consistent financial supporter of initiatives in this area, such as the annual Marketing and Public Policy Conference.

Beyond MSI per se, an academic’s choice of specific research problems also raises another key consideration: the effects of choosing a “level of analysis” appropriate to a given issue. To illustrate, for most marketing strategists and most marketing scientists, adopting the managerial perspective means focusing on the firm: Analyses of the Aggregate Marketing System (Wilkie and Moore 1999) are actually dysfunctional for solving firm-level problems.¹⁸ Meanwhile, for many consumer researchers, emphasis has been on individual consumers or household decisions: Again, a systemwide examination of either marketing or consumers would be a dysfunctional choice given the research goals.

The paradox arrives with a second recognition that within its own smaller sphere, the area of marketing and society has actually been flourishing, especially during the second half of Era IV. This has been primarily due to an active subset of marketing thinkers who (1) have built a welcoming infrastructure to encourage thought development and (2) have continued personally to pursue research on these issues with enthusiasm and energy. Overall, then, this paradoxical state of affairs reflects the fragmentation that is

more generally evident in the marketing field during Era IV. Thus, there are a number of other interest areas with similar research situations at present.

A Specialized Infrastructure Develops

As we noted previously, one of the true prerequisites of a vibrant research area is the presence of an academic infrastructure that (1) assists thinkers in learning about important developments, (2) provides vehicles for publication of quality research, and (3) generally facilitates communication and interchange among researchers who have common interests. Typically, this consists of one or more associations that offer conferences, a newsletter or Web site, and a journal. It was during Era IV that the marketing and society research area created a strong infrastructure for itself.

First came the journals. *Journal of Macromarketing (JMM)* began in 1981, followed shortly and independently by *JPP&M* in 1982. The founding editor of *JMM*, George Fisk (1981, p. 3), described the goal of this journal as follows: “to provide a forum in which people can debate and clarify the role of marketing and society.... [W]e hope to identify social issues in which improvements in knowledge can lead to improvements in the way resources are managed in private and public organizations to serve society’s interest.” Subsequent *JMM* editors included Stanley Shapiro, Robert Nason (whose stewardship of the journal extended for 11 years), Luis Dominguez, Sanford Grossbart, and Clifford Schultz. During his editorship, Nason (1992, p. 1) clarified that macromarketing was viewed to be both positive and normative; “positive in its dispassionate identification and measurement of macromarketing phenomena, and normative in its search for a fundamental philosophy of societal improvement.” Over time, *JMM* has published articles covering a wide expanse of topics and perspectives. Recently, the structure has been altered to codify several distinct special sections to welcome particular topics, now including (1) marketing history, (2) quality-of-life studies, (3) marketing and development, (4) competition and markets, (5) global policy and environment, (6) marketing ethics, and (7) reviews and communications.

Meanwhile, according to its founding editor, Thomas Kinneer (1982, p. 2), *JPP&M* was begun to “provide a forum for dialogue on issues in marketing and public policy.” Empirical studies were particularly encouraged, and many appeared in the ensuing years. Subsequent *JPP&M* editors included Patrick Murphy, Michael Mazis, Debra Scammon, J. Craig Andrews, and currently Joel Cohen. In 1990, the publication moved from the University of Michigan to the AMA. An excellent overview of the history of *JPP&M* has recently been compiled by Sprott and Miyazaki (2002), who report that some 455 articles were published in the first 20 years of the journal, written by 602 authors from 272 different institutions. Interested readers are urged to consult this article, which covers the history of *JPP&M*, a content analysis of its articles, its authors and institutions, and citation impacts (we return to *JPP&M* later in this section in describing topical frameworks for marketing and society research).

The development of marketing and society research was also spurred by conferences during Era IV. The macromarketing group had been holding an annual conference for several years preceding the advent of *JMM*, and others interested in additional aspects of marketing and society were

¹⁸A brief analysis of two leading textbooks indicates a differential treatment of marketing and society topics in Era IV, depending on the degree of managerial emphasis toward marketing. We explored the undergraduate-level *Principles of Marketing* by Kotler and Armstrong (2004) and Kotler’s (2003) graduate-level text, *Marketing Management*. The undergraduate book contains 20 chapters, with the final chapter titled “Marketing and Society: Social Responsibility and Marketing Ethics.” In addition, there are brief discussions of societal issues in chapters on pricing strategies, direct marketing, the marketing environment, and marketing in the digital age. Overall, then, this area is represented and discussed, though not as a major focus. In contrast, the graduate-level text directly reflects the managerial orientation throughout, as indicated by its title, and marketing and society topics are clearly much less in evidence, even in comparison with that above. Of the 22 chapters here, none is devoted to marketing and society. Very limited discussions appear on certain topics at several points in the book, which advances the need for a “societal marketing concept” (pp. 126–27) and addresses ethical issues, briefly, on several separate occasions. Given the managerial perspective, however, topics are primarily addressed in terms of a manager’s scope of attention, motivations, interests, and span of control. Marketing and society topics are clearly not a priority set of concerns for students whose views are being shaped by this important book. (The authors thank an anonymous reviewer for suggesting both the MSI priorities analysis and this examination of modern marketing textbooks.)

attending their own special meetings and gathering in sessions at the mainstream marketing and consumer research conferences. In 1989, an invitation-only symposium was held on the Notre Dame campus in recognition of the FTC's seventy-fifth anniversary (Murphy and Wilkie 1990). This provided an impetus for regular meetings that grew into the annual Marketing and Public Policy Conference. Several years later, the Marketing and Society SIG was formed within the AMA and grew quickly. Thus, a strong infrastructure for knowledge development had been created and continues to serve today.

A Wide Range of Research Topics and Issues

What topics characterize marketing and society research through Era IV and up to today? This is a difficult question to answer briefly, given the vast domain of potential issues. However, several distinct frameworks highlight the diverse research dimensions of this field (that we need to review four such frameworks reflects how significant multiple perspectives are to this field of thought).

First, a simpler framework has proved useful for research in the consumer interest: the Consumer Bill of Rights. This was enunciated in 1962, when President John F. Kennedy sent the U.S. Congress his now famous declaration that asserted consumers' place within U.S. society. The four propositions are the following:

1. Right to Safety: Consumers have the right to be protected against products and services that are hazardous to health and life.
2. Right to Be Informed: Consumers have the right to be protected against fraudulent, deceitful, or misleading advertising or other practices and to be given the facts they need to make an informed choice.
3. Right to Choose: Consumers have the right to be assured, whenever possible, access to a variety of products and services at competitive prices. In industries where competition is not workable, government regulation is substituted to ensure quality and service at fair prices.
4. Right to Be Heard: Consumers have the right to be assured that consumer interests will receive full and sympathetic consideration in the formulation of government policy and fair and expeditious treatment in its administrative tribunals.

This framework provides a basis by which the "marketing/consumer environment" can be examined in society (Wilkie 1994). *The general goal is that such a marketplace be both "fair" and "efficient" for marketers, competitors, and consumers alike.* The Consumer Bill of Rights has been used as a research-organizing framework in both a major research compendium authored by consumer advocates (Maynes 1988) and in an excellent overview prepared for consumer researchers (Andreasen 1991).

Moving from a sole focus on consumer rights, a second framework of interest has recently been developed by Sprott and Miyazaki (2002) to classify the 455 articles that appeared in the first 20 years of *JPP&M*. Although restricted to just this journal, it is a much broader and more complex schema: Its hierarchical structure is based on 4 primary categories, 23 main categories under these, and 60 further subcategories under these. The four primary categories are as follows:

1. Protection of consumers,
2. Protection of marketers,

3. Policy and policymaking, and
4. Societal issues.

Note that the first three categories reflect the three institutional players in the market system—consumers, marketers, and government—and the fourth category reflects broader research issues. It is also notable that each of these four major categories received significant attention in *JPP&M* during Era IV: Protection of marketers was the smallest, but it still accounted for some 111 articles, and protection of consumers was the largest, with approximately twice this number of articles.¹⁹ Furthermore, the existence of some 83 subsidiary categories indicates the breadth within these headings.

A third significant framework was developed for the recent *Handbook of Marketing and Society*, edited by Paul Bloom and Gregory Gundlach (2001). Their framework is designed to encourage future work by pointing to possible areas for knowledge development. Several notable elements of the framework are its emphasis on marketing knowledge as a positive force for improved decisions and the enhancement of consumer welfare as the system's goal. Analysis of the framework helps in recognizing the means-end nature of much activity in this research field, as is evident in considering its primary organizing sectors and their chapter contents:

- "*How Knowledge About Marketing Improves Public Policy Decisions*": This area of research assesses how marketing knowledge can improve and has improved public policy regulatory decisions on consumer protection (especially at the FTC and the Food and Drug Administration [FDA]), on antitrust policies (at the FTC and the U.S. Department of Justice), and with regard to deceptive advertising and selling techniques (at the FTC and the court system).
- "*Impacts of Corporate Marketing Decisions on Competition*": This area focuses on mainstream marketing management research topics, but here explores their implications for potential legality and effects on competition as well as consumer decisions. Examples of topics include advertising's effects on price and competition, socioeconomic consequences of franchising distribution, and positive and negative aspects of pricing strategies.
- "*Impacts of Public Policy Decisions*": These topics focus on the impacts of public policy decisions on both competition and consumers. Some topics here reflect attention to technical aspects of product and service offerings, such as how public policymakers and marketers can best regulate product safety and emerging issues and challenges in the arena of consumer privacy. Other topics rely heavily on consumer research expertise, such as consumer response to warnings, the effectiveness of nutritional labels on foods, the effectiveness of environmental product claims, and the effects of deceptive advertising regulation.
- "*Social Marketing Initiatives*": This area reflects marketing tools that increasingly are adopted by not-for-profit (whether governmental or private) agencies involved with education, health, poverty, religion, crime prevention, and myriad other social programs. Formally, social marketing differs from traditional marketing in aiming to benefit the target audience directly (e.g., AIDS awareness, childhood immunization) or society as a whole (e.g., recycling programs, blood donations) rather than the firm sponsoring the program (Andreasen 1994).
- "*Understudied Topics*": Although not designated by this term in the *Handbook*, the remaining links in Bloom and Gundlach's framework have had little research undertaken within the marketing academic community, though interesting issues are present. Examples here include corporate response to alterations in the legal environment (e.g., how grocery manufacturers changed

their marketing mixes in response to the nutritional labeling law, how companies react to antitrust enforcement) and to issues with public relations or reputational overtones (e.g., corporate responses to boycotts). Chapters are also devoted to intellectual property laws (trademarks, patents), economic development, and marketing's long-term impacts on consumer welfare.

Finally, we turn to a detailed portrayal of research topics by considering a fourth framework. It was developed by William Wilkie and Gregory Gundlach as part of a database project to capture all public policy-related articles published in marketing between 1970 and 1990 (e.g., Gundlach and Wilkie 1990). Through an iterative process, research articles were examined and then assigned to primary, secondary, and tertiary framework categories, with the creation of new categories and reassignments when necessary. Table 8 depicts an adapted version of this framework. Note that it contains more than 100 categories. *Every category has been the topic of some research by marketing academics.* Furthermore, the number of gradations within headings is a reasonable reflection of areas of greater or lesser stress.

Notice that the literature reflects a strong emphasis on marketing-mix issues in general. Promotion issues receive the most attention, but marketing authors have actually pursued each of the 4 P's to a considerable extent. It is also apparent that consumer protection has been heavily stressed, reflecting both the prominence of consumer research among many marketing academics and the fact that the FTC, the FDA, and the courts have called on marketing academics to provide expertise in operating some programs in this area. In contrast, antitrust attorneys and economists have only very recently begun to discern that marketing academia might be a source of useful expertise (see the special section on this topic in the Fall 2002 issue of *JPP&M*). Here, however, our primary concern is to communicate the wide array of research issues that has been studied. After reading through Table 8, one can easily note how distinct and advanced are its many topics, and why they would be of significance to marketers and to society in general.

Given all of the foregoing information, it seems reasonable to ask, Is this academic area large or small? Relative to

Table 8. The Wilkie and Gundlach Framework of Topics in Marketing and Public Policy Research

General Topics	Marketing Management Topics	Consumer Protection Topics
<p>International Issues</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Marketing and economic development • Protectionism • Corrupt practices • General international <p>Public Policy Participants</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • U.S. Supreme Court • Administrative agencies • State and local government <p>General Antitrust</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Antitrust regulation <p>Other Governmental Regulation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commercial speech • General governmental regulation <p>Self-Regulation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advertising self-regulation • Local business bureaus <p>Information Technology Issues</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Internet marketing • Consumer welfare impacts of the "digital divide" • Impacts on marketing productivity • Consumer privacy <p>Market Research Issues</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Using marketing research • Market research problems 	<p>Product Issues</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Protection of trade secrets • Patents • Copyright • Trademarks • Certification marks • Warranty • Product liability • Safety • Package and labeling • Nutrition information • Services • Product standards • General product <p>Place Issues</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exclusive dealing • Tying contracts • Territorial and customer restrictions • Resale price maintenance • Reciprocity • Refusals to deal • Functional discounts • Vertical integration • Gray markets • Mergers • Franchising • Slotting allowances • General place 	<p>Pricing Issues</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Price fixing • Exchanging price information • Parallel pricing • Predatory pricing • Discriminatory pricing • Credit practices • Robinson-Patman Act • Unit pricing • Reference price • Item price removal • General price <p>Promotion Issues</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Deceptive advertising • Unfairness in advertising • Advertising to children • Advertising substantiation • Affirmative disclosure • Corrective advertising • Multiple product remedy • Comparative advertising • Endorsements • Price promotions • Warranty promotions • Credit promotions • Sweepstakes and contests • Personal selling practices • Mail order selling • Referral selling • Brokerage allowances • Promotional allowances • Promotion of professional services • Cigarette advertising • Political advertising • Sex roles in advertising • General promotion <p>Consumerism and Consumer Protection Issues</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consumerism • Socially conscious consumers • Quality of life • Legal aspects • Comparative marketing • Marketing of governmental programs • Competition • General macro issues • Marketer behavior • Management of consumer protection • Consumer information • Consumer education • Consumer complaining • Vulnerable segments • Ethnic targeting • Consumer practices • Environmental issues • Energy conservation • Minority-owned businesses • Consumer affairs • Ethics • Consumer Satisfaction/dissatisfaction • Consumer information search • Medical programs • Objective price/quality • Social marketing • General consumer protection

its wide scope of topics and issues, the field can appear to be underpopulated and underdeveloped. However, we should recognize that at present the body of thought in this area is not small. In fact, there are well over 1000 articles in the area of marketing and public policy alone, according to an update of the Gundlach and Wilkie (1990) study (for study base, see Note 15). Thus, there is a need for perspective on the present, an issue to which we now turn.

Quo Vadis? Quo Vadimus?

Where are we going? Where should we want to go? The academic field of marketing holds vast scope, great complexity, and great promise, but the answers to these questions are surely not obvious. To assist in addressing them, in this article, we have undertaken an extended look at the development of modern thought in marketing, with special attention to broader issues for the field. In this concluding section, we present several summary conclusions, pointing to further issues and implications in need of careful consideration by thinkers in the college of marketing.

Conclusion 1: Marketing's Treatment of Societal Issues Has Changed over Time

Table 9 presents a summary of our findings of the treatment of marketing's relationship to society across the 4 Eras of marketing thought. Not included in Table 9, but most relevant to it, is that a dramatic evolution of the real world of the U.S. Aggregate Marketing System underpins everything there. In magnitude, sophistication, substance, and performance, the reality of "marketing" is vastly different today than it was a century ago, as is the "society" within which it operates.

Our exploration convincingly revealed, moreover, that there is much more than sheer growth that is at issue. *Indeed, the fundamental relationship between marketing and society, as conceived by the thought leaders of the marketing field, has changed as well.* This is largely due to the conception of marketing itself having changed, giving rise to the "4 Eras," already discussed in detail. An important finding here is the extent to which the tenor of the times is reflected within the body of marketing thought. This point also applies to the right-hand column of Table 9, which addresses the treatment

Table 9. Treatment of Marketing and Society Issues over the "4 Eras" of Marketing Thought

Era	Key Characteristics of Marketing's Treatment of Societal Issues
"Pre-Marketing" (Before 1900)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public policy toward economic pursuits of central interest; laissez-faire versus government constraints.
I. "Founding the Field" (1900–1920)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focus on value of marketing's distributive activities to consumers and society. • Stress on economic benefits: specialization by marketing agents was perceived as contributing to economic growth and efficiency.
II. "Formalizing the Field" (1920–1950)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continued emphasis on economic efficiency of marketing functions: A major question is, Does distribution cost too much? • New emphases in mid-era reflected tenor of the times: pricing laws and practices a major issue per 1930s economic depression. World War II focus moved to issues such as price controls, supply rationing policies, and so on. • Peak of interest during World War II; estimated 55% of <i>JM</i> articles on societal issues. • Postwar period: new focus on marketing and economic prosperity.
III. "A Paradigm Shift—Marketing, Management, and the Sciences" (1950–1980)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Throughout era, there is continued interest in government constraints on business. • Decreasing attention to assessing system efficiency. • In 1960s, increased attention to managerial implications of government actions and to marketing to the government. • Kennedy's Consumer Bill of Rights presages onset of consumerism. • Second half of era features widespread interest in societal issues. Dramatic increase in attention to broadening the concept of marketing, social debates, and regulatory agency actions in consumer protection.
IV. "The Shift Intensifies—A Fragmentation of the Mainstream" (1980–present)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Formal development of specialized research infrastructure for marketing and society area: <i>JPP&M</i> and <i>JMM</i> first published, annual Marketing and Public Policy Conference begins, and AMA SIG is formed. • Sharp decline in area during the 1980s and then steady increase in 1990s; wide range of academic topics and issues studied (captured in frameworks). • Six subgroups solidify with diverse substantive interests, levels of analysis, and research methods: public policy, marketing ethics, macromarketing, consumer economics, social marketing, and international consumer policy. • Potential for marginalization escalates. • Present-day paradox: Mainstream interest in marketing and society issues has declined across the era, yet area of marketing and society flourishes within itself.

of marketing's relationship to society in each era. The manner in which the current world is reflected in our field's thinking about society, however, has shifted somewhat here as well. In contrast to early treatments of marketing as an economic distribution system for goods and services, there now is much more attention given to strategies and practices involved in effectively managing marketing-related programs, whether these be in social marketing settings, government regulatory settings, self-regulatory settings, or a gamut of responsible business practices in the private sector. As was demonstrated in the discussion of Era IV, the body of knowledge that has accumulated is impressively broad, interesting, and useful. It is, at the same time, necessarily incomplete, given the vast array of important societal issues that might be studied in depth.

Conclusion 2: The "Marketing and Society" Area Today Is Itself Fragmented

There is also another significant characteristic to consider about the area after more than 20 years of Era IV. To wit, rather than a single unified presence, there are at least *six subgroups* hard at work on research dealing with marketing and society issues, some with their own journals and conferences. These groups are outlined and briefly described in Figure 4. When reading through it, note that though topics are related, true prospects for future integration are actually hindered by significant differences in levels of analysis, methods, and substantive focus. For example, among the six primary groups, there are people who wish to focus on social change and help those managing these efforts (*social marketing*), others who wish to focus on helping corporate marketers make more ethical decisions (*marketing ethics*), and still others who focus on the aggregate marketing system and its impacts on economic development, quality of life, or other issues (*macromarketing*). Another set of researchers focuses either on helping government decision makers and marketers devise more efficient and effective regulatory policies or on broader issues involving the roles for government, marketers, and the legal system (*public policy and marketing*). Furthermore, some people are approaching problems within different cultural and political contexts (*international consumer policy*), and some are approaching with different aims and methods (*consumer interest economists*).

It is the case that during the 1990s, efforts were undertaken to integrate these groups into a larger area of focus, and more than 200 marketing academics joined the Marketing and Society SIG of the AMA. However, true integration did not really occur for at least half of the groups listed, and each of the previously specialized conferences and journals continues to operate today. Although not a cohesive entity, however, the fact that these various vehicles exist presents a significant set of outlets for scholars seeking to publish their work. Furthermore, for publication purposes, these specialized journals have been receptive to a variety of topics and approaches, and the mainstream marketing journals, especially *JM*, have also been generally willing to publish work on marketing and society. So our discussion of Era IV ends with a visit to the paradox noted previously: The marketing and society area has been treated with "benign neglect" by the new academic mainstream of research in marketing, but this mainstream has itself been fragmented and is less powerful. Within its own

Figure 4. Six Subgroups in Marketing and Society

Public Policy and Marketing. This informal group has its own annual conference and the specialized *JPP&M*, published by the AMA. Its focus has been largely on the legal system and government's regulatory and legislative policies with regard to marketing, and it enjoys strong ties to MSI and to professionals at the FTC and FDA. It welcomes government, industry, and legal practitioners as well as academics from any discipline, but the dominant constituency is from marketing academia.

Macromarketing. This informal group has several annual conferences and the specialized *JMM*, published by Sage Publications. Its orientation represents the closest ties to an overall marketing system view as represented in Eras I and II. It also has formed alliances with smaller groups focused on economic development, quality-of-life studies, and marketing history.

Consumer Economics. The American Council on Consumer Interests is an organization that comprises primarily consumer economists who study marketing issues from the perspective of advancing the consumer interest. This group also holds its own annual conference and publishes the *JCA*, which has broadened its content to include additional areas such as consumer law and communications. In addition, many consumer-oriented marketing academics have published in this journal.

Social Marketing. This has been a loosely affiliated group of researchers who are interested in assisting not-for-profits and government agencies in designing effective interventions. It does not publish a journal, but it does have ties to the more practice-oriented *Social Marketing Quarterly* and the annual conference "Innovations in Social Marketing." Opportunities for volunteer projects are also available through the Social Marketing Institute, which has its headquarters in Washington, D.C.

Marketing Ethics. The Society for Business Ethics draws its membership from various business disciplines, but it does not publish its own journal. *Business Ethics Quarterly* is the major outlet in this area, and it does have a special editor for marketing. Within marketing, this is more a community than a formal group. It has been quite active in creating special sessions at the major marketing conferences. Given difficult issues in crossing cultures, the International Society of Business, Economics, and Ethics is also worthy of note.

International Consumer Policy. Distance and cultures still present barriers. These people are at work in other nations, with only sporadic interactions with the U.S. groups. They publish two journals on different aspects of this topic: *Journal of Consumer Policy* (now, however, edited at Cornell University) and *Journal of Economic Psychology*.

ambit, moreover, marketing and society research is also fragmented, yet in some respects it offers both fertile questions and accessible publication opportunities.

Conclusion 3: Marketing and Society Belongs as an Intrinsic Part of Mainstream Marketing Thought

As we have succinctly stated elsewhere (Wilkie and Moore 1999, p. 217), we believe the following: "One responsibility of academia is to place a field of study into proper perspective. We believe the Aggregate Marketing System should come to occupy a central position in research in the marketing field." It is clear that this was once the case, but it is not the case today, at least in terms of coverage in doctoral programs, research journals, and research conferences of both the quantitative and behavioral science researchers of the field. In

contrast, two recent undertakings intended to advance scholarship in the field of marketing have reflected positively on this point. First, *JM*'s 1999 fifth Special Issue (known to researchers as the "Millennium Issue") was envisioned to "help the marketing discipline look to the future" (Lusch 1999, p. 1). Titled "Fundamental Issues and Directions for Marketing," its organizers focused on four key questions:

1. How do customers and consumers really behave?
2. How do markets function and evolve?
3. How do firms relate to their markets? and
4. What are the contributions of marketing to organizational performance and social welfare?

The target audience for this issue was deliberately identified by *JM* Editor Robert Lusch (1999, p. 1) as "marketing academics in general, not just specialists in some narrower sub-field of marketing." Thus, this issue was directly intended to maintain a mainstream of thought for the future of the field. Moreover, MSI provided funding and support for this endeavor, in collaboration with the AMA. The editors of this special issue, George Day and David Montgomery (1999), further assessed the current state of the academic marketing field and the challenges confronting it. For our purposes here, however, it is most important to note that marketing and society was clearly included here as an integral component of the mainstream of the field.

Furthermore, this position has been maintained in another recent high-level mainstream research undertaking, *Handbook of Marketing* (Weitz and Wensley 2002). Its target audience is research-oriented academics, and it is especially designed for use in doctoral programs to provide a firm foundation across the expanse of the marketing field. Again, marketing and society is clearly identified as an integral component of the body of thought; indeed, Chapter 1's title is "Marketing's Relationship to Society." Let us not miss the point, however, that these two efforts merit special notice precisely because they are not common today, and each was constructed in part to assist directly in resisting the tidal wave of research fragmentation.

Conclusion 4: Fragmentation of Marketing Thought Is a Powerful, Perhaps Irresistible Force—However, It Deserves Careful Consideration and Possible Action by the Community of Scholars in Our Field

This we found to be an extremely complex issue. Fragmentation is in part an outgrowth of research specialization, which affords depth and sophistication, and has delivered significant advances in methodologies and concepts to the field. In this sense, it is a very positive phenomenon. However, fragmentation has been spurred in part by the spread of the publish-or-perish system, leading to a dramatic increase in journal and conference outlets into which work can be placed. For individual authors wishing to place their work, this may provide a true sense of advance and improvement, and it does contribute to the advance of a specialty area. However, for the field as a whole, other topics not selected for attention will be failing to advance at the same time.

Exacerbating this fundamental issue is the fact that there are now so many current publications (at least 49, according to Baumgartner and Pieters's [2003] recent analysis) that it is virtually impossible to keep up with the material across

the field. In addition, the research-oriented doctoral student or faculty member may well encounter significant pressures to produce and publish research in a quite constrained time period. Again, there is a latent conflict, but here it involves allocation of time to be spent in learning and contemplating knowledge developed by others versus creating and producing new knowledge. A common solution is to specialize deeply in the precise sphere in which an academic is attempting to create the contribution: This affords both learning and contemplation on the selected material and can contribute to significant advances for the field. However, time and energy are not limitless: The modern research academic who would choose to devote significant time to reading literature unrelated to a specialty topic could appear to be behaving in an almost dysfunctional manner.

What about the presence of the marketing and society area in a fragmented field of marketing? Given its often-close ties to the substantive domain, it is significant that the modern infrastructure for knowledge development has been virtually taken over by academics steeped in the view that the theoretical and methodological domains naturally should take precedence over the substantive domain. There are excellent arguments for prizing excellence in both theory and method, but it should also be recognized that a too simplistic acceptance of this view can have negative consequences as well. In this regard, a good lesson of this project for us was that marketing thought has a large volitional component to it: Absent institutional strictures, marketing thinkers can choose to think about those issues that they believe are most important, interesting, or pressing and can ignore others at the same time.

This project's analysis of Era IV suggests that the ideal of a broadly balanced conceptualization of marketing on the part of individual scholars has been disappearing during Era IV, and at least portions of the substantive domain have been the losers in this process. In consumer behavior research, for example, ACR has represented quality and integrity since its founding. However, it appears that many members today may not realize that the founding mission of ACR was to bring academic researchers, marketing practitioners, and government representatives together in a collegial quest to pursue consumer research issues. Today, however, the membership of ACR appears to have only 3 members (of some 1700) from the government sector. Similarly, *JM*'s recent editorial board listed more than 100 members, of whom only 2 were from marketing practice and none from government agencies (as we noted previously, the *JM* editorial board of the early 1960s had 60% practitioners). Thus, the academic presence in the field not only has grown substantially but also has moved to insulate itself to a great extent. Whether this is good or bad is, of course, debatable, but it could well have implications for the receptivity of reviewers to marketing and society contributions representing problems of the substantive domain.

Conclusion 5: A Major Cost of Fragmentation Is That Knowledge Is Being Lost from Our Field—This Calls for Directed Consideration of Modifications to Doctoral Education in Marketing

Pursuing the issue of fragmentation a bit further, this project actually underscores a point of concern that we have had for some time: *It is troubling to realize that knowledge does not*

necessarily accumulate in a field; knowledge can disappear over time if it is not actually transmitted (Wilkie 1981). In crossing the span of the 4 Eras, it is evident that some insights, perspectives, and findings did not get passed on but were replaced by other, more recent discoveries. In addition, as Andreasen (1997) points out in speaking of marketing and society research, some important social problems were “left behind” (insufficient progress was achieved) as researchers turned their attention to new frontiers.

This project provided an opportunity to observe more closely the process of change in marketing thought activities across time. Two key factors have already been noted: the significance of external developments in the larger world and the volitional choices of individual thinkers as to topics of primary importance for their work (consider the substantial impact of postpositivism within consumer behavior research). A further factor is that different thought leaders come to the forefront as the field advances over time. Thus, there is a time overlap as the eras shift, with a continuity of previous approaches during an influx of the predominant new dimensions. For example, the thought leaders of Era II generally did not lead the change into Era III; instead, in the main they continued to build on and extend their previous paths of inquiry while the new wave of contributors was beginning to bring the new quantitative and behavioral research approaches that would come to characterize the research of the next decades.

This third insight prompts us to examine more closely whence the academic marketing thought leaders of the future come and how their scholarly training and predispositions are being shaped. How are they being trained to answer the question of the role, if any, for marketing and society? This issue will not receive due consideration unless current scholars are willing to consider that important knowledge has been and continues to be lost from the active body of marketing thought. *As research specialization has increased, this risk has increased: Knowledge outside of a person's specialty may first be viewed as noninstrumental, then as nonessential, then as nonimportant, and finally as nonexistent in terms of meriting attention.* Our concern is not for the aware scholar who may opt to make an informed choice, but for later generations of scholars (today's and the future's doctoral students) who may not gain enough background to realize that a choice is available to them.

To examine this risk, a survey of AMA–Sheth Doctoral Consortium participants was run as an earlier part of this project (Wilkie and Moore 1997). The results strongly suggest that these concerns are justified. Although two-thirds of the doctoral candidates reported having a personal interest in learning about marketing and society, less than one in ten has taken even one course in the subject (ever, and most were in or near their last year of formal education). Furthermore, they were honest in reporting their self-ratings of expertise to be low; regular readership of the journals most pertinent to marketing and society was very low, as was their prior participation in the conferences for this area. Finally, many of these respondents honestly answered that they do not regard this area as professionally relevant for them, at least at this stage of their careers. Doctoral programs sorely need to reconsider this issue. Fortunately, the

recent appearance of *Handbook of Marketing* should offer an entry point for many more doctoral students than has been the case during Era IV. Of course, it will still be necessary that the current scholars leading these seminars assign and cover this topic.

Conclusion 6: A Call to Action Is Appropriate for the Field of Academic Marketing—It Is Time for an Academic Marketing Summit to Explore Viable Means to Enhance Scholarship in Our Field

This project served as a cogent reminder of the promise, potential, and sheer wonder of the cumulative body of marketing thought. The previous conclusions are sufficient to demonstrate a need for wisdom in exploring means to create a better context for scholarship in the future. Worthy topics that we would suggest for consideration include the following: (1) the character of business schools' vocational objectives for university faculty members; (2) the publish-or-perish system's incentives and time constraints; (3) the character of the modern journal publication system; (4) the nature and objectives of research-oriented doctoral programs, especially the extent to which failure to provide sufficient background in intrinsic domains of marketing thought may lead to problems for the future of the field; and (5) the implications, problems, and opportunities presented by the twin forces of globalization and the Internet.

Such a summit is feasible. Similar efforts have been undertaken before in our field with interesting and impressive results. These include the “Commission on the Effectiveness of Research and Development for Marketing Management,” a group of 18 prominent marketing thinkers (8 academics and 10 practitioners) sponsored by the AMA and MSI in the late 1970s (Myers, Massy, and Greyser 1980) and the AMA's “Task Force on the Development of Marketing Thought,” headed by Kent Monroe in the late 1980s (AMA Task Force 1988). It seems clear to us that another effort is needed now.

A Closing Comment on the Future

We feel privileged to have been able to undertake this most interesting venture through the literature of our field. We have learned much and have been impressed with the spirit and enthusiasm for discovery that has characterized our field across the years. There is no question that the body of thought has been impressively advanced, and in exciting ways. This will surely continue in the future, especially in light of emerging globalization challenges and opportunities, the spread of the Internet phenomenon, other new technological innovations, and a changing set of consumers and citizens. At the same time, we cannot escape the impression that in our field's advance much has also been left behind, as emphasis has been continually at advancing the frontiers. As we suspect readers of *JPP&M* will agree, the questions, insights, principles, and discoveries that constitute marketing and society should not be left out of the minds of future marketing thought leaders. It is up to us to get them there and then up to future scholars to retain and build on this base.

References

- AACSB (2003), *International Doctoral Faculty Commission Draft Report*. St. Louis: AACSB.
- Aaker, David A. and George S. Day (1982), *Consumerism: Search for the Public Interest*, 4th ed. New York: The Free Press.
- Alderson, Wroe (1937), "A Marketing View of Competition," *Journal of Marketing*, 1 (January), 189–90.
- (1943), "The Marketing Viewpoint in National Economic Planning," *Journal of Marketing*, 7 (April), 326–32.
- (1957), *Marketing Behavior and Executive Action*. Homewood, IL: Richard D. Irwin.
- and Reavis Cox (1948), "Toward a Theory of Marketing," *Journal of Marketing*, 13 (October), 137–52.
- Alexander, R.S., F.M. Surface, R.F. Elder, and Wroe Alderson (1940), *Marketing*. New York: Ginn & Company.
- Allen, Frederick Lewis (1952), *The Big Change*. New York: Harper & Brothers.
- AMA Task Force (1988), "Developing, Disseminating, and Utilizing Marketing Knowledge," *Journal of Marketing*, 52 (October), 1–25.
- Anderson, Paul F. (1983), "Marketing, Scientific Progress, and Scientific Method," *Journal of Marketing*, 47 (Fall), 18–31.
- Andreasen, Alan R. (1991), "Consumer Behavior Research and Social Policy," in *Handbook of Consumer Behavior*, Thomas S. Robertson and Harold H. Kassarian, eds. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 459–506.
- (1994), "Social Marketing: Its Definition and Domain," *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 13 (Spring), 108–114.
- (1997), "From Ghetto Marketing to Social Marketing: Bringing Social Relevance to Mainstream Marketing," *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 16 (Spring), 129–31.
- Appelbaum, William (1947), "The *Journal of Marketing*: The First Ten Years," *Journal of Marketing*, 11 (April), 355–63.
- (1952), "The *Journal of Marketing*: Postwar," *Journal of Marketing*, 16 (January), 294–300.
- Bader, Louis and J.P. Wernette (1938), "Consumer Movements and Business," *Journal of Marketing*, 3 (July), 3–15.
- Bain, Joe S. (1941), "The Sherman Act and the Bottlenecks of Business," *Journal of Marketing*, 5 (January), 254–58.
- Bartels, Robert (1951a), "Can Marketing Be a Science?" *Journal of Marketing*, 15 (January), 319–28.
- (1951b), "Influences on the Development of Marketing Thought, 1900–1923," *Journal of Marketing*, 16 (July), 1–17.
- (1988), *The History of Marketing Thought*, 3d ed. Columbus, OH: Publishing Horizons.
- Bass, Frank M. (2001), "Some History of the TIMS/INFORMS College on Marketing as Related to the Development of Marketing Science," *Marketing Science*, 20 (Fall), 360–63.
- , Robert D. Buzzell, M.R. Greene, William Lazer, Edgar A. Pessimier, Donald Shawver, Abraham Schuchman, and G.W. Wilson (1961), *Mathematical Models and Methods in Marketing*. Homewood, IL: Richard D. Irwin.
- Baumgartner, Hans and Rik Pieters (2003), "The Structural Influence of Marketing Journals: A Citation Analysis of the Discipline and Its Subareas over Time," *Journal of Marketing*, 67 (April), 123–39.
- Belk, Russell W. (1986), "What Should ACR Want to Be When It Grows Up?" in *Advances in Consumer Research*, Vol. 13, Richard J. Lutz, ed. Provo, UT: Association for Consumer Research, 423–24.
- Bloom, Paul N. (1987), *Knowledge Development in Marketing*. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath & Company.
- (1997), "Field of Marketing and Public Policy: Introduction and Overview," *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 16 (Spring), 126–28.
- and Gregory T. Gundlach (2001), "Introduction," in *Handbook of Marketing and Society*, Paul N. Bloom and Gregory T. Gundlach, eds. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, xiii–xxii.
- Borden, Neil H. (1942), "Findings of the Harvard Study on the Economic Effects of Advertising," *Journal of Marketing*, 6 (April), 89–99.
- (1964), "The Concept of the Marketing Mix," *Journal of Advertising Research*, (June), 2–7.
- Breyer, Ralph F. (1934), *The Marketing Institution*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Brown, William F. (1947a), "The Federal Trade Commission and False Advertising I," *Journal of Marketing*, 12 (July), 38–45.
- (1947b), "The Federal Trade Commission and False Advertising II," *Journal of Marketing*, 12 (October), 193–201.
- Buehler, Alfred G. (1937), "Chain Store Taxes," *Journal of Marketing*, 1 (January), 177–88.
- Bussiere, Dave (2000), "Evidence of a Marketing Periodic Literature Within the American Economic Association: 1895–1936," *Journal of Macromarketing*, 20 (2), 137–43.
- Butler, Ralph W. (1914), *Marketing Methods and Salesmanship*. New York: Alexander Hamilton Institute.
- Buzzell, Robert D. (1964), *Mathematical Models and Marketing Management*. Boston: Harvard Graduate School of Business.
- Cassady, Ralph, Jr. (1939), "The Consumer and the Maintenance of Resale Prices," *Journal of Marketing*, 3 (January), 257–61.
- (1946a), "Some Economic Aspects of Price Discrimination Under Non-Perfect Market Conditions," *Journal of Marketing*, 11 (July), 7–20.
- (1946b), "Techniques and Purposes of Price Discrimination," *Journal of Marketing*, 11 (October), 135–50.
- (1947a), "Legal Aspects of Price Discrimination: Federal Law," *Journal of Marketing*, 11 (January), 258–72.
- (1947b), "Legal Aspects of Price Discrimination: State Law," *Journal of Marketing*, 11 (April), 377–89.
- Cherington, Paul T. (1920), *The Elements of Marketing*. New York: Macmillan.
- Clark, Fred E. (1922), *Principles of Marketing*. New York: Macmillan.
- Clark, Lincoln H., ed. (1955), *The Life Cycle and Consumer Behavior*. New York: New York University Press.
- Cohen, Joel B. (1995), "Abbott and Costello Meet Frankenstein: An ACR Retrospective," in *Advances in Consumer Research*, Vol. 22, Frank R. Kardes and Mita Sujan, eds. Provo, UT: Association for Consumer Research, 545–47.
- Cohen, Lizabeth (2003), *A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Converse, Paul D. (1924), *Marketing Methods and Policies*, 2d ed. New York: Macmillan.

- (1945), "The Development of the Science of Marketing: An Exploratory Survey," *Journal of Marketing*, 10 (July), 14–23.
- Copeland, Morris A. (1942), "A Social Appraisal of Differential Pricing," *Journal of Marketing*, 6 (April), 177–84.
- Cox, Reavis and Wroe Alderson, eds. (1950), *Theory in Marketing*. Homewood, IL: Richard D. Irwin.
- Cross, Gary (2000), *An All-Consuming Century: Why Commercialism Won in Modern America*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Day, George S. (1996), "Using the Past as a Guide to the Future: Reflections on the History of the *Journal of Marketing*," *Journal of Marketing*, 60 (January), 14–16.
- and David B. Montgomery (1999), "Charting New Directions for Marketing," *Journal of Marketing*, 63 (Special Issue), 3–13.
- Derber, Milton (1943), "Gasoline Rationing Policy and Practice in Canada and the United States," *Journal of Marketing*, 8 (October), 137–44.
- Desmond, Kevin (1986), *A Timetable of Inventions and Discoveries*. New York: M. Evans & Company.
- Dickson, Peter R. and Philippa K. Wells (2001), "The Dubious Origins of the Sherman Antitrust Act: The Mouse That Roared," *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 20 (Spring), 3–14.
- Dixon, Donald F. (2002), "Emerging Macromarketing Concepts from Socrates to Alfred Marshall," *Journal of Business Research*, 55 (September), 87–95.
- Drury, James Child (1937), "Consumers' Cooperation," *Journal of Marketing*, 4 (April), 385–89.
- Duddy, Edward A. and David A. Revzan (1947), *Marketing: An Institutional Approach*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Engel, James F. (1995), "ACR's 25th Anniversary: How It All Began," in *Advances in Consumer Research*, Vol. 22, Frank R. Kardes and Mita Sujun, eds. Provo, UT: Association for Consumer Research, 548–49.
- , David T. Kollat, and Roger D. Blackwell (1968), *Consumer Behavior*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Engle, N.H. (1936), "Implications of the Robinson-Patman Act for Marketing," *Journal of Marketing*, 1 (October), 75–81.
- (1941), "Measurement of Economic and Marketing Efficiency," *Journal of Marketing*, 5 (April), 335–49.
- Fisk, George (1981), "An Invitation to Participate in Affairs of the *Journal of Macromarketing*," *Journal of Macromarketing*, 1 (Spring), 3–6.
- Frank, Ronald E., Alfred A. Kuehn, and William F. Massy (1962), *Quantitative Techniques in Marketing Analysis*. Homewood, IL: Richard D. Irwin.
- Fullbrook, Earl S. (1940), "The Functional Concept in Marketing," *Journal of Marketing*, 4 (January), 229–37.
- Gardner, Burleigh B. and Sidney J. Levy (1955), "The Product and the Brand," *Harvard Business Review*, (March–April), 33–39.
- Gordon, Robert and James Howell (1959), *Higher Education in Business*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Grether, E.T. (1937), "Fair Trade Legislation Restricting Price Cutting," *Journal of Marketing*, 1 (April), 334–54.
- (1943), "Price Control and Rationing Under the Office of Price Administration: A Brief Selective Appraisal," *Journal of Marketing*, 7 (April), 300–318.
- (1944), "Long Run Postwar Aspects of Price Control," *Journal of Marketing*, 8 (January), 296–301.
- (1947), "The Federal Trade Commission Versus Resale Price Maintenance," *Journal of Marketing*, 12 (July), 1–13.
- (1948), "The Postwar Market and Industrialization in California," *Journal of Marketing*, 12 (January), 311–16.
- (1976), "The First Forty Years," *Journal of Marketing*, 40 (July), 63–69.
- Greyser, Stephen A. (1997a), "Consumer Research and the Public Policy Process: Then and Now," *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 16 (Spring), 137–38.
- (1997b), "Janus and Marketing: The Past, Present, and Prospective Future of Marketing," in *Reflection on the Futures of Marketing Practice and Education*, Donald R. Lehmann and Katherine E. Jocz, eds. Cambridge, MA: Marketing Science Institute, 3–14.
- Gundlach, Gregory T. and William L. Wilkie (1990), "The Marketing Literature in Public Policy: 1970–1988," in *Marketing and Advertising Regulation: The Federal Trade Commission in the 1990s*, Patrick E. Murphy and William L. Wilkie, eds. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 329–44.
- Hahn, L. Albert (1946), "The Effects of Saving on Employment and Consumption," *Journal of Marketing*, 11 (July), 35–43.
- Hill, Ronald Paul, Elizabeth C. Hirschman, and John F. Bauman (1997), "Consumer Survival During the Great Depression: Reports from the Field," *Journal of Macromarketing*, 17 (Spring), 107–127.
- Hobart, Donald M. (1940), "Probable Effects of a National Emergency on Marketing Functions and Policies," *Journal of Marketing*, 4 (April), 59–65.
- Holbrook, Morris B. (1987), "What Is Consumer Research?" *Journal of Consumer Research*, 14 (June), 128–32.
- Hollander, Stanley (1960), "The Wheel of Retailing," *Journal of Marketing*, 25 (July), 37–42.
- , William W. Keep, and Roger Dickinson (1999), "Marketing Public Policy and the Evolving Role of Marketing Academics: A Historical Perspective," *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 18 (Fall), 265–69.
- Holt, Budd A. (1936), "Economic Provisions of Marketing Agreements for General Crops," *Journal of Marketing*, 1 (October), 115–26.
- Howard, John A. (1957), *Marketing Management: Analysis and Planning*. Homewood, IL: Richard D. Irwin.
- and Jagdish N. Sheth (1969), *The Theory of Buyer Behavior*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Howard, William H. (1933), "The Whole Truth in Retail Advertising," *Journal of Retailing*, 9 (October), 79–82.
- Hunt, Shelby D. (1983), "General Theories and the Fundamental Explananda of Marketing," *Journal of Marketing*, 47 (Fall), 9–17.
- (1990), "Truth in Marketing Theory and Research," *Journal of Marketing*, 54 (July), 1–15.
- (1992), "For Reason and Realism in Marketing," *Journal of Marketing*, 56 (April), 89–102.
- and Jerry Goolsby (1988), "The Rise and Fall of the Functional Approach to Marketing: A Paradigm Displacement Perspective," in *Historical Perspectives in Marketing: Essays in Honor of Stanley C. Hollander*, Terence Nevett and Ronald A. Fullerton, eds. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath & Company.

- Ivey, Paul Wesley (1922), *Principles of Marketing*, reprint. New York: Ronald Press Co.
- Jones, D.G. Brian and Eric H. Shaw (2002), "A History of Marketing Thought," in *Handbook of Marketing*, Barton A. Weitz and Robin Wensley, eds. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 39–65.
- Kardes, Frank R. and Mita Sujun, eds. (1995), *Advances in Consumer Research*, Vol. 22. Provo, UT: Association for Consumer Research.
- Kassarjian, Harold H. (1995), "Some Recollections from a Quarter Century Ago," in *Advances in Consumer Research*, Vol. 22, Frank R. Kardes and Mita Sujun, eds. Provo, UT: Association for Consumer Research, 550–52.
- and Thomas S. Robertson (1968), *Perspectives in Consumer Behavior*. Glenview, IL: Scott Foresman.
- Kelley, Eugene J. and William Lazer, eds. (1958), *Managerial Marketing: Perspectives and Viewpoints*. Homewood, IL: Richard D. Irwin.
- Kerin, Roger A. (1996), "In Pursuit of an Ideal: The Editorial and Literary History of the *Journal of Marketing*," *Journal of Marketing*, 60 (January), 1–13.
- Kernan, Jerome B. (1995a), "Declaring a Discipline: Reflections on ACR's Silver Anniversary," in *Advances in Consumer Research*, Vol. 22, Frank R. Kardes and Mita Sujun, eds. Provo, UT: Association for Consumer Research, 553–60.
- (1995b), "Framing a Rainbow, Focusing the Light: *JCR*'s First Twenty Years," in *Advances in Consumer Research*, Vol. 22, Frank R. Kardes and Mita Sujun, eds. Provo, UT: Association for Consumer Research, 488–96.
- Kinnear, Thomas C. (1982), "Editor's Statement," *Journal of Marketing & Public Policy*, 1, 1–2.
- (1997), "An Historic Perspective on the Quantity and Quality of Marketing and Public Policy Research," *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 16 (Spring), 144–46.
- Kotler, Philip (1967), *Marketing Management: Analysis, Planning, and Control*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- (1971), *Marketing Decision Making: A Model Building Approach*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- (1988), *Marketing Management: Analysis, Planning, Implementation, and Control*, 6th ed. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- (2003), *Marketing Management*, 11th ed. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- and Gary Armstrong (2004), *Principles of Marketing*, 10th ed. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- and Sidney J. Levy (1969a), "Broadening the Concept of Marketing," *Journal of Marketing*, 33 (January), 10–15.
- and ——— (1969b), "A New Form of Marketing Myopia: Rejoinder to Professor Luck," *Journal of Marketing*, 33 (July), 55–57.
- Lampman, Robert J. (1988), "JFK's Four Consumer Rights: A Retrospective View," in *The Frontier of Research in the Consumer Interest*, E. Scott Maynes, ed. Columbia, MO: American Council on Consumer Interests, 19–33.
- Lavidge, Robert J. and Gary A. Steiner (1961), "A Model for Predictive Measurements of Advertising Effectiveness," *Journal of Marketing*, 25 (October), 59–62.
- Lebergott, Stanley (1993), *Pursuing Happiness: American Consumers in the Twentieth Century*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Lehmann, Donald R. (2002), "Marketing ROI Tops 2002–04 Research Agenda," in *Marketing Science Institute Review*. Cambridge, MA: Marketing Science Institute, 1, 4–5.
- Levitt, Theodore (1960), "Marketing Myopia," *Harvard Business Review*, (July–August), 45–56.
- Lichtenthal, J. David and Leland L. Beik (1984), "A History of the Definition of Marketing," in *Research in Marketing*, Vol. 7, Jagdish N. Sheth, ed. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 133–63.
- Little, John D.C. (2001), "The History of the Marketing College Is a Work in Progress," *Marketing Science*, 20 (Fall), 364–72.
- Luck, David J. (1969), "Broadening the Concept of Marketing: Too Far," *Journal of Marketing*, 33 (July), 53–55.
- Lusch, Robert F. (1999), "From the Editor," *Journal of Marketing*, 63 (Special Issue), 1–2.
- Mayer, Robert N. (1989), *The Consumer Movement: Guardians of the Marketplace*. Boston: Twayne.
- Maynard, Harold H., Walter C. Weidler, and Theodore N. Beckman (1927), *Principles of Marketing*. New York: Ronald Press Co.
- Maynes, E. Scott, ed. (1988), *The Frontier of Research in the Consumer Interest*. Columbia, MO: American Council on Consumer Interests.
- Mazis, Michael B. (1979), "Overview of 'Can and Should the FTC Restrict Advertising to Children' Workshop," in *Advances in Consumer Research*, Vol. 6, William L. Wilkie, ed. Ann Arbor, MI: Association for Consumer Research, 3–6.
- (1997), "Marketing and Public Policy: Prospects for the Future," *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 16 (Spring), 139–43.
- McCarthy, E. Jerome (1960), *Basic Marketing: A Managerial Approach*. Homewood, IL: Richard D. Irwin.
- McHenry, Lorenzo Alva (1937), "Price Stabilization Attempts in the Grocery Trade in California," *Journal of Marketing*, 2 (October), 121–28.
- McKitterick, John B. (1957), "What Is the Marketing Management Concept?" in *The Frontiers of Marketing Thought and Action*, Frank M. Bass, ed. Chicago: American Marketing Association, 71–82.
- McNair, Malcolm P. (1958), "Significant Trends and Developments in the Postwar Period," in *Competitive Distribution Is a Free, High-Level Economy and Its Implications for the University*, A.B. Smith, ed. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1–25.
- Mench, John (1925), "The Merchandise Division: Why It Exists, and Its Job," *Journal of Retailing*, 1 (July), 3–5.
- Montgomery, David B. (2001), "Management Science in Marketing: Prehistory, Origin, and Early Years of the INFORMS Marketing College," *Marketing Science*, 20 (Fall), 337–48.
- Montgomery, D.E. (1937), "The Consumer Looks at Competition," *Journal of Marketing*, 1 (January), 218–22.
- Moriarity, W.D. (1923), *The Economics of Marketing and Advertising*. New York: Harper & Brothers.
- Morrison, Donald G. (2001), "Founding Marketing Science," *Marketing Science*, 20 (Fall), 357–59.
- Murphy, Patrick E. (1990), "Past FTC Participation by Marketing Academics," in *Marketing and Advertising Regulation: The Federal Trade Commission in the 1990s*, Patrick E. Murphy and William L. Wilkie, eds. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 205–215.

- and William L. Wilkie, eds. (1990), *Marketing and Advertising Regulation: The Federal Trade Commission in the 1990s*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Myers, John G., William F. Massy, and Stephen A. Greyser (1980), *Marketing Research and Knowledge Development*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Nance, J.J. (1944), "War and Postwar Adjustments in Marketing Appliances," *Journal of Marketing*, 8 (January), 307–309.
- Nason, Robert W. (1992), "From the Editor: The Driving Forces of Macromarketing," *Journal of Macromarketing*, 12 (Spring), 1–3.
- Nystrom, Paul N. (1948), "The Minimum Wage in Retailing," *Journal of Retailing*, 24 (February), 1–5.
- Payne, Happer (1947), "Standardized Description, A Form of Specification Labeling," *Journal of Marketing*, 12 (October), 234–41.
- Peter, J. Paul (1992), "Realism or Relativism for Marketing Theory and Research: A Comment on Hunt's 'Scientific Realism'," *Journal of Marketing*, 56 (April), 72–79.
- and Jerry C. Olson (1983), "Is Science Marketing?" *Journal of Marketing*, 47 (Fall), 111–25.
- Phillips, Charles F. (1938), *Marketing*. New York: Houghton Mifflin.
- Reibstein, David (2001), "Marketing's Present and Future," *Marketing Science Institute Review*, (Spring–Summer), 1ff.
- Rutherford, H.K. (1940), "Industrial Preparedness," *Journal of Marketing*, 4 (April), 47–50.
- Savitt, Ronald (1990), "Pre-Aldersonian Antecedents to Macromarketing: Insights from the Textual Literature," *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, 18 (4), 293–301.
- Schlossman, S., M. Sedlack, and H. Wechsler (1987), "The 'New Look': The Ford Foundation and the Revolution in Business Education," *Selections*, (Winter), 8–28.
- Schmotter, James (1984), "An Interview with Professor James Howell," *Selections*, (Spring), 9–13.
- Severa, R.M. (1943), "Retail Credit in Wartime," *Journal of Retailing*, 19 (April), 35–40.
- Shaw, Arch W. (1912), "Some Problems in Market Distribution," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 26 (4), 703–765.
- Shaw, Eric H. (1995), "The First Dialogue on Macromarketing," *Journal of Macromarketing*, 15 (Spring), 7–20.
- Smith, Wendell (1956), "Product Differentiation and Marketing Segmentation as Alternative Marketing Strategies," *Journal of Marketing*, 20 (July), 3–8.
- Sprott, David E. and Anthony D. Miyazaki (2002), "Two Decades of Contributions to Marketing and Public Policy: An Analysis of Research Published in *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*," *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 21 (Spring), 105–125.
- Steckel, Joel H. and Ed Brody (2001), "Special Section 2001: A Marketing Odyssey," *Marketing Science*, 20 (Fall), 331–36.
- Stern, Louis W. and Thomas L. Eovaldi (1984), *Legal Aspects of Marketing Strategy: Antitrust and Consumer Protection Issues*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Straus, Percy S. (1926), "Some Observations on Merchandise Control," *Journal of Retailing*, 2 (April), 3–5.
- Taylor, Malcolm D. (1943), "Allocation of Scarce Consumers' Goods to Retailers," *Journal of Marketing*, 8 (October), 123–32.
- Thomas, Eugene P. (1940), "Shifting Scenes in Foreign Trade," *Journal of Marketing*, 4 (April), 51–58.
- Tousley, Rayburn D. (1940), "The Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act of 1938," *Journal of Marketing*, 5 (January), 259–69.
- U.S. Department of Education (2001), "Completion Survey," National Center for Education Statistics, Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System, [available at <http://www.nces.ed.gov>].
- Vaile, Roland S., E.T. Grether, and Reavis Cox (1952), *Marketing in the American Economy*. New York: Ronald Press Co.
- Vance, Lawrence L. (1947), "The Interpretation of Consumer Dissaving," *Journal of Marketing*, 11 (January), 243–49.
- Vaughan, Floyd L. (1928), *Marketing and Advertising*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Watson, Alfred N. (1944), "Wartime Incomes and Consumer Markets," *Journal of Marketing*, 8 (January), 231–37.
- Webster, Frederick E., Jr. (2002), "The Role of Marketing and the Firm," in *Handbook of Marketing*, Barton A. Weitz and Robin Wensley, eds. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 66–82.
- Weitz, Barton A. and Robin Wensley, eds. (2002), *Handbook of Marketing*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Weld, Louis D.H. (1915), *Studies in the Marketing of Farm Products*. Minneapolis: Bulletin of the University of Minnesota.
- (1916), *The Marketing of Farm Products*. New York: Macmillan.
- Wells, William D. (1995), "What Do We Want to Be When We Grow Up?" in *Advances in Consumer Research*, Vol. 22, Frank R. Kardes and Mita Sujun, eds. Provo, UT: Association for Consumer Research, 561–63.
- White, Percival (1927), *Scientific Marketing Management*. New York: Harper & Brothers.
- Wilkie, William L. (1981), "Presidential Address: 1980," in *Advances in Consumer Research*, Vol. 8, Kent Monroe, ed. Ann Arbor, MI: Association for Consumer Research, 1–6.
- (1994), *Consumer Behavior*, 3d ed. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- (1997), "Developing Research on Public Policy and Marketing," *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 16 (Spring), 132–36.
- (2002), "On Books and Scholarship: Reflections of a Marketing Academic," *Journal of Marketing*, 66 (July), 141–52.
- and Elizabeth S. Moore (1997), "Consortium Survey on Marketing and Society Issues: Summary and Results," *Journal of Macromarketing*, 17 (2), 89–95.
- and ——— (1999), "Marketing's Contributions to Society," *Journal of Marketing*, 63 (Special Issue), 198–218.
- Witkowski, Terrence H. (1998), "The American Consumer Home Front During World War II," in *Advances in Consumer Research*, Vol. 25, Joseph W. Alba and J. Wesley Hutchinson, eds. Provo, UT: Association for Consumer Research, 568–73.
- Wittausch, William (1944), "Postwar Competition for Mass-Produced Low-Cost Housing," *Journal of Marketing*, 8 (April), 375–81.
- Wittink, Dick R. (2001), "Market Measurement and Analysis: The First 'Marketing Science Conference,'" *Marketing Science*, 20 (Fall), 349–56.
- Zaltman, Gerald (1965), *Marketing: Contributions from the Behavioral Sciences*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World.
- Zinkhan, George M. and Rudy Hirschheim (1992), "Truth in Marketing Theory and Research: An Alternative Perspective," *Journal of Marketing*, 56 (April), 80–88.