



The historical development of segmentation: the example of the German book trade 1800-1928

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Abstract

Purpose – Using the German book trade as a case example, the aim of the paper is to show how the evolution of segmentation began with increasingly sophisticated marketing practice long before formal thought was developed to explain matters.

Design/methodology/approach – The paper's approach is a careful and critical examination of exclusively primary sources.

Findings – Marketing practice developed increasingly sophisticated segmentation over the 100 years before there was formal marketing thought about it. Marketing thought developed in part because the growth of universities stimulated the development of formal disciplines, and in part because businesspeople wanted to accelerate learning what they should do to grow their businesses.

Originality/value – The paper is based on an in-depth examination of one of the first businesses to adopt aggressive marketing.

Keywords Segmentation, Multivariate segmentation, Marketing history, History of marketing thought, Marketing philosophy, Marketing theory, Bookselling, Modern history, Germany

Paper type Research paper

Introduction

In this paper I want to deal with the evolution of segmentation over a century, from 1800 to 1928, using the German book trade as a case example. The paper shows how segmentation was first developed by marketing practitioners, who over the course of the nineteenth century made use of increasingly greater and more sophisticated segmentation practices to grow their markets. When formal thought began to develop in the early twentieth century; it was based heavily upon marketing practice. Before there was marketing thought about segmentation, there was marketing practice. Careful observation of practice eventually led some to generalize from it, then fitting it to conceptual frameworks from organized academic disciplines, thus beginning to articulate marketing thought. The publication of the publisher Horst Kliemann's discussion of segmentation in 1928 culminated the transition from practice to thought. It appeared almost thirty years before Smith's (1956) classic articulation in the US – but after more than a century of practice.

Segmentation is a major element of marketing thought today. Of course there are differing definitions of segmentation (see, for example, Hunt, 2011); mine is practical: that segmentation is the subdivision of the overall market based on buyer preferences. A firm develops these subdivisions only in order to expand the market. The process begins with the awareness that different groups (segments) of buyers hold differing preferences for the same basic product. Developing variations of a product will appeal to different groups of people. Thus there is a group of people who want a simple cellphone to send and receive calls and SMS messages, a group wanting a more



sophisticated phone with a camera, a group wanting a jewelry-embellished luxury phone, and a group wanting a smartphone enabling them to surf the internet, play complex games, check movie reviews, etc. All of these preference markets are presently operating. The same logic applies to many product businesses, including bookselling. After all, how many of you would want to read a “bodice-ripper” set in eighteenth century France? How many would want to read a picture book about exotic luxury cars that practically no one can afford? How many want to read a Pennsylvania Dutch cookbook? Yet there are large markets for all of these books.

I concentrate upon the German book trade because it was one of the earliest businesses to adopt an aggressive attitude towards expanding its markets. It is the aggressiveness that forms the ethos of modern marketing, setting it apart from earlier marketing. During much of the nineteenth century, bookselling and patent medicines were the two most aggressive businesses in their promotion and distribution, in Germany as well as other western countries.

Although German bookselling in the first third of the century was less aggressive than its counterpart in the UK, it was copying a great deal from Britain and improvising a few of its own innovations. Over the course of the century it innovated more: publishers became evermore skilled, by the end of the century doubtless surpassing the British. I stress publishers because they played the central role in the marketing of reading matter – in its creation, in its promotion, and in its distribution. A majority of books were published because a publisher had an idea – usually influenced by perceived market demand – and commissioned writer(s) to create a suitable vehicle. Publishers knew that market demand was heterogeneous; they sensed that new buyers might be accessed by the right version of their product, or the right way of distributing it.

The sources for this paper are multi-faceted. They include materials created during the period under discussion – primary sources to an historian – and they include materials written later – secondary sources to an historian. A full bibliography is presented in Further Reading section.

The German book trade at the beginning of the nineteenth century

At the start of the 1800s the German book trade was still characterized by the slow-moving ethos of early modern capitalism:

The spirit of enterprise and of speculative undertaking was still dormant; the book trade was still carried on in the traditional way (Berger, 1879, p. 125).

The trade did not intend to sell as many books as possible; it was considered untoward to expand markets by reaching new customers. Most Germans had little if any contact with printed matter.

There were three basic publics that the German bookselling industry served. One was made up of wealthy scholars, cultivated nobles and higher clergy, high government officials, and well-to-do merchants; this public had been served for centuries – but was declining as the nineteenth century opened. A second public was comprised of the middle and upper middle classes; it had been growing since the second half of the eighteenth century, and was comprised of modest home library builders, children, women, for-fee libraries (*Leihbibliotheken*), members of the professions, and schools. These two publics were served by bookstores. The third

public, which had existed for centuries, was made up of the still largely rural lower classes, which purchased the few printed items which were affordable by and accessible to them – the Bible, catechisms, popular devotional works, calendars, and sensationalistic broadsheets detailing horrific crime. They purchased from itinerant booksellers known as *colporteurs*, who wandered from village to village carrying chests of reading matter on their backs. This third public was, in other words, catered to by a completely different book-publishing and bookselling business than dealt with the first two.

Segmenting the publics

Although the trade was conservative, there were cases where publishers segmented markets to reach more people. It was common to appeal to differences in the amount people that were willing to pay, or to the extent of luxury that they desired. In the second decade of the nineteenth century, for example, the publisher Cotta announced that he was printing a 20 volume edition of the poet Goethe's works, available on four different grades of paper, with the cheapest costing one third the amount of the most expensive (Anon., 1816, pp. 8-11). Presumably the traditional wealthy public purchased the vellum edition. A buyer could either buy the books on subscription or, to save money (27-33 percent), pay cash in advance. Whatever the paper chosen, however, the printing plates were the same. Cotta was one of several publishers to offer such deals.

For a very few enormously popular works it was cost-effective to offer different printing technologies as well, but this was rare. The most popular of all works outside of the Bible during the first half of the century, Thomas a Kempis' (1380-1471) *Imitation of Christ*, was offered to buyers as a cheap stereotype edition, an elaborate luxury edition, an edition for Catholics, an edition for Protestants, editions with steel engravings, editions with woodcut illustrations, editions with devotional exercises, and editions with all manner of commentary, exegesis, prayers, and other fillers.

Sensing that lower prices might increase sales, a few publishers began to sell at lower than normal prices. The best-known example was the publisher Friedrich Arnold Brockhaus (1772-1823), who sold titles that had been offered by others – but sold them at considerably lower prices. Brockhaus selected titles that he knew would appeal to the middle and upper middle classes, for example his famous encyclopedia (*Conversationslexikon*), which people wanted to own to give themselves the aura of learning. The *Conversationslexikon* had actually been offered by five different publishers before Brockhaus took it over and drastically lowered the price – and garnered enormous sales. Brockhaus' aggressiveness made him an anomaly among German publishers at the time, however.

Post-1820 bookselling: “a disquiet, an urgency, a bustle, an aggressiveness”

After about 1820 a new, aggressive spirit began to animate parts of the book trade. A respected trade figure wrote of a business newly characterized by “a disquiet, an urgency, a bustle, an aggressiveness” (Perthes, 1834, p. 6). Over the decades that followed there were a great variety of segmentation schemes developed, some of them quite successfully, in an increasingly active search to expand markets by reaching more people. These schemes tended to become more sophisticated as time passed.

Three trends exemplified an ever-greater attention to differing buyer preferences. One, there was growing development of new types of book to expand the book market both from existing customers and by reaching out to new ones. Two, new retail outlets were developed to reach out to new buyers; most of the strategies involved either supplementing or bypassing conventional retail stores. Three, towards the end of the century formal market planning came to be used by more and more firms – especially publishers. They consciously thought about potential buyers and how to reach them with unique benefits.

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Developing new products for new segments

The first trend was to develop new products – new books – to enlarge existing buyer groups and to reach out to new groups. This trend grew larger and larger as the century went on. Some examples:

- The publisher B.F. Voight cultivated ever-newer groups of buyers with its series of handbooks for artisans and skilled tradespeople, the *Neuer Schauplatz fuer Kuenste und Handwerke*. Beginning in 1817 with one title, the series expanded to include 79 titles by 1835, 200 titles by 1851, and 278 by 1879. In the 1840s the series covered, among other subjects, gold and silversmithing, masonry, chocolate making, milling, sugar making, metallurgy, piano repairing, silk making, and railroading; by the 1850s the series covered photography, gas lighting, telegraphy, rubber manufacturing, and the use of chemicals in manufacturing (Heinsius, 1812, vol X part 2, pp. 210-211; vol XI part 2, pp. 224-226).
- Sensing that some buyers would respond more to books with illustrations *if* they were reasonably priced, from the late 1840s the publisher Otto Spamer developed lavishly illustrated yet reasonably priced books for adults: an encyclopedia (ten volumes, 10,000 illustrations), an illustrated lexicon of commerce and trade (four volumes, 800 illustrations), and an illustrated lexicon for the building and construction trades (four volumes, 3,000 illustrations). He read the market correctly, enjoying large sales for each of these ventures.
- The children's market was big and growing bigger, as parents wanted to ensure that their children received the maximum edification. There was a distinct Catholic and distinct Protestant publics (the country had large numbers of each religion).
- In what we today would call occasion-based segmentation, there was increasingly heavy advertising in the late autumn, as publishers aimed at the Christmas gift market.
- An example of developing age and gender-based segments is that about 1850 a literature aimed specifically at adolescent girls (*Backfischliteratur*) began to be developed (Grenz, 1981).
- By mid-century more and more publishers specialized. Where previously it was common for a publisher to issue several types of book and to operate a bookstore as well, by 1850 many were coming to limit themselves to publishing alone, and to publish one or two types of book for which they knew the market well.
- The always-important gift book market expanded into several new niches. By the 1880s there were several distinct price segments and several different taste segments.

- When the copyright on the German classics of the late eighteenth-early nineteenth centuries expired in 1867, no less than ten publishing houses were ready with series of the books. Most were aimed at different preference groups. One emphasized illustrations at low cost, another was aimed at gift givers, another targeted schools, still another appealed to the deal-prone buyer by offering premiums.
- Even larger than the increase in the market for books was that in the market for illustrated periodicals and newspapers. Evidently some buyers wanted information, entertainment, etc. at regular intervals. The pioneer was Johann Jacob Weber, who introduced a *Pfennig Magazine* (penny magazine) in 1852; modeled upon a British publication, it quickly garnered 60,000 subscribers – equivalent to nearly 600,000 subscribers in the present-day US. In 1862 Weber introduced the first illustrated newspaper to great market success.
- By the 1880s more copies of illustrated newspapers and magazines than books were being purchased. Just as the novel was the all-conquering literary innovation of the eighteenth century, so the illustrated periodical was that of the nineteenth. The most beloved and influential of the illustrated magazines was Ernst Keil's *Gartenlaube*, whose circulation soared from 5,000 in 1853 to 157,000 in 1863 to 375,000 in 1879 – a number equivalent to 2,000,000 copies in today's US. A typical contemporary evaluation of it was given by a Leipzig bookman in the 1870s: "The appearance of the *Gartenlaube* was an epoch making event in the history of the book trade and its influence over the nation's cultural development and thought has become extraordinary" (Lorck, 1879, p. 64). The magazine was thought to typify the cultural state of the German middle class, a judgment that is accepted by intellectual historians. Keil's ability to select articles and illustrations which fulfilled the middle class reader's desire for uplift, information, and diversion was unrivalled in his time.

Specialized illustrated magazines

The *Gartenlaube* and similar magazines were intended for general middle class audiences, particularly women. Middle class women spent more time reading than any other group of society since reading was one of the few respectable pastimes the social mores of the time permitted them to have. From the 1850s on, publishers established many illustrated magazines directed specifically at women. An example was *Das neue Blatt* (The New Sheet), published by an English immigrant named Albert Henry Payne; more than 100,000 copies of each issue were sold in the late 1870s. Then there were the fashion magazines, "richly endowed with woodcuts and lithographed dress patterns" (Lorck, 1879, p. 67). Around 1880 the most popular of these were the German edition of the *Bazar* at 80,000 copies per issue and *Die Modenwelt* (Fashion World) at 253,000 copies per issue.

Developing new retail outlets for new buyers

The second trend that exemplified an ever-greater attention to differing buyer preferences was to develop new retail outlets to reach out to new buyers. Most of the strategies involved either supplementing or bypassing conventional retail stores. Retail bookstores were very well developed, intensively distributed across most of Germany, and offered islands of cultivation to many (Anon., 1863). But publishers

knew that most lower class Germans, and many middle class Germans, would have felt uncomfortable entering a bookstore; they had *Schwellenangst* – the fear of stepping over the threshold of a store which was clearly intended for their social betters. Most bookstores would have appeared too refined for them, seemingly meant for the upper and cultivated classes. Hence publishers tried other ways to sell books to those who experienced *Schwellenangst* about bookstores. From the third decade of the century direct mail, direct personal selling, government officials, bookbinders, and used book dealers were used. Many discount book stores (*modernes Antiquariat*) were set up. In the second half of the century department stores were added to the array of alternative sales outlets and came to play a growing role in bookselling; by the early twentieth century even vending machines had come into use (Fullerton, 1975; Steinen, 1912).

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After about 1870 publishers opened up the market for light fiction by developing inexpensive adventure and romance series of 64-page paperbacks targeted at the newly-urbanized working classes-teenagers, workers, and lower middle class readers. Many of these people were beginning to consume reading matter for the first time. This was especially true of male teenagers. At first publishers sold the pamphlets as installments of much larger books; about a decade later they realized that it made more sense to sell discrete pamphlets as part of series. These pamphlets were never sold through bookstores, but rather through itinerant peddlers (Colporteurs), supplemented quickly by news kiosks, cigar stores, stationary stores, and railway station reading stalls (Fullerton, 1977, 1979). Similar markets had been opened up slightly earlier in the US (dime novels), Britain (penny dreadfuls), and France (*Bibliothèque bleue*). The booklets were very popular with teenage boys. Publishers had thus reached a new segment.

Market planning

The third trend in nineteenth century published was formal market planning, which was used by more and more book trade firms – especially publishers – as time went on. They consciously thought about potential buyers and how to reach them with unique benefits. After about 1880 some publishers developed simple market surveys to identify buyers by profession.

In a classic of analysis-based marketing planning from the late 1870s the publisher J.H. Meyer developed psychographic-like groupings for the luxury edition of his encyclopedia – “aristocrats by taste, aristocrats by birth, aristocrats by money”, and determining which benefits owning the encyclopedia would give each of them. Meyer was thinking of “the thousand members of the ruling families [...], the ten thousands of the noble houses, and in addition holders of high orders from State and Court” (quoted in Hohlfeld, 1926, p. 217). Meyer worked out a distribution strategy for each of the three groups, involving differing amounts of direct mail, personal selling, and book stores; he studied genealogical and nobility directories in order to compile mailing lists. Meyer was admittedly far ahead of most German publishers of his time. He realized that the largest market for the luxury edition would be found among “the plutocracy, i.e. big industrialists, [...] the founders of successful businesses, bankers, large [non noble] property owners, wealthy retired merchants” (quoted in Hohlfeld, 1926, p. 217). Meyer reasoned that such people were obsessed with desire “to procure for themselves the attributes of cultivation and the appearance of refinement. They need such a work far less than [the nobility] but love to appear as if they need it [more]” (quoted in Hohlfeld, 1926, p. 217).

But Meyer did not publish any of his thinking – he did not articulate marketing thought; it took twentieth century historians digging in internal company documents to find it (Hohlfeld, 1926, p. 217; Sarkowski, 1976, pp. 91-92).

Summary – segmentation was widely practiced

The practice of segmentation spanned the nineteenth century, associated with a genteel style of bookselling early in the century, and with an increasingly dynamic one as the decades progressed. Some segments were large but aggregate marketing was almost never practiced. There were no Henry Fords in nineteenth century German bookselling.

Practice clearly preceded formal thought. Publishers' practice showed the purposeful use of most of the segmentation variables mentioned in today's discussions: age, gender, occupation, educational level, religion, geography, social class, income, shopping preferences, benefit expectations, deal proneness, price sensitivity, and lifestyle. The fact that shopping preferences and social class were stressed more than today is rooted in the different cultural and social conditions of nineteenth century Germany. Multivariate strategies were used. Age and gender were especially developed after mid-century. Underlying many of these strategies were astute and rational, if unexpressed, analyses by people who understood and responded to demand heterogeneity. It would be misleading to label these analyses as "intuitive", for that implies little rational and conscious activity; "inarticulate" would be a more correct label.

The twentieth century – thought on segmentation develops

Why after getting along for so long without articulating what they practiced did marketers begin to develop thought – articulated discussion – in the twentieth century? The question needs to be posed, although we today take marketing thought for granted. It developed partially because of the expansion of universities and of scholarly disciplines. As the twentieth century opened there were marketing courses being offered in German and Austrian universities (Fullerton, 1988). But what was one to teach with? The courses needed teaching materials. In addition, at least some businesspeople, presumably mainly the younger ones, felt the need for formal training in what they would in fact practice, even in marketing, much of which is not at all technical like accounting or finance. German-speaking scholars led the world at that time in all subject matter save economic; there was extensive work being done in psychology and sociology (for example, see Fullerton, 2009). Some marketers began to study actual marketing practice, then draw upon conceptual materials developed by scholars of sociology and psychology to frame their thoughts.

In 1912 a doctoral candidate articulated the segmentation-related notion that the overall book market had more than one component, with social class the most-mentioned variable (Steinen, 1912). Social class awareness was very strong at the time. The First World War interrupted further thinking a few years, but by the mid-1920s there was growing activity. In 1928 the young publisher Horst Kliemann (1896-1965) published the first full discussion of what he termed "market strata" (*Kauferschichten*). By "market strata" he meant distinctively different groupings of people – in other words, segments. He visualized the market as a cliff-face, with different-colored strata of rock along it. The book was aimed at booksellers but also marketers of other products. The focus was upon developing suitable advertising for

different market strata. The book was designed to explain in practical ways that practitioners could use, but underlying this was a thorough awareness of recent work on advertising psychology as well as on academic work on classifying occupations. Reflecting the author's background, the majority of its illustrations and examples came from the book trade. It was relatively brief at 93 pages, many of which were devoted to pictures of advertisements that illustrated the points being made; it was practice-oriented, aiming above all to guide the businessperson.

Kliemann focused on marketing communication – on advertising. He believed that advertising was ideally suited to “win new customers and keep older ones” (Kliemann, 1928, p. 7). But the advertising had to be carefully planned. There was no such thing as “the general public”; there were people with potential and there were those without potential. Kliemann noted that as society had grown larger and more impersonal it was no longer possible for a businessperson to know personally most of his/her buyers. He emphasized that business success came above all from understanding that not everyone was a potential customer, that only some were, and that grasping who these people were and tailoring offerings to them was the key to success. Since it was impossible to know them as individuals – they were too numerous – one grouped the individuals into segments (*Schichten*), which were then appealed to:

Practical promotional effort is only possible when we group the buyers into segments and view every buyer as a representative of his segment (Kliemann, 1928, p. 12).

Kliemann posited several factors that could be used to segment buyers. One was need. Kliemann begins with the length of need, perpetual for foods and market goods, unknown or uncertain for other goods. Books were an example where there was general latent need, for example for a novel, but advertising had to awaken this need and focus it upon an individual novel. For automobiles and pianos there was general need but it had to be translated into the desire to possess, which might be beyond the economic means of many. Theatergoing might be a constant need for some, an occasional need for others.

A second factor was occupation – “it influences in surprising ways one's thinking and dealings” (Kliemann, 1928, p. 22). There are, for example, great differences in the mentality of government bureaucrats and employees of private firms, although the actual day to day work that they do may be very similar. Guaranteed employment and a certain pension, the bureaucrat is likely to be more thoughtful and calm in making buying decisions. A product may be used differently by different occupations, for example a table lamp will differ in color and the amount of light it emits for “the writing table of the scholar, the working table of the engineer, the board room table of the industrialist” (Kliemann, 1928, p. 24). If the advertising is keyed to the differing needs of differing occupations, market success is more likely.

A third factor was a person's *Weltanschauung*, or way of looking at the world, a broad, typically German, and very important topic. It had some similarities to what we would call lifestyle, but went further:

Under this umbrella-like topic, which guides practice, falls nearly everything that influences the way that life and the process of living are viewed, [...] bringing forth a profusion of expressions of will and feeling. Here belong the religious and the secular; the optimists and the pessimists; the liberals, conservatives, socialists, and revolutionaries; the stick-in-the mud and the fashion-oriented; those in love and those in mourning; – hundreds and hundreds of possibilities (Kliemann, 1928, p. 35).

Weltanschauung influenced one's choice of retailers, some avoiding the modern and efficiently-operated department stores for example, "seeking a small old-fashioned business and preferring smaller selection and slower service" (Kliemann, 1928, p. 36). The retail bookseller must stock books that correspond to the ways of thinking of its customers, which can vary by age, by sex, and by social class. One writer broke down the overall book market among industrial workers by their *Weltanschauungen*, finding the following customer types:

The primitive type, often the young and workers who read travel descriptions and little else. The humanistic type, the Goethe or Shakespeare reader. The jovial petty bourgeoisie, who reads humor and village stories. The self consciously proletarian type, who might read Zola or Dostoevsky (quoted in Kliemann, 1928, p. 39).

Other factors in segmentation

Kliemann cites several other key factors to be used in segmenting markets: social class, price-sensitivity, age, gender, professional knowledge, traffic patterns, time of year and seasonality, body and health, and place of dwelling. To look at these in more detail:

- Social classes in 1920s Germany were strongly defined and differentiated, to a degree that the contemporary reader will likely find it hard to comprehend. They played a role as strong as age and gender, and blended with these to form, for example, "young male proletarian readers, adult middle class housewife readers, etc." (Kliemann, 1928, p. 38).
- Price always plays a role yet it has to be remembered that in some markets, for example champagne and other luxury goods, what we today call prestige pricing has its appeal, especially to the socially-striving.
- As to age and gender, psychologists in the 1920s had a great deal to say about them. "The contrasts between the old and the new generations are clearly visible everywhere. [. . .] The teenage girl, the married woman, the father of the family – these segments emerge clearly out of the crowd" (Kliemann, 1928, p. 51).
- Professional knowledge went from those with specialization to those with familiarity to those with novice status, each requiring a different offering.
- Traffic patterns, especially those of pedestrians (much more common in 1920s Germany than in today's US) were especially important for determining what signs, columns, and other displays to put up where. "It is very important for the businessman to determine which people walk down the street and when they walk down the street" (Kliemann, 1928, p. 66). In Frankfurt an advertising company was already beginning an extensive study of street traffic.
- Time of year and seasonality played an obvious role in what was to be put on display and promoted.
- Health could be a segmentation variable, especially as there was a growing conscious desire to be and remain fit. It was harder to reach those who felt fine than those with physical complaints.
- Location is very important, it influences people's *Weltanschauung*. Consider how great the differences among inhabitants of large cities from those living in medium-sized cities, who in turn are different from dwellers of small cities; villagers are something else again. Again, sections of cities can be quite different.

Kliemann's conclusions

Kliemann stresses that a thoroughgoing analysis of the market should precede the planning of production and sales. Which products are already being offered? What are the differences in quality and application? Can there be meaningful price differences? Who are the buyers, and where and in which situations can they be reached? What have those who are interested previously purchased, where, and at what price? Can special desires outside of quality and price be determined?

He does not, however, consider the cost implications of segmentation. These would have to be developed by later authors. Nor does he go into the types of research that should be used to provide analysis of the market. "Of what practical use is this whole division and subdivision?" process asks Kliemann in his conclusion. "The practitioner will question the aim of such a broad process; after all, he already knew who his customers were" (Kliemann, 1928, p. 88). "It is," continues Kliemann, "a given that such advanced analysis complicates the previously established ways of advertising. Previously one set the targets of his promotional efforts as 'the woman,' or 'the woman of the people' or 'the society woman'. Now along comes advertising psychology and asks to distinguish women by their background and the occupation of their husbands. The influence of seasons, the weather, the world view (*Weltanschauung*), the woman's occupation, etc., etc., also need to be investigated. But our method is no more complicated than the structure of present-day society" (Kliemann, 1928, p. 88). Thus Kliemann argues that his segmentation teaching is highly practical.

Kliemann provides a solid understanding of segmentation. His work is still cited today in Germany (Wikipedia, 2011). The book is a thoroughgoing discussion of it – yet nearly every point that it made had been exemplified by the practices of Germany's nineteenth century bookmen. So practice preceded thought. Kliemann suggests that thought on segmentation needed to be developed much further, a largely academic enterprise:

The sociological foundation of production and selling can only bear fruit when the academic disciplines with which business ever more closely works become used to take up the challenge and deliver the necessary material for practical application. These disciplines are economics, statistics, and psychology (Kliemann, 1928, pp. 89-90).

Kliemann himself never wrote anything more on segmentation. He continued as a practicing publisher with a wide variety of interests. After the Second World War he wrote a practical how-to reference book for bookmen, several articles on the writer Hermann Hesse, an article on the nineteenth century photographer Josef Albert, to mention some of his activities. He was active in the universal language – Esperanto – movement. He was honored with a Festschrift in the mid-1950s. At his death in 1965 part of his estate was used to set up a small foundation to support study of the history of the German book trade.

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