A young boy in a purple long-sleeved shirt and light blue shorts is captured in motion, kicking a soccer ball on a grassy field. The image is slightly blurred, emphasizing the action. The background shows a dark, out-of-focus area, possibly a building or trees.

Pedro Carvalho de Almeida

# BRAND ARCHIVES:

*The rescuing of locally specific brand imagery  
as a graphic design response to the globalization  
of visual identity*

**Scholarly edition**

From this work 500 copies were printed and numbered.

Pedro Carvalho de Almeida

# BRAND ARCHIVES:

*The rescuing of locally specific brand imagery  
as a graphic design response to the globalization  
of visual identity*

**FCT** Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia  
MINISTÉRIO DA EDUCAÇÃO E CIÊNCIA





#### Scholarly edition, published to accompany the exhibition

#### Brand archives: the rescuing of locally specific brand imagery as a graphic design response to the globalization of visual identity.

The exhibition and catalogue are integral to the thesis submitted for the award of a Ph.D. degree. Central Saint Martins College of Art & Design, University of the Arts London. October 2012.

#### Research Grant funded by

FCT–Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia:  
POPH–QREN–Type 4.1–Advanced Training, subsidized by the European Social Fund and national MCTES funds.

#### Author and designer

Pedro Carvalho de Almeida

#### Proofreading

Dr. Barrie Abbott

#### Cover

Photograph by Emílio de Almeida, 1982.

#### Primary typefaces

Acta, Acto and *Dst Sanjo* designed by Dino dos Santos at DSType foundry. *Dst Sanjo* is based on Sanjo's original lettering, it was especially designed for this thesis.

**PORTUGUESA** recreated from the 'Estado Novo' by Carlos Soares, Miguel Jesus, and Rogério Santos at the University of Aveiro, 2005.

#### Exhibition production

Central Saint Martins Research,  
The Central Saint Martins Museum and Study Collection,  
Displayways.

#### Catalogue production

MR Artes Gráficas.

#### Catalogue not for sale

From this work 500 copies were printed and numbered.

# CONTENTS

<b>1 INTRODUCTION</b>	23
A GRAPHIC DESIGN RESPONSE TO THE GLOBALIZATION OF VISUAL IDENTITY	24
GLOBALIZATION OF VISUAL IDENTITY	25
THE RESCUING OF LOCALLY SPECIFIC BRAND IMAGERY	25
A CASE FROM THE PORTUGUESE CONTEXT	25
ON BRAND ARCHIVES	26
<b>2 BRAND ARCHAEOLOGY: CONSTRUCTION AND ANALYSIS OF BRAND ARCHIVES</b>	29
MAP OF METHODS	30
ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH	34
GRAPHIC DESIGN METHODS	46
PRE-DOCTORAL WORK: PREVIOUS DEVELOPMENTS WITHIN DESIGN EDUCATION	52
LINKING GENERATIONS, CULTURES AND TIME THROUGH RESEARCH, MEMORY AND PORTABLE IMAGERIES	56
<b>3 CHRONOLOGIES OF PORTUGUESE HISTORY AND SANJO</b>	63
CHRONOLOGICAL APPROACHES FOR THE STUDYING OF A BRAND IN RELATION TO THE BROADER CONTEXT	64
CHRONOLOGY FOR HISTORICAL AND CONTEXTUAL REFERENCE (1891-2010)	72
RISE AND FALL OF AN ICON	76
<b>4 FROM THE SANJO COLLECTION AND ARCHIVE</b>	97
FROM THE SANJO COLLECTION	100
VISUAL MATRIX	118
<b>5 PARALLEL EXAMPLES: A COMPARATIVE STUDY</b>	135
BRAND REVIVAL PHENOMENA	136
<b>6 ON BRAND ARCHIVES: FROM DUST TO BLOOMING</b>	143
RELEVANCE OF BRAND ARCHIVES TO DESIGNERS AND COMPANIES	144
TANGIBLE OBJECTS BACK TO SYMBOLIC VALUES	146
CONCLUSIONS	151
<b>PICTURE SOURCES &amp; CREDITS</b>	152
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</b>	152

CALÇADO DE LONA E BORRACHA

**Sanjo**  
44230  
MARCA REGISTRADA

EMPRESA INDUSTRIAL DE CHAPELARIA, LDA.

N.º

37

— SECÇÃO DA BORRACHA —  
S. JOÃO DA MADEIRA - PORTUGAL

Ref.

3922













# 1.INTRODUCTION



# *A graphic design response to the globalization of visual identity*

This exhibition and catalogue is a journey into a practice-related doctoral research project on graphic design and brand identity.

By addressing the relevance of brand archives to companies, designers and the broader culture, the overall approach represents a critique as to how the cultural inheritance of locally specific heritage brands is often overlooked and tends to dissolve amongst global influence.

What this thesis shows is the sort of historical memory relating to brands that can be lost. Through a 'designerly' way of exploring brand identity it presents a response for the rescuing, recovery and analysis of historical memory. It argues that brand archives are key instruments for designers to derive meaning and convey cultural memory into the future, and that visual identity is a channel through which these can be acknowledged, displayed and experienced.

Whether for companies, cultural institutions, designers or design historians dealing with locally specific identities and visual culture, the body of work presented here makes a contribution to broadening the scope of brands as a theme under-considered with respect to and preservation of cultural difference.

## **GLOBALIZATION OF VISUAL IDENTITY**

Visual identity can be understood as the result of the application of graphic design methods aimed at inter-brand differentiation, which paradoxically is leading to homogenizing identities.

The globalization of visual identity is a phenomenon that can be observed not only among global brands competing with each other, but also in locally specific heritage brands that relinquish distinctive elements of their identity to resemble the global. In many cases, their specificities end up being distorted, blurred, or lost, and the richness of what is historical and culturally unique about them is often misinterpreted, neglected, or even discarded.

## **THE RESCUING OF LOCALLY SPECIFIC BRAND IMAGERY**

By showing what can be lost with regards to historical and cultural memory in a brand's imagery, this thesis questions the significance of archives to locally specific brands claiming authenticity, and how graphic designers can respond to cultural diversity through visual identity. To answer these questions, this study draws on visual design heritage to achieve an understanding of the past as a source and a means to feed future cultural development.

By adapting visual methodologies and case-study methods to assess brand identity, the study presents a methodological approach for the rescuing, interpretative analysis, and exploration of historical memory in brand imagery. It applies ethnographic research methods for data collection and graphic design methods for recovering visual materials, combined with timelines and grids for contextual and visual analysis.

## **A CASE FROM THE PORTUGUESE CONTEXT**

A main case-study is presented to demonstrate how the system originated, how it enables the observation of identity transformations over time, and of how visual identity dissolves with global influence. This case addresses the historical context and today's cultural relevance of an archive of the Portuguese iconic Sanjo sports shoes brand, which emerged with the rise of the 'Estado Novo' authoritarian regime in Portugal (New State, 1933–1974). Through the interpretation of how brand designs evolved in relation to contextual history it is possible to see the various social, cultural, political and economical transformations that occurred in its lifespan.

The thesis presents parallel examples of brands that were heavily influenced or even controlled by government in the past and now operate independently. As with the case of Sanjo, the comparative study investigates, and further draws attention to the relationship between the loss of historical memory and the globalization of visual identity.

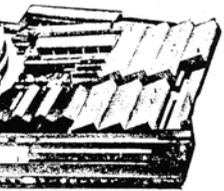
*We must by necessity retrieve from the past to re-invent the future*  
(Malcom Garrett) *yet postmodern recombinations of the old can still become*  
*the building blocks of an authentic cultural movement* (Rick Poynor).

#### **ON BRAND ARCHIVES**

By examining the relevance of archives for addressing visual identity issues, the thesis shows that current graphic design practices can avoid failing to address authenticity if, firstly, a great deal of historical and cultural memory is retrieved. Secondly, if there is substantial visual and contextual analysis. And thirdly, if the visual elements and histories uncovered are understood within the broader context.

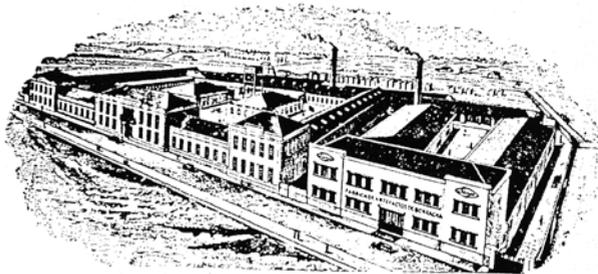
By considering the possibilities that brand archives present for exploration of the symbolic meaning of objects and cultural diversity, this study fills a gap between archival practices and the way many designers and companies are dealing with locally specific brands. It argues that brand archives are key instruments for designers to derive meaning and convey cultural memory into the future, and that visual identity is a channel through which these can be acknowledged, displayed and experienced. The study concludes by suggesting possible approaches graphic designers might pursue to address the issues identified, and it broadens the scope of the directions in which brand archives can be explored through the re-contextualization of cultural objects.





hos & C., Lda.

A



Empreza Industrial de Chapelaria, Lda.

B



, Lda.

C



Vieira Araújo & C., Lda.

F

Industrial  
anense, Lda.

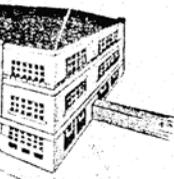
ense, Lda.

I



Molaflex-Mola Flexivel, Lda.

E



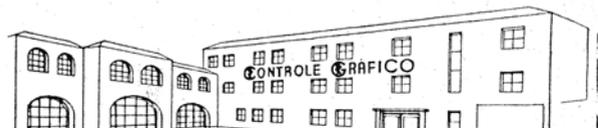
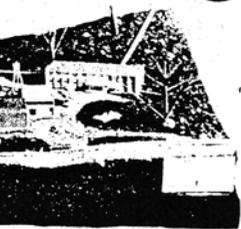
da.

G



Nicolau da Costa & C., Lda.

D



# 2. BRAND ARCHAEOLOGY: CONSTRUCTION AND ANALYSIS OF BRAND ARCHIVES

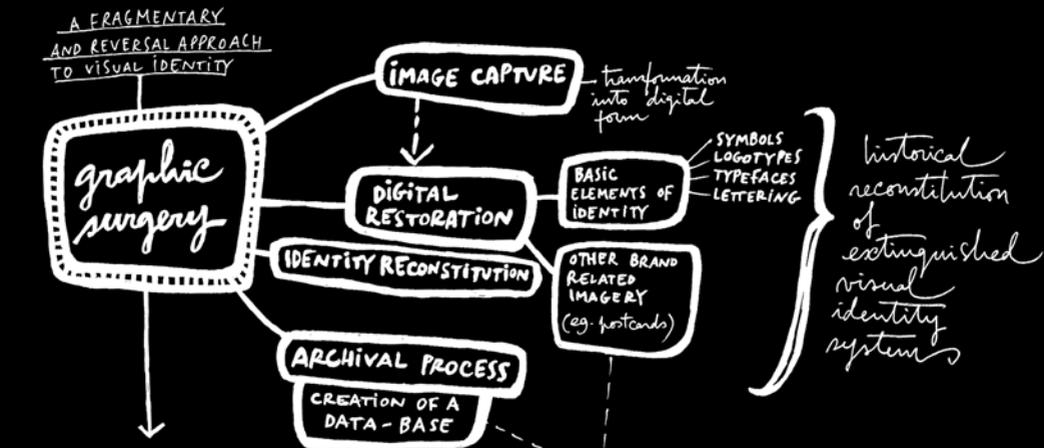
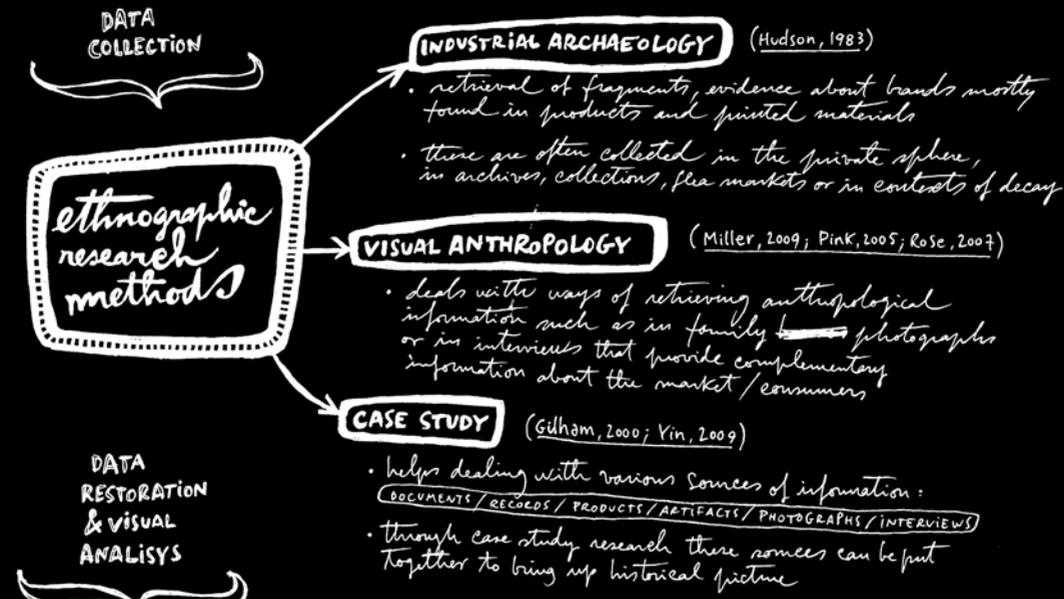
# Map of methods

This section introduces the viewer of the exhibition and reader of the catalogue to the articulation of methods deployed within this research.

The methodological process included looking at ethnographic research methods for collecting data and to graphic design methods and techniques for processing the visual aspects of the data collected. Data collection through ethnographic research aimed at the rescuing of fragmented evidence from brand identity, whereas graphic design methods such as graphic surgery, chronological tables and visual matrices/grids were developed to function as tools to dust, clean, sort and map visual information.

Overall, the approach presented here aims at the rescuing, recovery, analysis and thorough understanding of a brand's identity from a design perspective, with respect to its contextual history and local culture. Such perspective is roughly defined as *brand archaeology*. It developed as the study of the main case—Sanjo—progressed, originating the construction of an archive and a collection of shoes.

Examples from previous developments within design education are also given. A wealth of visual records from Portuguese heritage brands contemporary of Sanjo was retrieved, graphically recovered, and put together in the form of postcards and small case studies.



THE ROLE OF THE GRAPHIC DESIGNER / "GRAPHIC SURGEON" IS CHALLENGED BY DECISIONS TO BE MADE ALONG THE PROCESS. PITFALLS INCLUDE:

- MISINTERPRETATIONS
- LACKING INFORMATION
- SUBJECTIVITY IN DECISION MAKING
- INACCURACY
- DEVIATIONS AND DISTORTIONS
- DURATION OF PROCESS

METADATA FOR FURTHER VISUAL ANALYSIS, AS IT IS THE CASE OF POSTCARDS RECREATED BY STUDENTS THAT CAN BE ORGANIZED ACCORDING TO DIFFERENT CATEGORIES:

- NATIONAL SYMBOLS
- GEO-ETHNOGRAPHIC REPRESENTATIONS
- GENDER
- COLOUR
- (...)



## *Ethnographic research*

The map of Portugal shown in the introduction, drawn from an advertisement of Sanjo (circa 1940s), is representative of how the brand covered the Portuguese territory. It is in itself an example of the *geo-ethnographic* representations and dominant visual aesthetics during the New State regime. For finding evidence of Sanjo products, related imagery and historical development, so the Portuguese territory was scoured to collect data.

Industrial archaeology, visual ethnography and case study research methods formed the basis of a qualitative research approach upon which this study progressed. It required extensive fieldwork and looking at various sources of information over a long period of time. This provided the research with physical evidence, images, personal stories and testimonials about the brand, bringing up vivid historical picture.

However, a great deal of evidence was found and retrieved in decaying places and at a point of disappearance. Much of the brand's products, including shoes, packaging, advertisements, documents from the company and historical records started being collected as much as possible, through searching not only the former industrial site, but also in old shops, libraries, local newspapers and publications, personal memorabilia and oral histories.

Engaging with visual ethnographic methods from a graphic design perspective was complementary to the process of collecting data because it helped delve into the *anthropological* side of brands. The methods and techniques to study the cultural manifestations of Sanjo were used in a rather flexible way, ranging from field notes, family photographs, still images, audio and video recorded interviews, and looking at social networks on the Internet where historical evidence about the brand could be found. This provided the gathering of a variety of mixed information about the company, the brand, its products and audience across space and time.



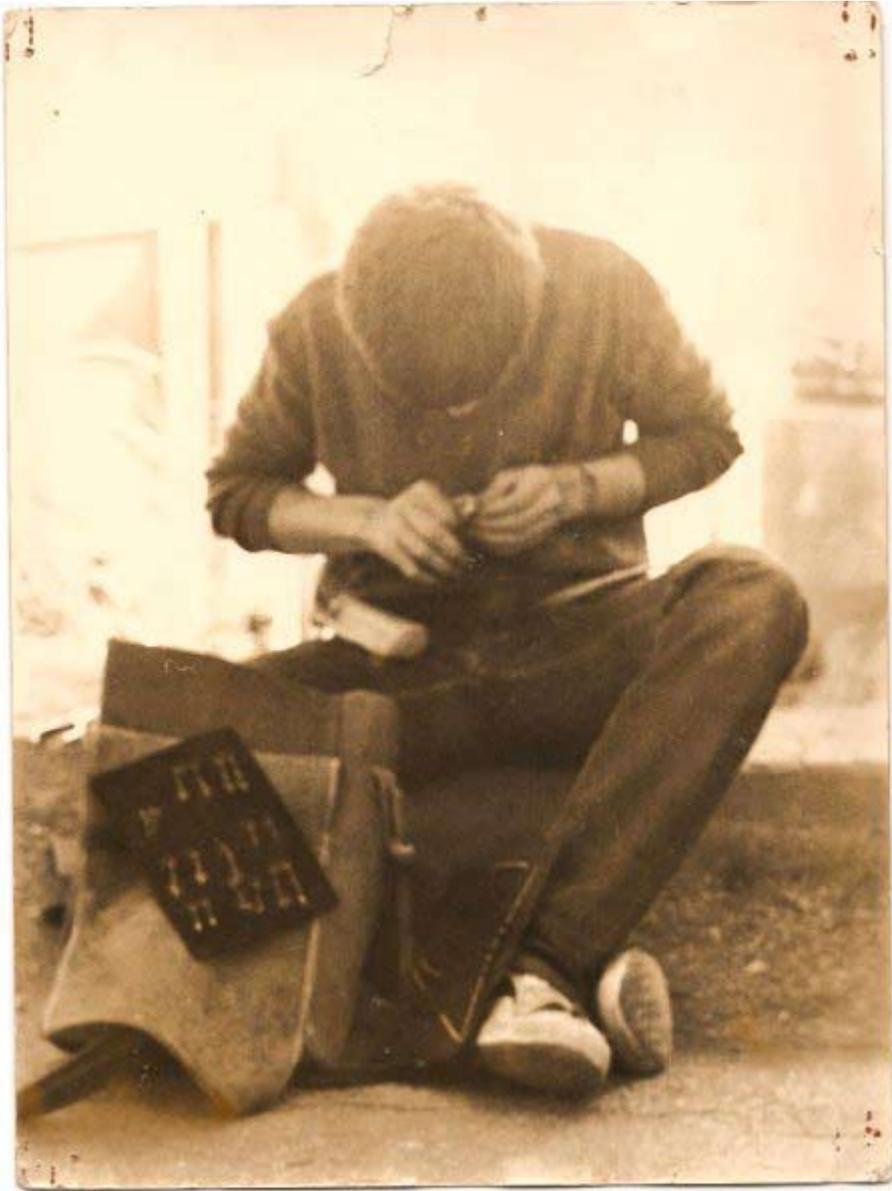






REF. <sup>a</sup>	TAMANHO	COR
ART.	SIZE	COLOUR







## Graphic design methods

Graphic surgery is the term I coined to name a graphic design process concerning the recovery of many of the visual elements collected through field research. For example, mark designs, lettering, typefaces and other visual materials were graphically restored, sorted and put together to identify the various constituents of the Sanjo brand identity.

Further on in the process, assembling the recovered elements with other materials collected—as playing with the pieces of a larger puzzle—originated a methodology for assessing brand identity that is flexible, incremental and replicable. The methodological approach that this research originated consists of using data to construct timelines/chronological tables for contextual and historical analysis, and matrices/grids for detailed visual analysis.

The timelines and chronological tables presented here help revealing critical moments of historical transformation in the brand's trajectory of historical development. The cross-referencing of data within different categories of information—dates of historical events, the evolution of the company and of the mark designs, the product designs, visual communications and how the brand relates to its audiences and the broader context—enable identifying consistencies, inconsistencies, gaps and trigger new questions.

In addition to timelines, the construction of separate visual matrices and grids reinforced the potential quality and depth of the analysis. These enable looking separately at particular instances of the brand's visual identity in greater detail, within each of the various categories of information. For example, that is the case of a closer inspection into the application of mark designs across product designs and packaging, showing how the mark designs evolved and changed over time.

In the case of Sanjo, the exploration of timelines and matrices led to clearly identify what was specific and unique about the brand in the past, what changed, why and how, as well as when. Overall, the approach forms a system to enhance case-study research methodology, bringing together a mixed variety of data for addressing issues of visual identity and to enable the visualization of a brand's identity as a whole.

EMPRESA INDUSTRIAL  
DE CHAPELARIA, L<sup>DA</sup>  
S. JOÃO DA MADEIRA

EMPRESA INDUSTRIAL DE CHAPELARIA, LDA.  
EMPRESA INDUSTRIAL DE CHAPELARIA, LDA.  
TELÉF. 2 20 05 14 7  
TELEX 2 00 87 RICHAP P  
3301 S. JOÃO DA MADEIRA CODEX

Empresa Industrial de Chapelaria, L<sup>da</sup>

CATÁLOGO N.º 40

TABELA "S A N J O" N.º 46  
(Para expedição a partir de 23/2/1976)

EDIFÍCIO EXPRESSAMENTE CONSTRUÍDO  
OCUPANDO UMA SUPERFÍCIE DE  
OITO MIL METROS QUADRADOS

Instalações montadas com todos  
os aperfeiçoamentos mecânicos adoptados  
pelas mais importantes  
fabricas da Europa.

CAPACIDADE PRODUTORA  
MAIS DE MIL E QUINHENTOS CHAPEUS  
POR DIA

FORÇA MOTRIZ FORNECIDA POR  
UMA MÁQUINA A VAPOR DE 185 CAVALOS,  
UM GERADOR DE ELECTRICIDADE DE 100 KW.  
E VINTE E DOIS MOTORES ELECTRICOS.

para  
CAMPO  
PRAIA  
TENNIS  
No seu género  
O MELHOR

EMPRESA INDUSTRIAL  
DE  
CHAPELARIA, L<sup>DA</sup>  
S. JOÃO DA MADEIRA  
(PORTUGAL)

ANTES DE CONSIDERAREM OS PREÇOS, DEVEM  
EXAMINAR A QUALIDADE DOS MATERIAIS EMPREGADOS E A APRESENTAÇÃO DO NOSSO CALÇADO

Calçado Cloches de lona e borracha  
Diversos para chapéus de senhora CALÇADO VULCANIZADO

★ Vigas, pranchas, lâbuas, aduelas ★

REF.

de eucalipto para pavimentos

FABRICANTES

POS. | REFERÊNCIA | OBSERVAÇÕES

1	20	21	22	23	24	Preço	25	26	27
2	CHAPÉUS E BONÉS				Pedido	Expedição	Entrega	Embalagem	
3	ARTIGOS DE BORRACHA				POSTAL	C F. <input type="checkbox"/>	Normal <input type="checkbox"/>	2.545	
4	MADEIRAS				CARTA	Correio <input type="checkbox"/>	Urgente <input type="checkbox"/>	2.546	
5	AGÊNCIA NO PORTO				TELEG.	Camio. <input type="checkbox"/>	Data fixa	2.547	
6	Rua de Sá da Bandeira, 222-1.º				TELEF.	Próprio <input type="checkbox"/>	/ /	2.548	
	TELEFONE 27692				VERBAL	E. I. C. <input type="checkbox"/>			
	PORTUGAL								
	TIPO TÊNIS								
	ESPONJOSA								



1930s-40s ?



1950s ?



1950s ?



1954



1959



1960s



1968



1980s



1980s ?



1980s ?



1981



1982



1983



1984



1985



1988 A



1988 B



1990



1990s A



1990s B



1997



2004



2008



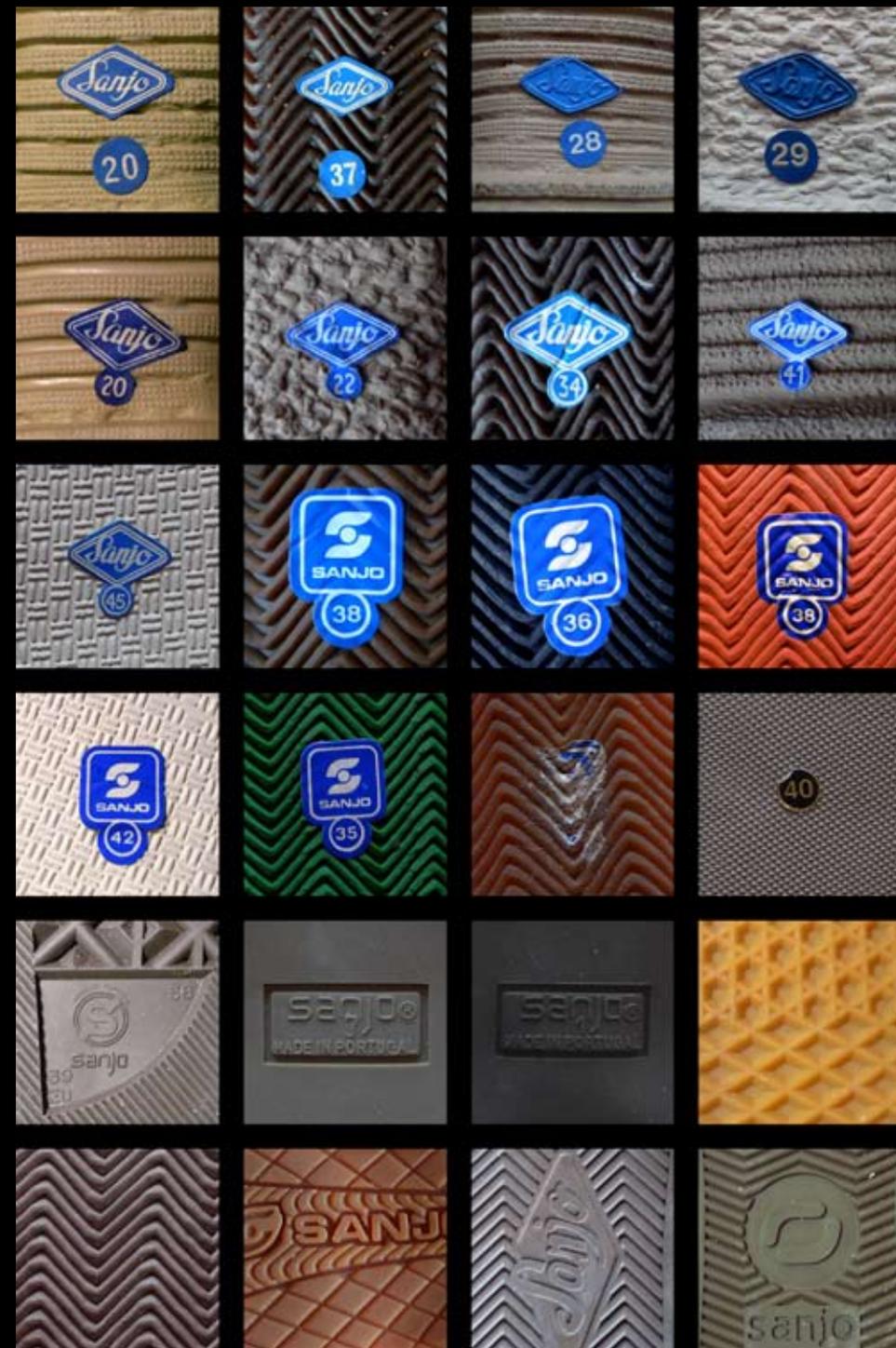
2009



2009



2010s



### GRAPHIC SURGERY

The significance of the mark's presence on the indecipherable parts of a puzzle is in piecing together historical evidence of brand development chronologically, including about graphic design, product design, the organization, and the audience.

This interrelatedness between the evidence is one of the main virtues of graphic surgery, for which photographs also contributed.

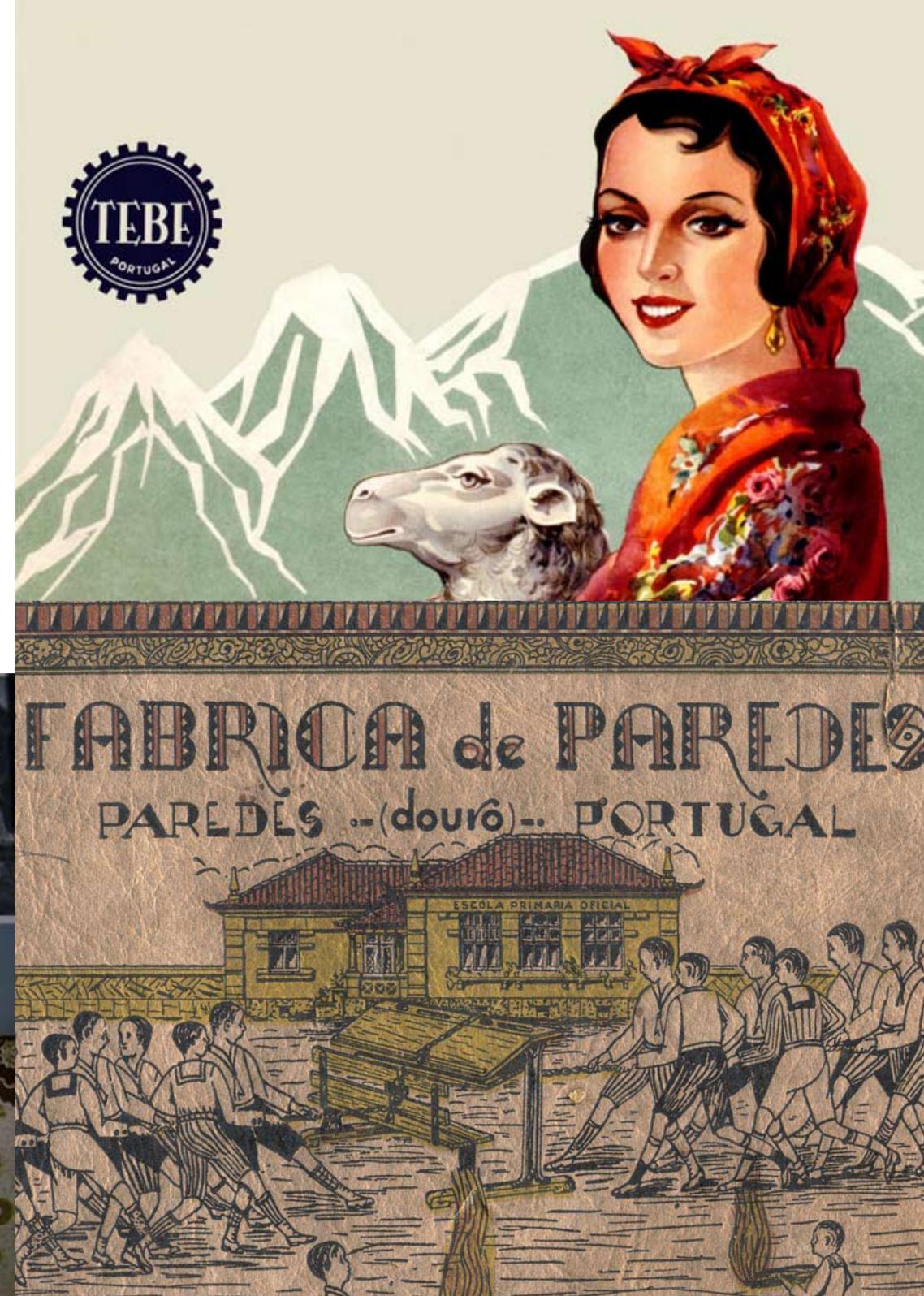
From the examples shown, the two versions of the Sanjo mark (bottom row) illustrate how lacking accurate evidence (left, circa 1940s) and observation techniques originated crude misinterpretations in the relaunch of the brand (right, 2008).

## *Pre-doctoral work: developments within design education*

The images and text presented in this section resulted from previous work I conducted with design students at the Strategic Design course, University of Aveiro, Portugal (2005–2007).

Images were drawn from part of the outcomes obtained, whereas the text explains what the design process involved as well as describing the fundamental ideas underpinning it. The process consisted of (1) collection of evidence, (2) graphic recovery of Portuguese brands and their related imagery, and (3) construction of new communication artifacts drawn from the recovered materials.

Further examples of the students' work illustrate the various possibilities this process might originate.





## *Linking generations, cultures and time through research, memory and portable imageries\**

A few years ago, I was working on the idea of reconnecting young Portuguese people with their cultural roots through brands; in a way, with part of their own families' past which was unknown to them. When prompted to explore the idea of networks, for the Writing Marathon, I thought about referring back to that project and I started revisiting that idea. The project developed within the context of my practice-related research in design and design education. It dealt with the gathering of traces and fragments from past experiences and life stories, that link people and different cultures through time. It contributed to the concept of *portable imageries*, which is currently part of my personal research.

To put it simply, it was about the design and exploration of a series of postcards. However, perhaps, there is something more to it than just postcards. Postcards, as 'Portable Imageries' can establish links between distant generations; between design heritage and contemporary design. Postcards, as images which were born to travel, can link different territories through their mobility, involving networks of people, cultures and time.

That experience started by asking students to do preliminary field work that was aimed at knowing more of Portuguese trademarks and brands' imagery from the 20th century, and to find and collect evidence. At the time, I realized neither how emotionally powerful such an exercise could be, nor the potential it could have as a pedagogical tool. Students were able to produce a substantial amount of primary source material, which when analysed gave me a clearer sense of how they perceive themselves in relation to their own cultural roots. That analysis became fundamental for my personal research, which is related to iconic Portuguese brands.

Historically, these are representative of the influences of the corporate state regime in Portugal called the 'Estado Novo' (New State, 1933–1974). This was a

protectionist regime that made Portugal become neutral during WWII and sustained the country's independence through self-sufficiency. Therefore most of the internal productions were also for internal consumption. The initial idea was to understand the significance design heritage could have to the present context. Within design education, I was concerned about how students would react to products that had been dominant for decades, but then, in most cases, dismissed. On a personal level, I have always been interested in knowing more about people's emotional attachments to products that became cultural icons and how such relationships can contribute to the construction of cultural continuities rather than to cultural disruptions.

Considering present day's massive amount of global brands and consumer goods in the market, the project questioned to what extent design students could be influenced by a rediscovery of products from their own cultural roots. The images shown in these pages are only a minimal part of that network of rediscovery.

Students were asked to collect as much material as they could and bring their findings to class, being ready to share their experiences and stories. Most of them went visiting their parents and relatives in different parts of Portugal. In most cases they went seeing older people they thought could provide them with relevant objects and information for their research. Visits also included old shops, warehouses, abandoned factories and flea markets. In one week, the amount of information and excitement they were able to collect and share was overwhelming. The room's tables were insufficient to display the results of their research, as their stories were surprisingly greater than expected. Findings included from a wide range of products in their original packaging, to books, posters, advertisements in magazines, postcards, calendars, stickers, photographs, labels, product catalogues, artefacts, original records and documents from companies.

In most cases students didn't know much about those brands before starting the project, whereas such imagery had been part of their families' daily life since the first half of the 20th century. In some cases, students could remember some of those products in their homes. Either way, they were able to easily find them, and to collect and record some of the stories behind them. Now, they could also look at them in a totally different perspective, in a more attentive, emotional, engaging way.

The process enabled them to start conversations that hardly would have been possible otherwise. They made new friends and deepened family ties while collecting old objects, which could potentially enrich their design approaches.

\* First published in: Lioy, A. (Ed.) (2010) Networks, the writing marathon 2010. London: Area D–Action Research in Art & Design Limited, pp.10–17.



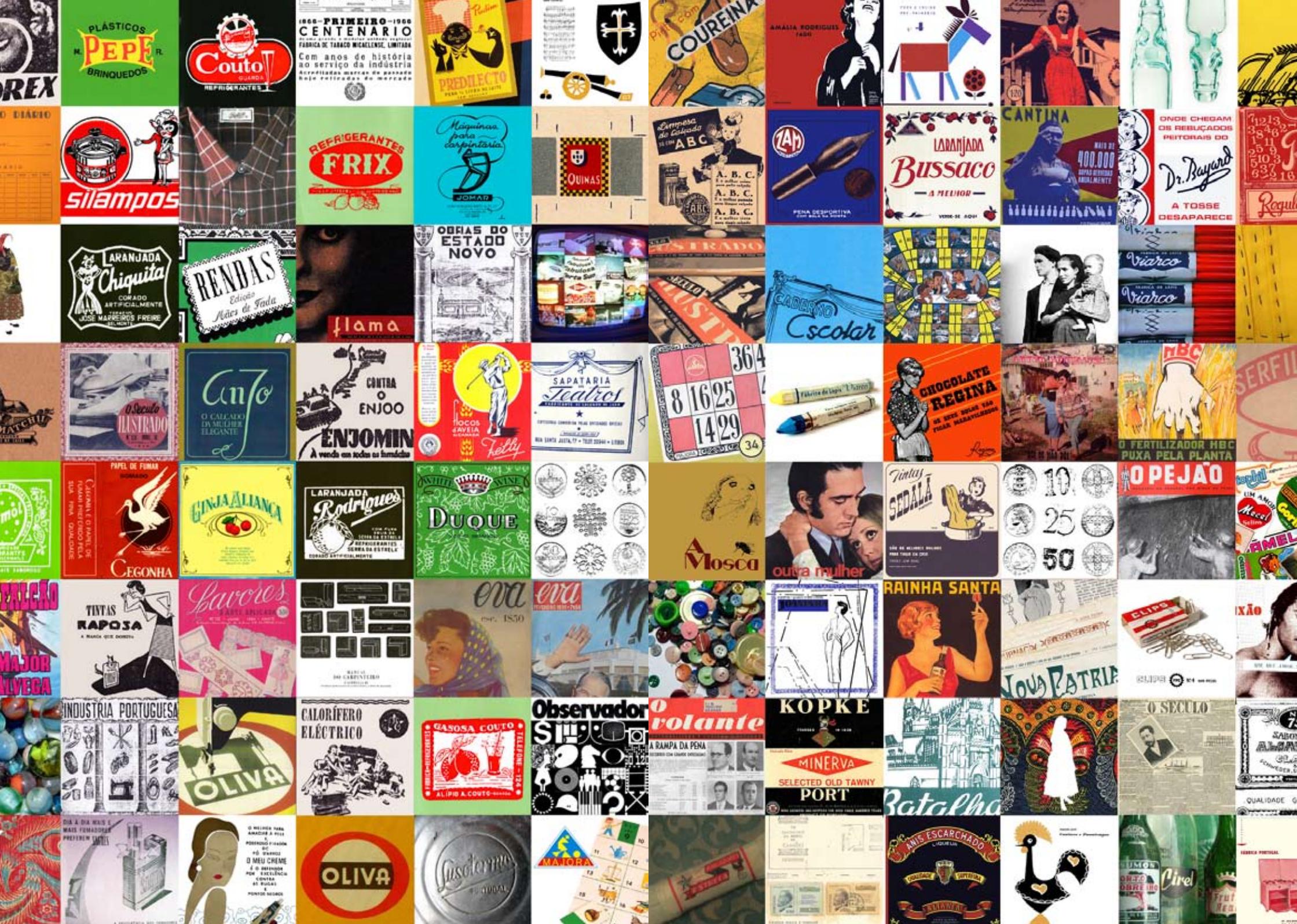
On the following stage of the project, students were asked to select from findings the most meaningful items for them. The criteria for these choices included emotional and personal reasons, so that the selected items could have some stories to tell beyond the visual elements that constituted them.

Visual elements included national symbols, historical icons, typographical elements, trademarks, logotypes, ethnic ornaments and costumes, colours, patterns, materials and techniques. The students' choice portrayed examples of what their relatives' relationships with those brands and products had been in the past. Either because they had worked in the factories that produced them, or due to the fact they had consumed those products for many years, now part of their cultural identity.

After choosing the images, the next step was to produce individual sets of cards that could later build a large panel to display those images, so they could be read together uniformly. The ideal approach was one that could make the narrative content and the visual form interact. Producing those cards, the students became at the same time designers dealing with iconic brands and products; researchers using those products as open windows to interpretation; and ultimately storytellers exploring personal narratives and ingraining their experiences in the texture of their creative work. The format of Portuguese tiles, 15x15 cm, was chosen to produce a series of cards to be publicly displayed. To achieve that, selected items should have been recorded and processed digitally through a method that I decided to name *graphic surgery*. I also asked students to produce postcards that could be sent away anywhere in world, thus creating further layers of social and cultural networks.

The process was also meant to highlight the original features of the rediscovered designs. These interventions should provide audiences with an experience of the authenticity that originated them, whether in Portugal or abroad. Then, two copies of the postcards should be produced. One aimed at the construction of an archive, and the other to constitute the panel to be displayed as a travelling exhibition.

Since then, these postcards have been presented in Portugal, Australia, United States and the UK. They function as a means to acknowledge, display and share this part of Portuguese culture. From there, not only the mobility of the postcards has been explored. More recently, in the context of my practice -related research, they have been used as valuable tools for engaging visual analysis, leading to a better understanding of the historical, social, economical, and political context in which early graphic design emerged in Portugal.





# 3. CHRONOLOGIES OF PORTUGUESE HISTORY AND SANJO

## *Chronological approaches for the studying of a brand in relation to the broader context*

This section presents a contextual review of the main case study, showing how the gathered materials were put together in the form of timelines and chronological tables for historical and contextual reference. These help understanding a brand in relation to the broader context, including how the Portuguese history influenced the way in which such a locally specific brand emerged, developed and changed over time, ultimately failing to resist to the threat of global brands.

Crossing over major historical events with the materials collected, the study brings up historical picture to make visible the transformative factors associated with visual identity changes. Political, economical, and cultural historical accounts are given for contextual reference. It includes landmarks in 20th century Portuguese history and landmarks in the history of Sanjo.

The period of time covered was profoundly marked by New State regime and there can be seen the country shifted from a closed economy to a free global market environment. Regarding the brand's trajectory of historical development from graphic and product design perspectives, the study reveals the rise and fall of the regime influenced the rise and fall of the brand. It also shows how the brand is dealing today with its own historical memory.

The study includes some personal account to contextualize how childhood memories can influence one's course into design practice, research and critique: I have experienced the brand over three decades, and saw it being challenged by the wider context and losing most of the distinctive features that marked me so profoundly when I was a child.



# "Estado Novo"

TIMELINE  
(1933-1974)



1910  
end of Monarchy  
1st Republic  
FIRST  
REPUBLIC



1921  
refuge in  
dictated light  
but with strong  
lines

# Sanjo

TIMELINE  
(1933-2010)



1899  
According to an  
institutional  
document (CENTRO  
NIB) dated from  
1891 the former  
company OLIVEIRA  
PALMARES started  
producing hats in  
1991.

1904  
foundation of the  
former company  
oliveira & palmares

company changes name to:  
oliveira, palmares,  
MARQUE & C.

1914  
the company changes  
name again to:  
oliveira, MARQUE & C.

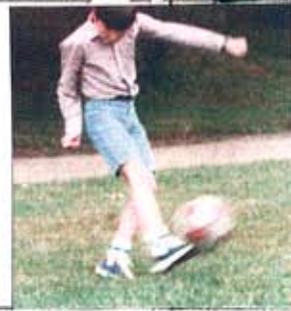


1920  
foundator of EIC

1927  
separately  
production of  
footwear is  
at abandoned

# Pedro

TIMELINE  
(how I experienced the brand)  
(1972-2010)



1910 1915 1920

NOTE:  
image positioning  
varies according to the  
space available

WWI

MILITARY / FINANCIAL DICTATORSHIP

THE "ESTADO NOVO" PERIOD (1933-1974)

1933



1692



1929



one with English few days later

military coup supported by army but didn't accept as plan  
major is invited  
great depression  
National Credit Corp  
National Engineering  
Industrial Credit  
THE ESTADO NOVO  
SECUS ANNUALY  
Union of National  
first national football league  
Salazar supports his  
Industrial  
Card training  
Neutrality by WWII  
world exhibition

Portuguese  
World Exhibition  
Cautious  
Industrial  
reorganization  
creation of the  
State police

Mythology of popular  
Portugal is founding  
member of NATO

Portugal joins the  
UN



1959

Portugal joins  
EFTA

Start of the  
Colonial war  
Portugal is world  
champion of Sixty  
Hockey

Industrial  
Credit in my hand  
Portugal 3rd place  
in world of football  
Salazar is finally  
fallen from the chair

Salazar dies



1969

US support  
Constitution  
Revolution  
The regime ends  
end of the Colonial  
war

1926

1929

1929

1930

1931

1932

1933

1934

1936

1937

1939

1940

1944

1945

1948

1949

1955

1960

1962

1965

1966

1968

1970

1974

abandoned  
(experimental  
tools taken  
production  
is tested and  
abandoned)



EIC / Mind

Footwear production  
EIC adjustment  
(photo supply)  
specialization of  
footwear production



ADJ activities are  
photographed  
on Sampo

volleyball  
Sporting Lisbon  
Athletes wear  
Sampo  
athletic shorts  
and  
socks

Black Sampo  
basketball shoes  
work in advertisement

Ballroom Spain  
wearing rubber  
wheel for skating  
hockey  
EIC advertisement  
EIC advertisement

handball  
Basketball  
Football  
Canoa / K1  
on Rio de Janeiro  
first handball  
college

EIC exports to Sweden

Sampo the  
15th April  
revolution  
Ministry of Economy  
identifies EIC for  
computer between  
national brands

national brands

Laudation of E.I.C.

1932

1933

1936

1948

1954

1959

1959

1962

1963

1964

1966

1967

1968

1971

1974

1976

1978



1933



SANJO

STABILITY PERIOD



1972



1976

1925

1930

1935

1940

1945

1950

1954

1955

1960

1965

1970

1975

1976

MILITARY FINANCIAL DICTATORSHIP



SPRING COURT 1936

WWII



1959

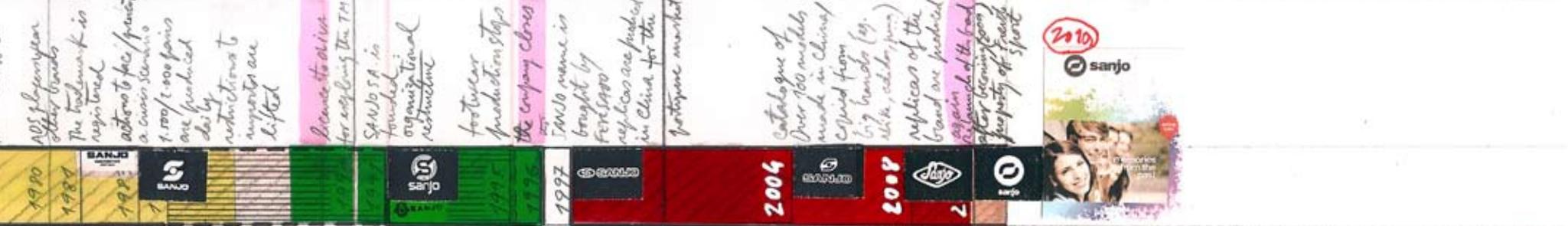


CONSTRUCTION OF THE BERLIN WALL



END OF THE ESTADO NOVO DICTATORIAL REGIME





1974 first pair of shoes  
 1981 my second pair of shoes  
 1982 my first pair of leather shoes  
 1983 designed my own brand  
 1984 small summer line  
 1986 free lance brand designer for footwear  
 1989 small footwear  
 1990 free lance designer for footwear  
 1991 small footwear  
 1992 free lance designer for footwear  
 1996 Economic UK  
 1997 first UK commission  
 1999 first UK commission  
 2001 design method  
 2002 first brand  
 2003 first brand  
 2005 first brand  
 2007 small at CSM/PHD

1980 1985 1990 1995 2000 2010

1982

Empresa Industrial de Chapeleria, Lda.

Ma especialização e adaptação ao mercado de trabalho

Calçado Respeitivo

Chapelo Linha Jovem e Unisexo

Astefactos de Borracha

FALL OF THE BERLIN WALL

YUGOSLAV WARS

## CHRONOLOGY FOR HISTORICAL AND CONTEXTUAL REFERENCE (1891-2010)

**1891** Hat factory 'Oliveira Palmares' is founded in 1891 in S. João da Madeira, a industrial city in the northwest of Portugal.

**1904** The company changes its name to 'Oliveira Palmares, Araújo & C<sup>a</sup>'.

**1910** Fall of Monarchy and proclamation of Portuguese Republic (5 October).

**1911** New national symbols, flag and anthem. New Portuguese currency: the 'Escudo'.

**1914** The company changes its name to 'Oliveira e Palmares & C<sup>a</sup>'; Portugal enters World War I.

**1918** End of World War I.

**1920** 'Oliveira e Palmares & C<sup>a</sup>' originates a new company: the 'Empresa Industrial de Chapelaria' (EIC) is founded.

**1921** António Oliveira Salazar is elected deputy in the parliament but he resigned a few days later; Experimental footwear production is tested by EIC but it is abandoned in the same year due to large investment requirements;

**1926** Military coup (28 May) and end of the First Republic. The establishment of a military regime paved the way to the 'Estado Novo' (New State). A military, financial dictatorship is established. Salazar is invited to minister but he refuses due to governmental lack of conditions.

**1928** Salazar is invited to the government for the second time. He accepts the position of Minister of Finance with broad power over the other ministries.

**1929** The Great Depression affects the Portuguese economy.

National Colonial Congress.

**1931** First National Congress of Engineering; First Congress of the União Nacional (National Union—Portugal's only official political organization) and Exhibition; Decree Law of the Condicionamento Industrial (industrial conditioning).

**1932** Salazar's rise to power as head of the Portuguese government; New Portuguese Constitution establishes a non-parliamentary regime; Great Industrial Exhibition where EIC is awarded a Gold Medal.

**1933** The New State is formally established. Salazar becomes President of the Council of Ministers of Portugal (Prime Minister) and the de facto dictator of the Portuguese Republic from until 1968; First congress of Portuguese industry and National Imperial Congress; Nationalization of industry and labour; Creation of the State and Defense Surveillance Police (PVED); Inauguration of the Secretariat of National Propaganda (SPN) to play an active role in the dissemination of nationalistic ideals and the standardization of culture; António Ferro becomes responsible for the sectors of culture and propaganda under the New State regime; Decree regulates the censorship of printed publications; Footwear production restarts at EIC through the foundation of the 'Secção de Caoutchouc' (rubber department) following investments in the company. Footwear production takes some years to stabilize. EIC promotional postcard (photolithography);

**1934** Congress of the National Union; Portuguese Colonial Exhibition; Triumphal Exhibition of Sports.

**1935** Establishment of the 'Emissora Nacional de Radiodifusão', state radio broadcaster.

**1936** Salazar supports Spanish head of state general Francisco Franco; Consolidation of vulcanized rubber and

canvas footwear production at EIC; Foundation of Spring Court sports shoes brand in France, which might have been a benchmark to Sanjo.

**1937** Creation of the Mocidade Portuguesa (Portuguese youth), paramilitary organization with strong inspiration from the Italian Fascism of Mussolini. The Mocidade Portuguesa is compulsory for all boys between 7 and 14 years; Creation of the Portuguese Legion, a militia of armed civilians to collaborate with the state's police; Construction of the concentration camp 'Tarrafal' in Cape Verde and first batch of political prisoners deported; Celebration of 1926 National Revolution; First Economic Conference of the Portuguese Colonial Empire; Law of the Condicionamento Industrial (industrial conditioning) is implemented. More than to re-size, rationalize or foster industry, it promotes the corporate cartelization of industries where competition is reduced. It consists of a powerful brake to the growth of small industries as well as it is a tool to prioritize larger governmental investments; World Exhibition in Paris; Congress of the Portuguese Expansion in the World.

**1939** Agreement between Salazar and Franco to defend Portugal against any desire to extend Spanish border; Portugal refuses to sign the treaty of accession to the Anti-Konmitern Pact, signed by Italy, Germany and Japan; Portuguese neutrality in World War II; World Exhibition in New York.

**1940** Heyday year of the New State. The Portuguese World Exhibition celebrates the centenary of double nationality: foundation of the kingdom of Portugal in 1140 and the restoration of independence to Spain in 1640; Foundation of the 'Verde Gaió' ballet group inspired on the 'Ballett Russes'.

**1941** Creation of the arts and tourism 'Panorama' magazine.

**1944** Study by Ferreira Dias on the Portuguese industrial reorganization; Foundation of 'TAP' Portuguese state airlines.

**1945** Creation of the State Defense International Police (PIDE) to replace PVED.

**1948** Creation of the 'Museu de Arte Popular' (museum of folk art); Photograph of S. João da Madeira's local club 'ADS—Associação Desportiva Sanjoanense' depicts basketball team players wearing Sanjo.

**1949** Portugal is founding member of NATO.

Inauguration of the 'Restelo' stadium in Belém, Lisbon. Photograph of male and female athletes wearing sports shoes similar to the Sanjos.

**1954** Photograph of Sporting Lisbon volleyball players wearing Sanjo; Sanjo advertisement in 'Noiva do Mar' magazine, Figueira da Foz.

**1955** Portugal joins the United Nations.

**1956** First broadcasts by RTP (state television).

**1957** Photograph of ADS and Sporting Lisbon basketball players wearing Sanjo; Several photographs of ADS teams depict athletes wearing Sanjo.

**1958** Dissident General Humberto Delgado (1906–1965) runs for the Presidency of the Republic and unites opposition forces.

**1959** Sanjo advertisement in magazine 'Portugal é isto', Figueira da Foz; Cover of Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina's 'Menina e moça' magazine shows a basketball athlete wearing Sanjo.

**1960** Portugal joins EFTA; Delegation of ADS athletes at FC Porto's 'Estádio das Antas' stadium wearing Sanjo.

<b>1961</b>	Start of the colonial war in Angola, Guinea and Mozambique; Portugal joins OECD; Kidnapping in the Caribbean liner 'Santa Maria' and diversion of a 'TAP' plane; Occupation of Goa, Daman and Diu by Indian troops without resistance of the Portuguese; Sport Lisboa e Benfica football team wins the European football cup.	nearly four decades. Marcelo Caetano takes over; Sanjo annual catalogue, Nr. 40.	<b>1981</b>	The Sanjo trademark is registered.	company from Lisbon; Redesign of the Sanjo brand identity based on previous 1980s designs; Replicas of the former Sanjos are produced outside Portugal, aimed at the Portuguese market; Copies of shoe designs from global brands start being produced under the Sanjo name.	
<b>1962</b>	Sport Lisboa e Benfica wins the European football cup for the second time; Benfica's handball team wins the national championship wearing Sanjo; First appearance of the most popular Sanjos—the 1660 series—in a photograph of ADS volleyball players; Chemical engineer Valdemar Correia, a key figure in Sanjo's history, invents the rubber wheels for roller hockey sports shoes. These are officially tested at the world roller hockey championship in Santiago, Chile. The Portuguese win the world championship in that year wearing the innovative rubber wheels.	<b>1969</b> A family photograph shows Fernando Sampaio Sousa wearing Sanjo in Mozambique.	<b>1983</b>	Measures at EIC are undertaken to face a scenario of crisis, including the redesign of Sanjo brand identity; Photograph of ADS players wearing Sanjo sportswear.	<b>1998</b>	Expo'98 Lisbon World Exposition. The theme was 'The Oceans, a Heritage for the Future', chosen in part to commemorate 500 years of Portuguese discoveries.
<b>1963</b>	EIC advertisement in O Regional, S. João da Madeira.	<b>1970</b> Death of Salazar.	<b>1984</b>	Governmental restrictions to imports are lifted; Carlos Lopes (b.1947) wins Marathon at the Los Angeles Olympics wearing Nike running shoes; 1.500/2.000 pairs of Sanjo are produced daily at EIC.	<b>1999</b>	Independence of East Timor. Portugal transfers sovereignty of Macau to the Chinese government.
<b>1964</b>	EIC advertisement in O Regional, S. João da Madeira.	<b>1971</b> EIC exports the Sanjos to Sweden.	<b>1985</b>	Signing of the Treaty of Portuguese Membership of the EEC.	<b>2001</b>	Euro comes into circulation; Porto 2001—European Capital of Culture.
<b>1965</b>	Abolition of the industrial conditioning law; The United Nations requires the independence of the Portuguese colonies.	<b>1973</b> With Mário Soares (b. 1924) as the General Secretary 'Acção Socialista Popular' becomes the first Portuguese socialist party.	<b>1986</b>	Rosa Mota (b. 1958) wins Marathon at the Seoul Olympics wearing ASICS Tiger running shoes; ADS photograph showing veteran basketball players wearing Sanjo.	<b>2002</b>	The Sanjo brand identity is slightly redesigned.
<b>1966</b>	Portuguese football national team achieves the 3rd place in the football world cup. Eusébio wears Puma. ADS football players also wear Puma; ADS and Boavista female basketball players wearing Sanjo.	<b>1974</b> Carnation revolution and restoration of democracy in Portugal. The 25 April military coup dictates the end of the New State regime; First test of democratic liberalism in Portugal; The end of the colonial war is announced; Photograph showing the Sanjos at the '25 de Abril' revolution; ADS female basketball players wearing Sanjo. This team ends temporarily.	<b>1987</b>	The Sanjo brand is licensed to Oliva; Redesign of the Sanjo brand identity; Product range expands to casual footwear. In addition to the company's traditional vulcanization process, moulded soles are incorporated as part of the product range. New materials such as synthetic textiles and leather start being used for shoe manufacturing.	<b>2003</b>	Sanjo footwear is produced in Asian countries and in Brazil. Most Sanjos are copies of best selling designs from global brands such as Nike, Puma and Adidas.
<b>1967</b>	FC Porto's athlete wears Adidas shoes at a running competition in S. João da Madeira.	<b>1975</b> Independence of colonies: Mozambique, Cape Verde, São Tomé e Príncipe, and Angola; An attempted coup by left extremists is neutralized by forces commanded by General Ramalho Eanes (b.1935). The revolution moves towards democracy.	<b>1988</b>	Completion of Lisbon-Porto motorway; EIC promotional leaflet celebrates centenary production of felt hats at EIC.	<b>2004</b>	Opening of the 'Museu da Chapelaria'. The collection and archive focus does not cover the Sanjo footwear.
<b>1968</b>	Salazar falls from a chair, preventing him from carrying out his duties after	<b>1976</b> Promulgation of New Constitution in the Assembly of Republic. 1st Constitutional Government under Mário Soares; Alert by the Ministry of Economy to the degree of specialization of international sports brands, which later became a threat to Sanjo; Official EIC order sheet showing Sanjo product references; Carlos Santos becomes CEO at EIC.	<b>1989</b>	Portugal assumes EEC Presidency for the first time.	<b>2005</b>	Redesign and production of the Sanjos in China. Relaunch of the brand in the Portuguese market.
		<b>1980</b> Colour TV in Portugal; ADS players start wearing other brands, including Adidas and Le Coq Sportif. ADS photographs showing just a few players wearing Sanjo.	<b>1990</b>	Lisboa'94—European Capital of Culture.	<b>2006</b>	Relaunch firstly noticed by local newspaper 'Labor' (S. João da Madeira) and then by 'Público'. The rediscovery of the brand sparks increasing interest in Portugal. Sanjo is licensed to Frentesport/Son, a subsidiary company of Fersado; New redesign of the Sanjo brand identity by a small design agency in Fátima.
			<b>1991</b>	Footwear production at EIC stops.	<b>2007</b>	New relaunch of Sanjo. The "return" of Sanjo is widely covered by Portuguese newspapers, magazines, and television; General interest in Sanjo increases in the media and society.
			<b>1992</b>	The brand is licensed to Sanjo-Indústrias de Calçado e Chapelaria, Lda. Closure of EIC. It is announced that the former building of EIC will become the 'Museu da Chapelaria' (hat museum).	<b>2008</b>	
			<b>1993</b>	Sanjo is bought by Fersado, a trading	<b>2009</b>	

# *Rise and fall of an iconic brand*

## **THE 'ESTADO NOVO' PERIOD (NEW STATE, 1933–1974)**

The New State was an authoritarian, nationalistic, conservative, non-expansionist regime officially imposed in Portugal by António Oliveira Salazar (1889–1970), the President of the Council of Ministers of Portugal (Prime Minister) and the de facto dictator of the Portuguese Republic from 1932 to 1968.

The regime is rooted in the military coup that ended the first republic (1910–1926) and appointed Salazar as former Minister of Finance (1926–1933), position he first declined. However, his performance paved the way for the formal establishment of the New State, which strongly influenced all aspects of the nation including the economy, production, culture, and ultimately design. This was a protectionist regime that made Portugal neutral during WWII and sustained the country's self-sufficiency. Internal production aimed at replacing imports, thus contributing to the rise of the Portuguese economy in the 1940s and 1950s when most European countries were still recovering from war.

## **FROM RURALITY TO INDUSTRIAL REGENERATION**

In the 1930s Portugal was essentially a rural country: major industries were concentrated where financial capital was higher and most industries were underdeveloped, largely based on an over-exploited workforce. The Great Depression in 1929 created a climate in Portugal that favoured industrial development. During the rise of the regime between 1931 and 1934, a series of events originated fundamental changes towards the nation's awakening of industrial consciousness and to later economic growth (Rosas, 1998: 82).

That series of events consisted of the 'I Congresso Nacional de Engenharia' in 1931 (First National Congress of Engineering); the 'Grande Exposição Industrial Portuguesa' in 1932 (Great Exhibition of Portuguese Industry)—where former producer of the Sanjos, the Empresa Industrial de Chapelaria, was awarded a Gold Medal; the 'I Congresso da Indústria Portuguesa' in 1933 (First Congress of Portuguese Industry); and in 1934 the 'Congresso da União Nacional' (Congress of the National Union Party).

Altogether these events set the scene from which engineering would take the initiative for industrial regeneration. Engineers argued they should lead such a transformative process based on their broader understanding of industrial activity as a whole, as well as their knowledge of technologically driven innovations and scientific progress. Their awareness also derived from international experience of industrial developments across various industrial sectors, including manufacturing.

In the 1930s the industrialist bourgeoisie assumed a political role supported by the New State that would later sustain further developments, leading to fostering foreign investments (Rosas, 1998: 83). Despite a great deal of interventionism, contrary to market-oriented policies experienced in the 1950s such as trade barriers, control over industries and administrative pricing, the golden age of Portuguese economic growth in the 20th century took place under Salazar's regime. According to Dias (2001: 8), the development of institutional infrastructures by Salazar would sustain the country's autonomy and economic performance in the following decades. He recalls an article on Salazar's governance published by 'The Times' which said that "it is impossible to deny that the economic improvement recorded in Portugal since 1928 is not only without parallel anywhere else in the world, but it is also an achievement for which history can show but few precedents".

However, such economic growth was performed under a rather contradictory political climate. If on the one hand industrialists aspired for industrial modernization, on the other hand, corporatism limited the growth of small industries, leading to the emergence of monopolies and cartels.

## **INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONING**

Among other policies, such as trade barriers to imports, the 'condicionamento industrial' (industrial conditioning) was a key legal instrument for the regime to control industrial growth. The term is often translated into English in a literal way, but it refers to governmental measures for controlling industrial growth by prioritizing some industries and sectors while restricting others. This had two opposite effects. On the one hand it favoured big industries to prosper, whereas on the other hand it prevented smaller industries becoming more productive and competitive. The legislation of industrial conditioning was designed to safeguard the rural country as much as to protect strategic economical sectors from independent investors. This constituted a binding constraint on the development of small industries, which were



more distributed, with lower concentration of capital. On the contrary, it favoured industries where capital was more concentrated, which were also the ones that best represented the nation's strategic interests. These were the large organizations that dominated the major sectors of the economy, such as shipbuilding, energy, and major manufacturing industries.

The formal legislation for industrial controls consisted of a Decree (1931) and a Law (1937) that would remain unaltered for decades (until 1965) to prevent industries from modernization. Through a lengthy and complex bureaucratic process, any industry of little economical relevance would have to have the state's permission to install, re-open or to expand their facilities, to buy new machinery or change location (Rosas, 1998: 230). Such policy sustained monopolies and cartels acting in closed markets without problems of competition, both in the Portuguese mainland and colonies, hence generating a broad consensus among the big businessmen and industrialists. Industries to be subject to regulation by the Decree included those producing rubber shoes: cork and its derivatives, wool weaving, spinning and weaving of cotton, cocoa and chocolate, glass and household lighting, paper, iron castings and steel, espadrille and soles of rubber, sawn timber, fur and leathers, and yeasts (Decree of 14.02.1931).

**EDIFÍCIO EXPRESSAMENTE CONSTRUÍDO  
OCUPANDO UMA SUPERFÍCIE DE  
OITO MIL METROS QUADRADOS**

Instalações montadas com todos  
os aperfeiçoamentos mecânicos adoptados  
pelas mais importantes  
fabricas da Europa.

**CAPACIDADE PRODUTORA  
MAIS DE MIL E QUINHENTOS CHAPEUS  
POR DIA**

FORÇA MOTRIZ FORNECIDA POR  
UMA MÁQUINA A VAPOR DE 185 CAVALOS,  
UM GERADOR DE ELECTRICIDADE DE 100 KW.  
E VINTE E DOIS MOTORES ELECTRICOS.

**EMPRESA INDUSTRIAL  
DE CHAPELARIA, Lda  
S. JOÃO DA MADEIRA**

CHAPÉU DE PELO  
FABRICO EM ANTA ESCOLA  
PELOS PROCEDIOS  
MAIS MODERNOS E APRENTICADOS

CHAPÉU DE Lã FINA  
FABRICO ESPECIAL  
EM GRANDES INSTALAÇÕES MODERNAS E COMPLETAS

REGIST

CHAPÉUS DE PALHA  
FABRICO CUIDADO EM OFICINAS  
EXCELENTEMENTE EQUIPADAS

*Representada por*

#### THE EMPRESA INDUSTRIAL DE CHAPELARIA

During the 1930s, the main concentration of industrial activity was in the Lisbon area and in the northeastern region, including the Porto area, S. João da Madeira and Braga, and there were also several industrial islands across the country. Regarding the footwear and hat industries, S. João da Madeira was, and still is today, one of the most relevant industrial centres, and the former owner and producer of the Sanjos, the 'EIC-Empresa Industrial Chapelaria' (Industrial Company of Hats) was definitely one of its greatest representatives ever.

According to a government study conducted in 1944 by Ferreira Dias (cited in Rosas, 2008: 64) there were about 30 factories operating in the sector of rubber and rubber shoes in Portugal between 1937 and 1939, with an average of about 47 labourers for manufacturing. According to the same study, there were 32 hat factories with an average of about 55 labourers for manufacturing. So EIC was one of the companies that certainly would figure in both these categories of the study.

The innovative status of the Sanjo brand is due to have contributed to the production

of sports shoes, other than espadrilles, in the Portuguese market. According to its co-founder António J. P. Oliveira (1968) EIC was established in S. João da Madeira in 1920 building up on a previous hat industry initiated in 1891. The company started producing footwear from the early 1930s built upon previous brief experience: in the early 1920 it was abandoned because it required large investment. EIC was awarded a gold medal at the Great Exhibition of Portuguese Industry in 1932 and according to a promotional document the company claimed to be the largest hat factory of the Iberian Peninsula at the time. However, it was not before 1944 (Santos, V., 1985: 23) that the Sanjo factory was built and the rubber section became autonomous, thus enabling footwear production as a more serious activity. In the following decades, the vulcanized rubber and canvas Sanjos would become the most popular shoes and best-known brand for sports in Portugal.

Either directly or indirectly, it is likely that EIC and Sanjo benefited from the New State and particularly the industrial conditioning measures. It is not possible to accurately determine to what extent this influence occurred, or to make any direct association between the company and the regime, however, the Sanjos would benefit as much from operating in a closed market as from having little resistance from competitors, either Portuguese or from other countries. It included benefitting from cotton supplies from the former colonies in Africa and the scenario lasted for decades. This helps explain the significance and popularity of the Sanjos and why the evolution of the product and the image was simultaneously steady and slow. EIC was one of the fewest companies in Portugal to produce such cotton canvas and vulcanized rubber sports shoes, and both the products' and brand's structural designs remained stable for about 40 years.

#### **FROM ENGINEERING TO DESIGN**

Engineering differs from design. If engineers took the lead in establishing the ground for fundamental changes in the industrial landscape, what happened in terms of product design? Despite the account of industrial developments it remains unclear how technologically driven transformations influenced the design of products. In some cases, similarities in product designs from different countries allow us to raise the question of whether these (designs) could have been imported alongside processes and machinery, or whether they have been adapted or copied.

Through observational study it is possible to compare design features and dates

of production in different brands to understand to what extent such influences might have happened. For example there is the case of the similarities found in the design features, materials and technologies used to produce the Portuguese Sanjos, in relation to the French Spring Court canvas and rubber sports shoes, founded in 1936.

#### **SANJO BENCHMARKS**

Historical evidence of the Sanjo footwear demonstrates that product designs possibly resulted from a mixture of various influences. These include from the 1930s Dasslers stripes, later Adidas, and from Spring Court's technological innovations introduced in the 1950s (Spring Court, 2010).

The two stripes had become a generic default on the side of sports shoes and some of the Sanjos resembled the Dasslers (Smit, 2008: 32). In addition to this, the similarities with Spring Court can be seen putting side-by-side promotional materials. Spring Court is the name of a French tennis shoe created in 1936 by Georges Grimmeisen with an upper in cotton canvas and outer sole in vulcanized rubber (Spring Court, 2010). In 1952 innovative "ventilation technology" was introduced, becoming since then a distinctive feature of the French brand. It comprised of a "removable insole with arch support incorporating ventilation channels" and "four holes" in the outer sole, still remarked on today. A photograph from 1959 (A Bola, 1995: 508) shows the Sanjo designs worn by basketball athletes of the 'Associação Académica de Coimbra' were close to those of Spring Court. Despite the case that the Sanjos started before Spring Court—in the same year the Spring Court was established, the monthly production of Sanjo was 967 pairs per month (Museu da Chapelaria, 2010)—the Sanjos "ventilation technology" might have been drawn from the French brand. An exquisite and rare Sanjo product catalogue (Empreza Industrial de Chapelaria, 1968) describes a range of Sanjos as having similar ventilation features that later became a distinctive feature of the Portuguese brand too.

#### **IDENTITY CONSTRUCTIONS THROUGH ETHNOGRAPHIC REPRESENTATIONS**

Until recently there was the assumption that the New State intended to express the values and ideologies of the regime by developing the idea of a certain 'Portugality' through exploring ethnographic representations in propaganda discourse. In fact, the question of ethnography is key to understand the process of identity construction that Portugal intended to affirm in the first half of the 20th century. Such ethnographic

practices and discourses were similar to others being developed in Europe at the time, and gave continuity to previous ethnographic studies developed in Portugal before 1926, i.e. prior to Salazar's regime. According to Alves (2011: 3–4) "it is easy to see in Portuguese ethnographic texts of the 1920s a wide variety of rustic art manifestations gathered by their ornamental quality—yokes, clay pots, the pastoral art, furniture, embroidery, fabrics looms, and vessels. The Portuguese folk art defined as such was a manifestation of the artistic qualities of the Portuguese people, and this was a sign on its own ready to be used in the construction of a certain image of the nation" Alves (2011: 7).

Folklore and popular culture were the basis of the entire program of celebration of the Portuguese people developed by the regime, namely by the 'SPN—Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional' (Secretariat of National Propaganda). It also celebrated the uniqueness of artistic and cultural expression of the Portuguese, which extended to the visual identity of a great deal of Portuguese product and brand imagery.

#### THE YEARS OF FERRO (1933–1949)

In the 1930s António Ferro became a major figure in the context of the "possible modernism" in the emerging New State. Ferro was a former editor of the *Orpheu* magazine under Fernando Pessoa's direction and had contributed to other publications and events as a journalist and editor in the 1920s. His subjects related to illustration, jazz, cinema, theatre and politics, including interviews and writings about the dictatorships in Europe. He was an admirer of Mussolini but not of Hitler. A series of interviews with Salazar held in 1932 led him to develop propaganda for the new chief of the Portuguese government. One year later, in 1933, the SPN was created for controlling cultural production and to promote the nation in terms of making its ideals visible from the outside, mainly through the arts and literature. Ferro carefully selected artists for collaborations, some of them crossing skills in various fields (Rosas & Brito, 1996b: 611).

While the economy was being developed, António Ferro was entrusted by Salazar to lead the regime's propaganda and the cultural sector. He was closely linked to Portuguese modernists as well as he was interested in Portuguese visual culture. These relationships would lead him to combine modernist aesthetics and ethnographic explorations through graphic arts (Alves, 2009). However, as Alves stated later (2011: 4) "the course of Ferro is a testimony of a wider phenomenon:



the panorama of the great popularization of folk art in identity constructions across Europe and in the Americas in the first half of the 19th century, without which one can not properly explain the folklorist intervention of the SPN". Ferro's activities included the creation of platforms for cultural expression such as the foundation of the 'Verde Gaió' (green jay) ballet group in 1940 inspired by the 'Ballets Russes', the magazine 'Panorama' of Portuguese arts and tourism in 1941, and the 'Museu da Arte Popular' (Museum of Popular Art) in 1948. Among other propagandistic events, Ferro was responsible for the '1a Exposição Colonial Portuguesa' (1st Portuguese Colonial Exhibition, 1934), and for the participations of the 'Portuguese Empire' in world expositions in Paris (1937) and New York (1939). Throughout his activities to promote the country's image under nationalistic ideologies Ferro was able to engage artists, artisans and architects to be involved in cultural projects, many of which were ideologically contrary to the regime (Rosas & Brito, 1996). Collaborations benefitted from the work of professional ethnographers (Luís Chaves, Leite de Vasconcelos and Cardoso Marta), architects (Keil do Amaral, Jorge Segurado), artists (Almada Negreiros, Maria Keil, Pardal Monteiro, Abel Manta), graphic artists (Fred Kradolfer, Carlos Botelho, Bernardo Marques, José Rocha), and also musicologists and artisans (Alves, 2011: 5-6; França, 1991: 101-2; Santos, 1995: 458-9; Rosas & Brito, 1996b: 612; Sapega, 2008: 47).

As Sapega notes (2008: 16), "this tendency to isolate certain folk traditions, put them on display, and declare them symbolic of an idealized vision of national unity and harmony also occurred in the areas of artisanship and handicrafts". Ferro and the SPN through these events "clearly illustrate such intents". If a high standard craftsmanship is a characteristic deeply rooted in Portuguese culture, Ferro could bring many artists to light through the SPN activities. Textiles, ceramics, weaving and embroidery, basket making, leather, wood, cork, filigree and confectionary are example of crafts currently listed by the Portuguese government (IQF, 2006; PPART, 2010) that could be seen across the regime's cultural initiatives. In cultural manifestations promoted throughout the New State there is continuous reference to personalities, symbols, regions, colonies and motifs of Portuguese History. Such icons are especially present across commemorative celebrations, exhibitions, cultural events, and popular contests, film and in publications. The magazines 'Panorama' and 'Verde Gaió' are rich examples of such manifestations and their purpose was to illustrate the most lively and typical "Portuguese ness" (Paulo, 1994).

## PROPAGANDA OF CULTURE AS PROPAGANDA

In the 1930s, propaganda and culture provided two rather complementary platforms in Portugal. In the regime's approach, culture could serve propaganda, as propaganda would represent a means for cultural shift. The idea of exploring culturally specific representations gave form to visual materialization that would influence commercial art thus extended to trade (Lobo, 2002: 8). By adopting the ethnographic approaches used in propaganda companies found a new way to communicate with the public by applying such motifs to advertisements. At the same time companies could 'say' they were ideologically aligned with the regime, as it is the case of both EIC and Sanjo, like many other.

Despite the fact that there are only a very few Sanjo advertisements available, they demonstrate how the company alludes to the regime by incorporating signs of nationalistic iconography. This includes the shield of Portuguese flag, a map of the country, traditional costumes according to regions, and a written message referring literally to "serving the nation from head to toe". Until recent decades, such 'geo-ethnographic' representations of the map of Portugal (or of Portuguese colonies) divided into regions and showing their locally specific costumes in relation to representative economic activities, would become a sort of canon amongst the visual identity of companies, brands and products from this era.

## REMARKS OF EXCELLENCE

In relation to graphic design, how did the brand mark originate? Much of the commercial graphic design work produced in the first half of the century was designed by anonymous graphic artists working for printing companies (Durão, 2003; Silva, 1995; Lobo, 2002). In the case of the earliest version of the Sanjo brand mark, the author remains unknown. However, both accuracy and complexity of the artwork suggest it to have been designed by a skilled graphic artist, possibly from the Porto area such as Cruz Caldas (Castro, 1998) or at 'ETP-Escritório Técnico de Publicidade' (Barbosa, Calvera & Branco, 2009), since both EIC and Sanjo printed materials often refer to printers in Porto and EIC head office had been settled there. Although simple, the distinctiveness of shapes, proportions for scaling, refined lettering and legibility respond to some of the "practical requirements of

<sup>1</sup> Audio-recorded interview with relatives of Valdemar Correia on 18 February 2010.

<sup>2</sup> According to references in original Sanjo shoes boxes, in a product catalogue from 1968, and in original EIC order sheets.

trademarks” identified by Per Mollerup in ‘Marks of Excellence’ (1997: 90–1).

The early version of the Sanjo mark remained relatively stable for several decades. The number of mark designs from this period is by far the largest, but it doesn’t mean the brand was unstable because most of the versions derive from one main graphic design structure: lettering inside a lozenge. On the contrary, if there were any inconsistencies it was partly due to the four decades the main design existed for, and because the means of graphic reproduction available at the time often involved a great deal of work carried out by hand and this could lead to variations, as well as techniques were not as precise as they can be today. Nevertheless, there was great care in applying the mark. For example the shoes in the collection from this period show the mark designs were applied in a discrete but rather consistent manner. Conversely, inconsistencies in the application of the various designs that followed are visible across products dating after the regime ended. This indicates the identity of the brand started becoming unstable. Such phenomena may take us to corporate design programmes, which often take place when significant transformations occur in companies (Olins, 1995). Such design interventions reflect changes in management, acquisitions, mergers, or new marketing strategies.

Another feature the Sanjos from this period show that there is a subtle link to the austerity of the regime. The shoes neatly packed in small minimal boxes are just one example that the economy of resources was of great concern. All was kept to a minimum. Although details show great care in manual production, the use of materials also reflects the economic limitations at the time. It also shows the little significance of the term ‘brand’ as an asset for competing in the market compared to what is seen nowadays, for example: in the overuse of labels, unnecessary amounts of carton and wrapping paper, and prominence of mark designs all over the shoes and expensive packaging.

Photographs referring to the practice of sports back in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s show the Sanjos were mainly used for sports. Photographs of athletes from major sports clubs in Portugal and in the colonies wearing the Sanjos illustrate this well. It must be said however that there are also photographs in which the context of use, the shape of the shoes and the dates they were taken only sustain the suspicion

<sup>3</sup> Personal conversation with Manuel Fernandes, CEO of Fersado, on 19 December 2009.

of being Sanjos. Nevertheless, a closer inspection into the monograph of local sports club ‘ADS–Associação Desportiva Sanjoanense’ (Neto & Silva, 1999) reveals there was a close link between the brand and this club from S. João da Madeira. An example of this is a photograph showing female basketball teams from ADS and Boavista FC. The latter is a club from Porto that became better known, but at that time the ADS players were wearing the latest and finest Sanjos. Many other photographs of ADS teams also show the Sanjos were worn for different sports from the 1940s until the 1980s, and were present in important sports events both at national and international level. That is the case of a photograph taken in 1962. It depicts the Portuguese roller hockey national team whose players featured a world-class innovation in Santiago do Chile, becoming world champions in that year: the rubber wheels for roller hockey shoes, which are commonly used today for roller skating, were originally developed by Valdemar Correia for Sanjo and manufactured by EIC. Valdemar Correia was a chemical engineer specialized in polymers, who worked at Bayer in Germany and in the UK before becoming a key figure in the brand’s history<sup>4</sup>. Before his developments, wheels were either made of wood or steel and such remarkable innovation must be credited to him. The patent, however, was never registered neither under his name nor of Sanjo or EIC.

#### **THE END OF THE REGIME AND DECLINE OF SANJO**

The end of the regime in 1974 affected the country’s stability in its various aspects. From politics to market economy, soon companies would have to face sudden radical changes: industrial conditioning was abolished, markets previously closed were now open, barriers to imports had been lifted and soon the effects of competition would start being visible. In one decade, from the early 1980s to the early 1990s the Sanjo mark changed three times, different marks often being in use concurrently. This either reveals that several attempts were made to adapt the brand rapidly to new circumstances, severe transformations occurred inside the company, or even a combination of both. In any case, the company could not defend against these transformations and the brand’s reputation fell with it in the following decades.

Similarly to the brand, the Sanjo product designs also remained relatively stable during the New State period and changed quite dramatically from mid 1980s

<sup>4</sup> Audio-recorded interview on 9 September 2009.



**Remark of excellence**

Portuguese roller hockey national team (right) whose players, including António Livramento (bottom left), featured a world-class innovation in Santiago do Chile in 1962. Portugal became world champion in that year: the rubber wheels for roller hockey shoes were originally developed by Valdemar Correia (above) at the Empresa Industrial de Chapelaria. The patent, however, was never registered neither under his name nor of Sanjo or EIC. Photographs courtesy of Pedro Correia and Francisco Parreira Lavado.



onwards. Until then, foreign sports brands were far from being a serious threat. However, despite the aura of popularity gained in the early days, the Sanjos could not compete with the rise in international specialist sports brands. The main product design that made the Sanjos famous—the 1660 series<sup>2</sup> or K100 as it was informally known among some sellers<sup>3</sup>—were as unique as they were generalists. From indoor to outdoor activities they had been used in all kinds of sports and leisure for decades, including basketball, handball, volleyball, gymnastics, and football and in the street. In contrast, other brands such as Adidas evolved in a more technical perspective, adapting to the specificities of different sports. This resulted in a more specifically advanced offerings, but no less consistent in terms of brand identity. Adidas' identity, which still stands today, was built up by ensuring three stripes on the side are visible, thence applied coherent and consistently since the 1940s (Smit, 2008).

In a letter dated from 1976 held by the Museu da Chapelaria, the Portuguese Ministry of Economy drew the attention of the company to the high degree of specialization of sports footwear abroad, enclosing a photocopy of an image showing sports shoes drawn from an article in Swedish newspaper 'Expressen'. In 1985, further signs pointing out towards change were announced. The president of the Portuguese footwear association (APICCAPS) alerted companies to the need of incorporating design as part of their strategy so they could become both less dependent from international contractors and more competitive internationally (Bastos, 1985). At the time, emerging cheap labour in Asian countries was already becoming a threat to the Portuguese footwear industry and it would later affect the Portuguese economy. In order to respond to the needs for change, while the Sanjos decreased in quality of materials and finishing, their new developments turned away from specific footwear for sport and got closer to low-priced casual footwear. The product range once focused on vulcanized rubber and cotton canvas shoes broadened its scope to a wide variety of designs and materials, including moulded soles, leather uppers and designs copied from the Converse's 'All-Star' and Vans.

The decline of the brand was relatively slow due to its previous achievements, but was inevitable partly due to misunderstanding how design and brands develop and to difficulties in both securing regular customers and penetrating new markets. The Sanjo was not able to compete with international brands from the moment there was a greater openness to imports. Other reasons relate to financial constraints and aging, and a less flexible organizational structure. The previously long stability of

a closed market reduced the company's capacity to respond in a positive way to a wider, more competitive, complex and fast evolving marketplace.

### IDENTITY CRISIS

It is well known the liberalization of the market, including in former totalitarian regimes and computerization of graphic languages increased radically throughout the 1980s and the 1990s. Regarding EIC, the organizational structure of the company, which had been as conservative as enduring in the past—for several decades, only people wearing hats were allowed to step in the premises—became heavy, out dated, and very difficult to manage.

As former CEO Carlos Santos stated, "stakeholders were as many as it became unbearable to take any decisions in the overcrowded board meetings"<sup>4</sup>. When he left, a new managerial arrangement took over the company, and again, a new mark design was introduced. Along with it, the colours green, black, yellow, blue and red used interchangeably replaced previous blue, red and orange, as well as new typefaces start being used. A wider variety of shoe typologies turned the brand into a generalist footwear maker more than for sports. As with graphic design, so the approach to shoe designs became a pastiche of visual references.

The various mark designs both from this period and the previous ones were applied to products indiscriminately, hence with no perceptible criteria apart from the suspicion that previous stock was being used for economical reasons, regardless of any possible incongruence this could bring to the brand's identity. However, contrary to the company's intents, the brand's visual identity in this period in incredibly coherent to what was happening at organizational level. By using several marks and different criteria in their use, such visual identity crisis is a sign of the crisis that the company was going through. The marks of both EIC and Sanjo were being used at the same time across products and communication materials, showing there were no distinction between corporate and brand identities.

The Sanjo brand was in serious decline. From this period, no photographs of athletes or people wearing the Sanjos either for sports or as casual footwear could be found. No product catalogues were found either and the shoes from the collection show there were as many designs as production was careless. Previous idea of economy of resources was interpreted here in the least optimistic sense. Stages of production were suppressed and the quality of materials and finishing decreased.

Regarding this period of the brand, the number of shoes in the collection with imperfections either due to manual or mechanical production is higher than of those from the other stages. So it is the number of contrasting mark designs, packaging designs, labels and colours used. The commercial setting for selling the Sanjos also changed. In the 1970s, for example, even commercial agents had to pay in advance and wait for several months until they could get their orders since production was often sold out as clients were carefully selected. In the 1990s, the selling of the decaying Sanjos shifted from prestigious shoe shops to open air cheap markets.

All this means the company was struggling: in (re)linking the brand to sports; in producing footwear for specific audiences; in finding a core product identity as it there was in the past; and in taking advantage of the brand's previous reputation and popularity. In visual terms, the variety of mark designs used along with the mixture of other visual elements corroborates this. Such visual mess was already an anticipation of what would come rather sooner than later, the collapse of Sanjo. The company survived until 1996 by which time the Sanjos had been in production for about 62 years (1933–1995).

#### A SECOND LIFE

The controversial process for closing the Empresa Industrial de Chapelaria in 1996 came to an end after a year-long series of auctions in which machinery, tools, furniture, artefacts, products, raw materials, and most of the historical memory of the brand held by EIC was sold off. That was also an opportunity to buy an iconic brand name with decades of history, and still reputed as the greatest Portuguese footwear for sports ever. A second life was given to the brand although its rebirth implied products to be made elsewhere. Fersado, a small commercial company from the outskirts of Lisbon bought the brand name during the auctions almost by chance. According to Luís Quintino, former CEO of EIC appointed by the court of law to manage the dismantlement of the company, the deal included buying the brand name along with the remaining stock of shoes. As early as in 1997, the 1660's design inspired Fersado to start producing replicas in Asia. Since these shoes were very well known and had been used by several generations of Portuguese people, its previous reputation represented an opportunity for exploring it commercially. However, any chance to retrieve the unique productive system and know-how upon which the original Sanjos developed, aiming at its reconstitution in the future, was really out of the question. That was irreversibly lost.



# O Fim da "Sanjo"

## O fim da "

Segundo vi pela TV, a fábrica "Sanjo" encerrou definitivamente no desemprego, mais de 300 trabalhadores ainda continuam à espera de salários em atrasado. É triste que isto suceda a uma empresa que foi de muito produtiva para os desportivos, consideravelmente melhores. Impôs-se de tal forma a carteira de encomendas que a produção era enorme.

Uma grande parte dos salários não foram serem atendidos mais rapidamente. Importava de pagar a produção em atrasado.

Eu mesmo, a pedido de alguns colegas, fui algumas vezes até à fábrica para acelerarem a execução da nota, tendo mesmo ordenado o pagamento com o mesmo preciso, untar as mãos aos trabalhadores pelos seus serviços.

Algumas garrafas de vinho foram enviadas para presentear os trabalhadores. É com muita pena que viu o fim tão desastroso.

De quem será a culpa?

P.S.  
"Que falta faz a esta casa o dinâmico Sr. Leite J. Se ele se levantasse do seu sepulcro, morreria outra vez."

...a última assembleia de credores da empresa realizada no passado 31 de Outubro, o administrador judicial, Quintino, apresentou a proposta de interrupção da gestão controlada da empresa. A proposta, fundamentada em dez pontos, foi aprovada pelos credores presentes no "canto" do total, e os próprios trabalhadores: A empresa encontrava-se paralisada desde meados de Julho, acumulava dívidas superiores a 600 mil contos e não tinha trabalhadores ao serviço; por todos eles terem suspenso os seus contratos de trabalho...

...a partir do momento em que a sua administração não conseguiu cumprir as metas estabelecidas no plano em que assentava a sua gestão controlada. Os trabalhadores, da "Sanjo" apesar de terem votado a proposta apresentada pelo administrador judicial, solicitaram ao Ministério Público uma intervenção mais rigorosa no apuramento de alguns dos factos que conduziram a empresa a este triste desfecho.

...a partir do momento em que a sua administração não conseguiu cumprir as metas estabelecidas no plano em que assentava a sua gestão controlada. Os trabalhadores, da "Sanjo" apesar de terem votado a proposta apresentada pelo administrador judicial, solicitaram ao Ministério Público uma intervenção mais rigorosa no apuramento de alguns dos factos que conduziram a empresa a este triste desfecho.

Construction of the Museu da Chapelaria on the former site of the Empresa Industrial de Chapelaria, S. João da Madeira, 2003. Photograph courtesy of Daniel Regalado Neto.



## REFERENCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A Bola (1995) História de 50 anos do desporto Português. Lisbon: A Bola.
- Almeida, P. (2005) Identidade e Marca – Recursos estratégicos para a competitividade das organizações, na indústria Portuguesa do calçado em particular. Masters dissertation, Universidade de Aveiro. Available from: <http://ria.ua.pt/bitstream/10773/1155/1/2009000676.pdf> [Accessed 20 March 2006].
- (2009) Marcas comerciais, identidade e memória: a revalorização de património visual do período do Estado Novo. In: Semedo, A. et al. (Eds.) Proceedings of the I Seminário de Investigação em Museologia dos países de Língua Portuguesa e Espanhola, Porto, Portugal, October 12-14, 2009. Porto: Faculdade de Letras, Universidade do Porto, Vol.2, pp.225-235.
- (2009) Portuguese design heritage and portable imageries: re-evaluation of the Sanjo sports shoes. In: Córte-Real, E., Couto, A., Duarte, C. (Eds.) Proceedings of the 5th UNIDCOM/IADE International Conference, Lisbon, Portugal, October 1-3, 2009. Lisbon: UNIDCOM/IADE, pp.289-297.
- (2009b) Portuguese design heritage and product innovation: the re-evaluation of trademarks from the 'Estado Novo' period. In: Malins, J. (Ed.) Proceedings of Design Connexity, the European Academy of Design's 8th Conference, The Robert Gordon University, Aberdeen, Scotland, April 1-3, 2009. Aberdeen: The Robert Gordon University & EAD - European Academy of Design, pp.115-120.
- Alves, V. (2009) O Museu de Arte Popular e a política do gosto do SPN. In: Pinto, T., Pomar, R. and Portas, C. (2009) Museu de Arte Popular 15 June [Internet blog]. Available from: <http://museuartepopular.blogspot.com/2009/06/o-museu-de-arte-popular-e-politica-do.html> [Accessed 27 January 2011].
- (2011) O Estado Novo, a Etnografia Portuguesa e o Museu de Arte Popular [Internet]. Available from: <http://www.map.imc-ip.pt/data/Etnografia%20do%20Regime%20-%20Vera%20Alves.pdf> [Accessed 27 January 2011].
- Barata, M. (1938) A lição de Salazar: Deus, Pátria, Família – a trilogia da educação nacional. Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, CT. 101 G. Cx.
- Barbosa, H., Calvera, A. & Branco, V. (2009) Portugal's First Advertising Agency: Raul de Caldevilla and the ETP, 1914-1923. Design Issues, Winter 2009, Vol. 25(1), pp.22-35.
- Bastos, J. (1985) "O Regional" entrevistou o presidente da APICCAPS. O Regional, 4 May, p. 6
- Birmingham, D. (2003) A concise history of Portugal. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Castro, L. (1998) António Cruz Caldas. Exhibition catalogue. Porto: Departamento de Museus e Património Cultural, Câmara Municipal do Porto.
- Corkill, D. & Almeida, J. (2009) Commemoration and Propaganda in Salazar's Portugal: The Mundo Português Exposition of 1940. Journal of Contemporary History, 44(3), pp.381-399.
- Dias, J. (2001) Institutional Infrastructure and Economic Performance in Portugal:1945-1950s [Internet]. Available from: <www2.egi.ua.pt/xxiaphes/Artigos/a%20J%20Dias.pdf> [Accessed 17 January 2011].
- Durão, S. (2003) Oficinas e tipógrafos, cultura e quotidianos de trabalho, 1st ed. Portugal de perto, biblioteca de etnografia e antropologia. Brito, J.P. de (Gen. ed.), Lisbon: Publicações D. Quixote.
- Empresa Industrial de Chapelaria (1968) Calçado de lona e borracha Sanjo, catálogo n.º 40. Porto: Empresa Industrial de Chapelaria.
- Fundação Mário Soares (n.d.) Quarta-feira, 24 de Novembro de 1965, Alteração do regime do condicionamento industrial [Internet], Lisbon, Fundação Mário Soares, Arquivo & Biblioteca. Available from: <http://www.fmsoares.pt/aeb/crono/id?id=036644> [Accessed 17 January 2011].
- (n.d.b) Sábado, 14 de Fevereiro de 1931, Decreto n.º 19 354 que estabelece o condicionamento industrial [Internet], Lisbon, Fundação Mário Soares, Arquivo & Biblioteca. Available from: <http://www.fmsoares.pt/aeb/crono/id?id=035361> [Accessed 17 January 2011].
- (n.d.c) Segunda-feira, 17 de Maio de 1937, Lei do Condicionamento Industrial [Internet], Lisbon, Fundação Mário Soares, Arquivo & Biblioteca. Available from: <http://www.fmsoares.pt/aeb/crono/id?id=035602> [Accessed 17 January 2011].
- IQF, Instituto para a Qualidade na Formação (2006) O sector das actividades artesanais em Portugal. Lisbon: IQF.
- João, M. (1999) Memória e Império: Comemorações em Portugal (1880-1960). Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian & Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia.
- Lira, S. et al. (2004) O Centro de Documentação do Museu da Indústria de Chapelaria de S. João da Madeira [Internet]. Available from: <www2.ufp.pt/~sira/artigos/com\_loures.pdf> [Accessed 20th October 2009].
- Lobo, T. (2002) Cartazes Publicitários – Coleção da Empresa do Bolhão. Lisbon: Edições Inapa.
- Loff, M. & Siza, T. (Eds.) (2010) Resistência: da alternativa republicana à luta contra a ditadura (1891-1974). Exhibition catalogue. Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações do Centenário da República – CNCCR. Lisbon: Edições Inapa.
- Mollerup, P. (1997) Marks of excellence: the history and taxonomy of trademarks. London: Phaidon.
- Mota, J., Almeida, P., Silva, P. (2009) 'Design collaboration for the re-evaluation of an abandoned industrial city: the case of S. João da Madeira'. In: Córte-Real, E., Couto, A., Duarte, C. (Eds.) Proceedings of the 5th UNIDCOM/IADE International Conference, Lisbon, Portugal, October 1-3, 2009. Lisbon: UNIDCOM/IADE, pp.130-136.
- Museu da Chapelaria (2010) Sanjo. Uma Marca. Uma História. Museu da Chapelaria [exhibition viewed 23 October 2010, Museu da Chapelaria, S. João da Madeira].
- Neto, D. & Silva, P. (1999) Associação Desportiva Sanjoense: 75 anos de História (1924-1999). S. João da Madeira: Laborpress.
- Olins, W. (1995) The new guide to identity-Wolff Olins: corporate identity, retail identity, brand identity, organizational identity, the corporate brand, the corporate vision, and the central idea – how to create and sustain change through managing identity. 2nd ed. Hampshire: The Design Council & Gower Publishing.
- Oliveira, A. (1968) Recordações da minha passagem pela chapelaria. O Regional, 7 December, p.2.
- Paulo, H. (1994) Estado Novo e propaganda em Portugal e no Brasil: o SPN/ SNI e o DIP. Minerva-História, Vol. XI. Coimbra: Livraria Minerva.
- Pereira, P. (2011) Arte Portuguesa, História Essencial, 1st ed. Temas e Debates, Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores.
- Pimentel, I. (2007) Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina. Lisbon: A Esfera dos Livros, p.156, illus.
- PPART (2010) Repertório de Actividades Artesanais [Internet]. Available from: <http://www.ppart.gov.pt/principal.aspx?pagina=repertorio&tipo=1> [Accessed: 12 March 2010].
- Rosas, F. (1994) Estado Novo e desenvolvimento económico (anos 30 e 40): uma industrialização sem reforma agrária. AnáliseSocial, Vol. XXIX (128), 4, pp.871-887.
- (1998) O Estado Novo (1926-1974). Vol. VII. In: História de Portugal. Mattoso, J. (Gen. ed.) Vol. II, Lisbon: Editorial Estampa.
- Rosas, F. & Brito, J.B. de (Eds.) (1996) Dicionário de História do Estado Novo, Vol. I, Venda Nova: Bertrand Editora.
- (1996b) Dicionário de História do Estado Novo, Vol. II, Venda Nova: Bertrand Editora.
- Sanjo—documento comemorativo do centenário da Empresa. (1991) [Online image]. Available from: <http://culturaldata.wordpress.com/2010/09/30/sanjo-documento-comemorativo-do-centenario-da-empresa/> [Accessed 12 October 2010].
- Santos, R. (1995) O design e a decoração em Portugal, 1900-1994. In: História da Arte Portuguesa, Vol. III, Pereira, P. (Ed.), Círculo de Leitores, pp.437-503.
- Santos, V. (1985) Algumas curiosidades do início e desenvolvimento da indústria. In: O Regional Especial 100 anos da indústria de calçado, 31 July, pp.17-23.
- Sapega, E. (2008) Consensus and debate in Salazar's Portugal: visual and literary negotiations of the national text, 1933-1948. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Saraiva, J. H. (Ed.) (2004) História de Portugal – Vol. IX – A Segunda República – De Antóní Salazar ao Marcelismo. Matosinhos: Quidnovi.
- (2004b) História de Portugal – Vol. X – A Terceira República – Do 25 de Abril aos nossos dias. Matosinhos: Quidnovi, p.9, illus.
- Secretariado da Propaganda Nacional (1936) Princípios Essenciais do Estado Novo Corporativo. Coimbra: Biblioteca da Universidade.
- Silva, S. da (1995) Designer and alchemist of visible signs. In: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (1995) Sebastião Rodrigues, Designer. Exhibition catalogue. Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian & Associação Portuguesa de Designers, pp.18-24.
- Smit, B. (2008) Sneaker Wars: The Enemy Brothers Who Founded Adidas and Puma and the Family Feud That Forever Changed the Business of Sport. New York: HarperCollins Publishers.
- Spring Court (2010) The original white shoe since 1936 [Internet]. Available from: <http://www.springcourtsusa.com/home.html> [Accessed 27 January 2010].
- Universidade Fernando Pessoa & Museu da Indústria de Chapelaria (2006) Sistema de Gestão de Coleções Museológicas Industriais. [Museum archive online] Available from: <http://www.museuchapelaria.cm-sjm.pt/cgi-bin/chapeu/index.pl> [Accessed 20 January 2010].
- Vieira, J. (2000) Portugal Século XX: Crónica em Imagens 1950-1960. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores.
- Williamson, D. (2007) The Age of the Dictators. Harlow: Pearce Education Limited.
- World Monuments Fund – Portugal (2007) Jerónimos Monastery, A Place in Time. Exhibition catalogue, 4th ed. Lisbon: World Monuments Fund – Portugal.
- Xue, H., & Almeida, P. (2011). 'Nostalgia and its value to design strategy: some fundamental considerations'. In: Cai, J., Liu, J., Tong et al. (Eds.) Proceedings of the Tsinghua-DMI International Design Management Symposium December 3-5, 2011, Hong Kong. Hong Kong: Tsinghua University & DMI - Design Management Institute, pp.64-72.
- Yangjun, P. & Jiaojiao, C. (2007) Adidas. London: Southbank.

## "Sanjo"

a fábrica de Calçado  
ativamente, deixando  
de 100 pessoas que  
era do que lhes é de-  
raso, etc.

la à "Sanjo", uma em-  
prestígio, em sapa-  
siderados como os  
tal forma, que a sua  
as - há anos atrás -

s seus clientes, para  
rapidamente, não se  
ronto, ou mesmo adi-

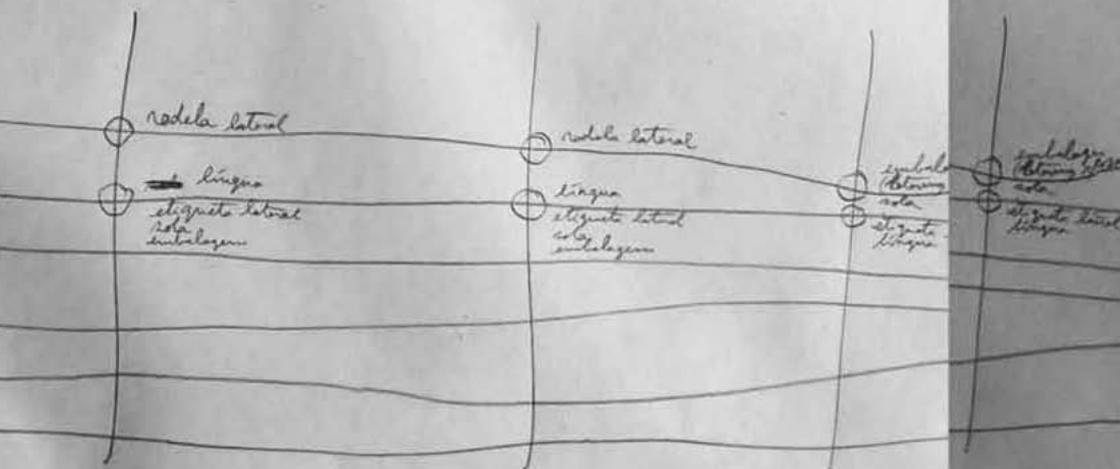
de clientes, meus ami-  
s ao escritório pedir  
ação desta ou daque-  
ordens para, se fosse  
ao encarregado des-

vinho me foram en-  
este ou aquele.  
e vejo a Sanjo ter um

ca  
e Junior...  
do  
tra vez!"

SANJO

SANJO



# 4. RESULTS: FROM THE SANJO COLLECTION AND ARCHIVE

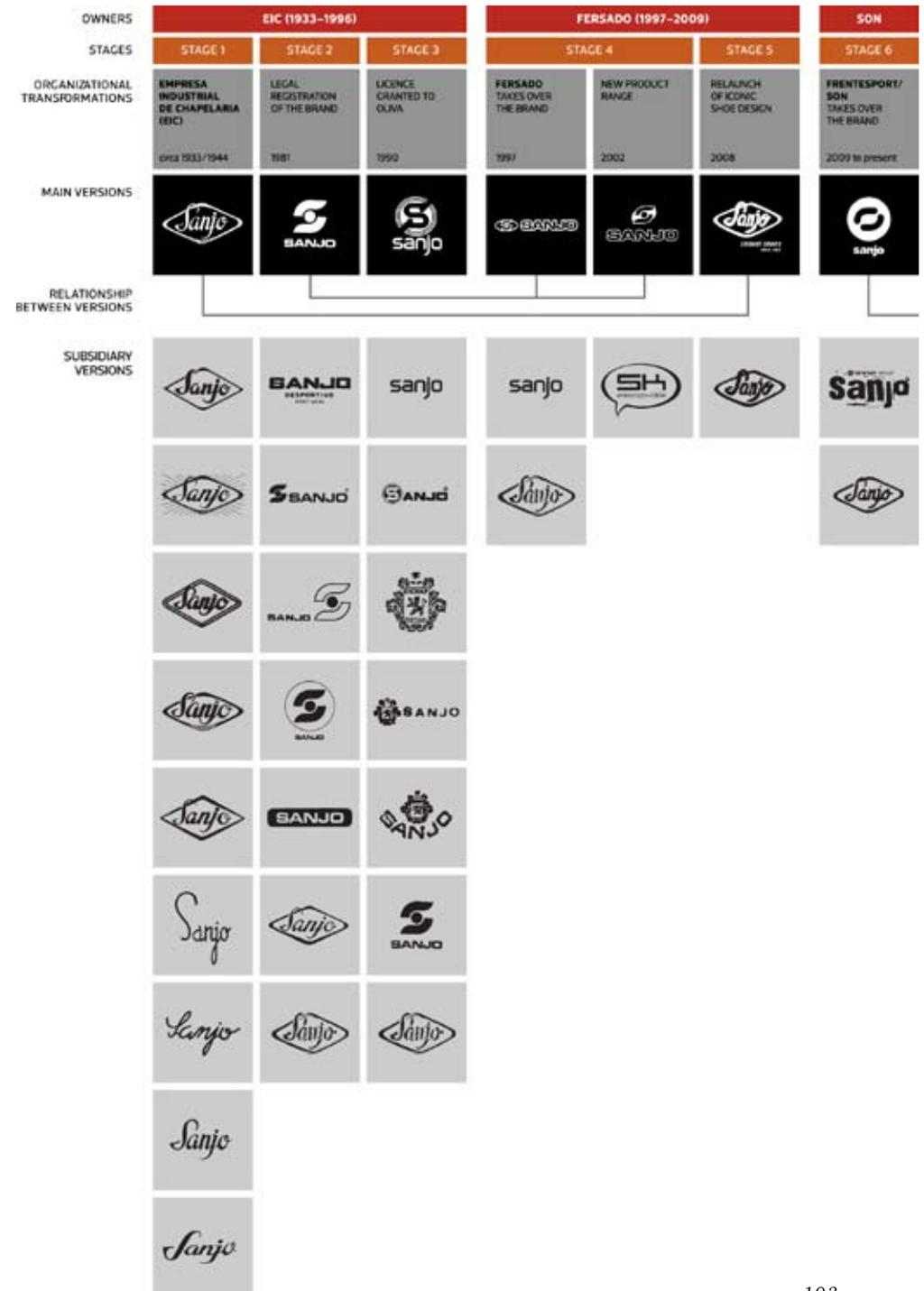


# From the Sanjo collection

This section shows some of the rare original Sanjos retrieved through field research. These are organized chronologically according to the various stages of the brand's historical development. From a collection of over 160 pairs of original Sanjos, the selection of 43 shoe designs presented here are all different from each other and are representative of the various stages identified.

Altogether, these shoes helped in identifying gaps in the brand's history while shifting its understanding from a broader perspective. Resulting from transformative events that changed the brand across decades, they illustrate how some of its most distinctive elements of identity have been dissolved with present day global influence, including graphic designs, product designs, and smell. What this collection aims to show through Sanjo is the significance of such an archive for a company and what can be lost, adding to knowledge the thorough understanding of a brand with this sort of in depth.

- STAGE 1** Longevity and stability under the regime (1933–1980)
- STAGE 2** Facing the new market economy (1981–1990)
- STAGE 3** Identity crisis (1991–1996)
- STAGE 4** A second life (1997–2008)
- STAGE 5** New attempt (2008–2009)
- STAGE 6** "Memories from the past" (2009 to present)





**1933-1980** *longevity and stability under the regime*

---





---

**1981-1990** *facing the new market economy*

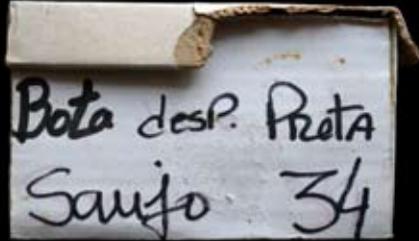




---

**1990-1996** *identity crisis*











**1997-2007** *a second life*

---





**2008** *new attempt*

---



**2010 to present** *memories from the past*

---



# Visual matrix

The 'visual matrix' presented in this section was designed to accommodate and display the materials drawn from the Sanjo archive, according to its various components and stages of the brand. Evidence is organized according to chronological sequencing and the main categories of information which comprise a brand's identity: company; mark designs and basic elements of visual identity; product designs; audiences; and relationship of the brand with the broader context.

Within these categories, it is possible to create sub-categories of information so to expand analysis capabilities. For example, under the 'company' theme one can include production systems, records and documents, or look at ways in which the company dealt with distribution. Other examples might include searching for applications of the mark designs, typefaces and colours across advertisements and other printed materials. One can also think of searching in product designs for specific details, or organize found family photographs according to the various relationships between the brand and its audience, such as contexts of use and geographical locations.

Although the matrix presented here is in raw state, it functions as the board of a puzzle where pieces of evidence were put together. Like the work of the detective, filling gaps and establishing connections between the evidence across all categories is like constructing a puzzle, hence providing a vivid picture of how the brand looked like in the past, how it progressed, and how it looks today. Overall, it demonstrates how the brand developed through stages by showing critical moments of historical transformation. Ultimately, it shows how the brand designs shifted from a locally specific context to a more homogenous and global and commercially driven identity.

In general terms, considering future applications of this approach to other cases and that the approach is both replicable and flexible, one can think of the above named categories and sub-categories to be adjusted according to the specific requirements of a particular case under analysis.



1 CONTEXTUAL INFLUENCES



2 COMPANY



3 MARK



4 ADVERTISING



5 PRODUCT CATALOGUES



6 SOCIAL DIMENSION (how the brand relates to the audience and how people respond back) how the brand became more popular



7 PACKAGING (in relation to packaging)



8 PACKAGING (in relation to products)



9 PRODUCT SAMPLES (mostly from the collection)



10 PATTERNS



11 LEATHER LEAVES

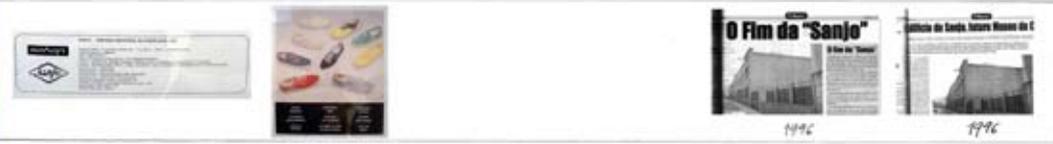


eichap



The Sanjo became less for sports and more for leisure, casual wear





the brand and its products struggle to compete with global brands



1990 IDENTITY CRISIS 1996



A complete concept of marketing for a successful image



1992 A SECOND LIFE 2004 FOLLOWING COMPETITORS 2007 A NEW ATTEMPT 2009 MEMORY CALLS

...para

PRAIA  
CAMPO  
TENIS



*Lunzio*



CALÇA PORTUGAL INTEIRO

# Glycol

O IDEAL DA PELE

PRODUTOS V. A. P.—Portugal

— FORMULAS INÉDITAS —

O ÚNICO PREPARADO QUE REALIZA A MÁXIMA

**BELEZA**

DANDO À PELE O RARO ENCANTO DA

**MOCIDADE**

À VENDA NAS CASAS DA ESPECIALIDADE E PRINCIPAIS FARMÁCIAS

DEPOSITÁRIOS GERAIS

**VENTURA D'ALMEIDA & PENA**

Telefone 64972 — Rua do Guarda Mór, 20-3.º Esq. — (a Santos) LISBOA

Enviamos uma amostra contra nome, morada e 5\$50 em selos de correio para despesas

Agentes depositários para as províncias do Minho, Trás-os-Montes, Alto Douro, Douro Litoral e Beiras

**BERNARDINO PEREIRA DA ROCHA**

Praca das Violetas, 118 — Bairro do Ameal — PORTO

CALÇADO VULCANIZADO

para **CAMPO**  
**PRAIA**  
**TENNIS**

e todos os desportos

**Sanjo**

**VENDEDORES EXCLUSIVOS**

**CESAR, SANTOS & C.ª**

(CASA BAIANA)

**FIGUEIRA DA FOZ**

No seu género

**O MELHOR**

*A equipa do Sporting que, em 1954, destruiu a hegemonia do técnico. Com Moniz Pereira e com Budisin (um dos melhores jogadores do mundo) e Jost — dois jugoslavos exilados políticos.*



REF.	BOTA BASQUETE	
1.580	Lona branca	
1.581	» azul	
1.582	» beige	25 - 29 65.00
1.583	» castanha	30 - 33 70.00
1.584	» preta	34 - 39 75.00
1.585	» amarela	40 - 45 80.00
1.586	» azul-vivo	
1.587	» verde	65.00
1.588	» vermelha	70.00

Handwritten notes on the right side of the table:  
65.00  
70.00  
75.00  
80.00





Mocidade  
portuguesa  
Feminina

# MENINA E MOÇA

143  
NOVEMBRO  
1959



A.D. SANJOANENS

CULTURA  
RECREAÇÃO

OLIVA



**REF. BOTA TIPO TÊNIS COM PAL ESPONJOSA VENTILAD.**

- 2.540 — Lona branca
- 2.541 — » azul
- 2.542 — » bege
- 2.543 — » castanha
- 2.544 — » preta
- 2.545 — » amarela
- 2.546 — » azul-vivo
- 2.547 — » verde
- 2.548 — » vermelha

31 - 39  
40 - 45

# boletim d'arrinca! do ginásio clube figueirense

justa, pôr em causa a resolução do proprietário da Piscina-Praia, sr. Comendador Augusto Alves da Silva, dado que apenas a sua boa vontade deve a natação figueirense as regalias que vinha usufruindo nos últimos anos, assim como também não podemos analisar a dita decisão municipal...

No entanto, e perante os factos, julgamos oportunas as perguntas que tal situação nos sugere:

— Confirmar-se-á a inactividade da natação figueirense

## AS BODAS DE DIAMANTE INACTIVA A NATAÇÃO FIGUEIRENSE EM 1969?



Decididamente a natação figueirense vai de mal a pior.

A suspensão das facilidades, para treinos, concedidas há largos anos pela Piscina-Praia, junta-se agora a decisão municipal de não permitir aos clubes locais a utilização da sua piscina nos meses de Julho e Agosto.

Perante tal situação não nos compete, nem devemos por in-

na próxima época, por falta de piscina onde se possa treinar?

— Não será possível conciliar os interesses duma piscina comercial ou duma «municipal», com os «interesses desportivos» dos clubes figueirense?

Temos esperanças que sim...  
Aguardemos.

E. B.

### Assegurado o Ciclo de Teatro Amador

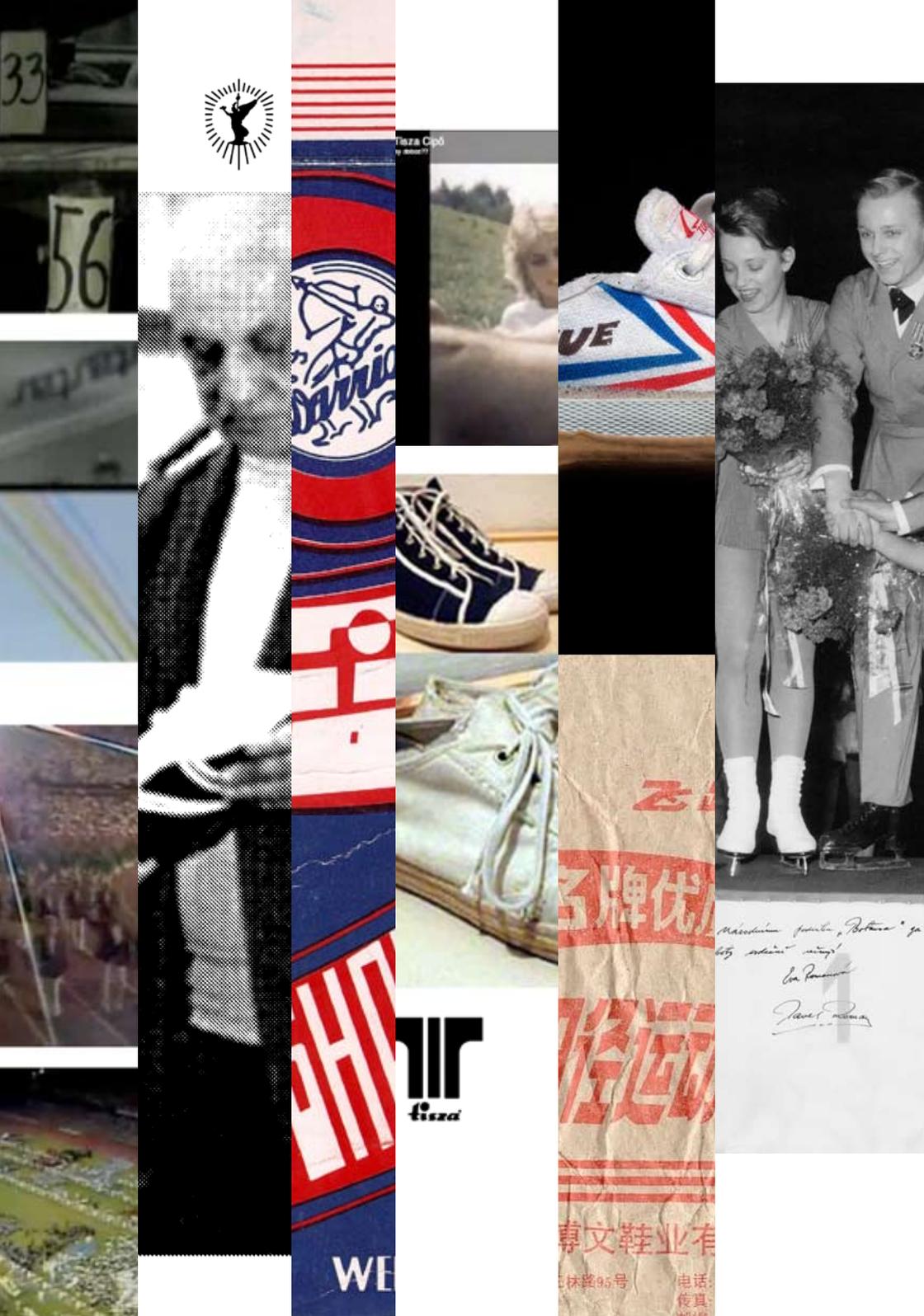
Temos conhecimento que se vão processando de maneira satisfatória os trabalhos relativos às comemorações do 75.º Aniversário do nosso Clube.

O Ciclo de Teatro Amador da Figueira da Foz que era intenção iniciar ainda em Abril foi definitivamente marcado para Novembro e Dezembro, correspondendo ao interesse das Colectividades participantes que, assim, poderão preparar melhor as suas representações.

No próximo número esperamos poder dar conhecimento do programa geral e demais pormenores ligados com tão importantes organizações



(ver entrevista na página 4)



# 5. PARALLEL EXAMPLES: A COMPARATIVE STUDY

## *Brand revival phenomena*

This section places the Sanjo case in a wider context by showing other brands which developed in similar circumstances. A few examples were found, enabling the establishing of comparisons between Sanjo and sports shoes brands that have emerged in the uneven, post-war development of capitalism in Europe and China.

These are, in order of approximate dates of their original foundation: Zeha (1897, Thuringia, former German Empire/East Germany), Warrior (circa 1927/1935, China), FeiYue (circa 1958, China), Botas (1963, former Czechoslovakia), Tisza (1971, Hungary), and Startas (1976, former Yugoslavia).

Like Sanjo, they have in common the fact of having emerged under the influence of authoritarian regimes, of being as popular as the fewest options available in their respective countries of origin, and almost disappeared due the hegemony of global brands since the 1980s and the 1990s. In the recent years, all these brands have been rediscovered due to a nostalgia phenomenon and have been subject to revival. However, despite there is a sense of collective memory and national consciousness behind revivals, it is possible to notice that both companies and designers tend to overlook historical contextualization, including that they are unaware of the relevance of archives to their practices. The tendency is either to distort or forge new visual identity systems through the implementation of branding strategies that derive from corporate identity methods. In most cases, information available is often superficial, speculative, commercially biased or contradictory, which is already an indication about how designers and companies are using the past to sell the future.

Nevertheless, the cross-referencing of the information available made it possible to inform the study so that an overview of their histories can be given. The timeline in the following pages provides some historical and contextual reference. It allows interpretations to be made in terms of: the brands' historical presence in time; organizational and visual identity disruptions; heydays and periods of oblivion; geographical location; and major historical events related to the rise and fall of these brands. Graphic and product designs were also included as complementary data to enhance the reading of the timeline and illustrate the cases.



MARK OF COMPANY		MARK OF PRODUCT																	





**6.ON BRAND  
ARCHIVES:  
FROM DUST TO  
BLOOMING**

## *Relevance of brand archives to designers and companies*

This research helped to show that a good reason for the globalization of the visual identity was related to the loss of historical memory and a lack of archival practices. As a result of the findings of the main case study and of the parallel examples, a summary of the main findings identified is outlined:

**HOMOGENIZED IDENTITIES** Visual identity of brands is becoming global, including that of locally specific brands.

**NEGLECTING CULTURAL DIFFERENCE** Brands fail to address authenticity if they fail to acknowledge their origins; what made them culturally specific and different in the past; and what can sustain their historical and cultural significance now.

**COMMERCIAL INTERESTS OVERRIDE HISTORICAL VALUE** Technological improvement and social rivalry [fashion]" (Person & Snelders, 2009: 89) are two major forces associated with radical changes in brand style to face competition, which often override history.

**LOSS OF HISTORICAL MEMORY** In the process of homogenizing identity there is a great deal of cultural memory that is being overlooked and therefore is being lost. Some of the reasons that explain why it is happening include: former companies closed down; historical evidence is scattered; lack of field research; brands often relate to periods of political, social, cultural, and economical controversy, which might bring less pleasant memories to the surface and be harmful for the commercial success of brands being revived.

**LACK OF BRAND ARCHIVES** Many companies and designers are unaware of the relevance of archives as rich sources of information to feed developments, hence they fail to acknowledge that archives are relevant means to sustain difference and claim authenticity.

**DISTORTION OF HISTORY AND HISTORICAL OBLIVION** Lacking in historical evidence, either because it was lost, wiped out or because commercial interests override historical value, contributes to bad quotes of history and to historical oblivion.

**DESIGNERS COMPLY WITH VISUAL IDENTITY STANDARDS** Corporate identity is a dominant practice among designers dealing with visual identity, because it "works very well in the corporate sector" for making products commercially successful (Bell, 2004:27). However, many graphic designers limit themselves to deploying corporate identity methods, without thinking about their adequacy for approaching heritage brands.

**FORGING IDENTITIES** The forging of visual identity is equated to inventing a new visual identity system through deploying corporate identity methods (Person & Snelders, 2009). However, those methods might not suit the needs of heritage brands in terms of visual identity because they are aimed, by nature, at breaking with the past, going away from the historical richness of things.

**METHODOLOGICAL LIMITATIONS** Visual identity standard methods lack in methodological procedures for rescuing historical evidence and producing visual analysis (Olins, 1995). Moreover, not only are the use of visual methodologies unusual among graphic designers, but it is also the case that visual methodologies available (Rose, 2007: 31) fail to address the particularities of brand identity analysis.

**PERVASIVENESS OF GLOBAL BRANDS** The pervasiveness of global brands is not only a threat to the survival of local brands but also contributes to a bland uniformization of products and visual identity (Thompson, 2004). However, if global brands constitute a threat to local brands the opposite is also true. Local brands themselves can serve global homogenization if their response to compete either at a global or local scales includes relinquishing distinctive elements from their own identity.

**GLOBALIZED PRODUCTIONS** Copies between brands and mass-productions in cheap labour countries are leading to increasingly similar objects.

**APPROPRIATING DISRUPTION** Ultimately, locally specific heritage brands are becoming culturally disruptive in relation to their own historical tradition and roots if they fail to address most of the points mentioned above.

## *Tangible objects back to symbolic values*

Following the sequence of the above findings, what follows emerges as a response to address these issues as a whole—because they interrelate with each other. It forms a set of recommendations circumscribed to visual identity from a graphic design point of view and therefore is limited to that. However, the recommendations suggested might be also considered valuable for other perspectives, including product design:

### **ACKNOWLEDGING DESIGNERS ARE MEDIATORS OF CULTURAL TRANSFORMATION**

Considering a larger debate between cultural homogenization and difference (Appadurai, 1990) and the question of “homogenising identities” in relation to brands (Bell, 2004), the present research argues that archives are valuable resources both to companies and cultural diversity, where the position of the designer is as a mediator of the processes that involve retrieval, analysis and application of a brand’s elements drawn from its own culturally specific frame of reference. “As the values of expanding new markets challenge homogenous, globalized understandings of product worlds and users, the desire for indigenous, grassroots, and nuanced insights has never been more acute” (Clarke, 2011: 09).

**PRODUCING ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH AND BRAND ARCHAEOLOGY** The same way in the real world “trained ethnographers derive deeper insights from observational and immersive research” (Solomon cit. in AIGA & Cheskin, 2006: 6), so the inventiveness of the designer can be trained to derive deeper insights from the realities within a brand’s archive. In contrast to overcoming difference between cultures, the latter can use ethnography means to uncovering it. According to Derrida (1996: 36) “creativity is integral to the artist’s presence in the archive, the artist keeps open the question of the archive: it is a question of the future itself, the question of a response, of a promise, and of a responsibility for tomorrow”. From this perspective, ethnographic research as well as the archaeology of brands are more about the future rather than the past. Moreover, “designers are now likely to engage in social research as they are in the making of form. Once an intuitive process, gauging cultural relevance has become part of a burgeoning

area—design anthropology (...) Design anthropology belies the cultural embeddedness that all brands, objects, and designed interactions operate within, and it is emerging as a methodology as much as a discourse” (Clarke, 2011: 10).

**ACKNOWLEDGING THE RELEVANCE OF ARCHIVES** To acknowledge the relevance of archives and historical evidence to locally specific brands is a step that designers and companies can take to rediscover those brands. Keeping open the possibility for discovery on various levels enables delving into the richness of things and bringing them to surface.

**RETHINKING APPROACHES TO VISUAL IDENTITY** Archives enable broadening the scope of possibilities for visual identity, including in methodological terms. As the approach to the Sanjo case is able to show, from a new way of dealing with visual identity emerged an alternative to the methods commonly used, like those from corporate identity. Such an approach to archives can then help companies and designers rethink their practices, particularly whether they are helping to acknowledge or hide what is culturally specific.

**ACKNOWLEDGING CULTURAL DIFFERENCE** Archives enable the acknowledging of cultural difference because of the relationships that established with in a given context. They enable identifying what made those brands different in the past and what can make them different now. Archives enable discovering the social life of objects (Appadurai, 1986) and understanding how the specificities of a given locality influenced designs, transactions, processes and the use of certain materials, which ultimately make products different, proves them to be authentic, and makes them specific from that locality. Responses to design problems regarding difference can be found within the specificities of the context. By tracing the evolution of a brand, making sense, for example, of how their productions were made over time, or what is that products and images have to say about specific moments in history, is to recognize identity at its most fundamental level. Understanding formal representations in relation to context—how designs evolved in a particular way and how the context influenced them—enables constructing an internal frame of reference that relates the evolution of the brand with its external world. From that frame of reference it is possible to better understand what makes a brand *different* and in which ways such difference can be sustained. Identifying distinctive patterns

internally in what one does and what one produces, instead of searching externally in other frames of reference, that often distort, displace, divert or disrupts identity, is thus an opportunity to immerse in the essence of what makes a brand different and authentic.

**PLACING A BRAND IN THE RIGHT CONTEXT** The contextualization of a brand in time and space, such as through chronological tables, displays its historical trajectory within the broader context. This enables responding to the lack of contextualization in most brands, as a move towards historically and culturally responsive design.

#### **ACKNOWLEDGING THAT AN ARCHIVE IS A RICH SOURCE FOR FEEDING**

**DEVELOPMENTS** Archives are a rich source for feeding brand developments. Not only because of the significance of archives in historical and cultural terms, but also because of the visual richness of the materials therein. Such materials include a great deal of potential that can be explored visually in graphic design terms, like typography for example.

**DEVELOPING SUBSTANTIAL VISUAL AND CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS** As demonstrated with the Sanjo case, the constituents of a brand's archive are key elements for producing substantial contextual and visual analysis. Analysing materials through chronological tables and analysis grids enables cross-referencing data, which helps reading a brand's identity from a broader and insightful perspective.

**PROVOKING THE RESURGENCE OF ARCHIVAL MATERIALS** A brand's revival often prompts the resurgence of archival materials. The phenomenon of nostalgia triggered by brand revivals might start the resurgence of historical memory, including of quality museum objects such as original products, photographs, ephemera, personal experiences and other types of evidence. Taking advantage of the opportunities arising might help incorporate new materials and histories into existing archives, expanding them, or even provoke constructing them.

**RETURNING HISTORY TO PRODUCTS** Design approaches to brand archives are often occasional and isolated acts, lacking in contextualization and continuity. Brand archives are an opportunity for the companies dealing with such brands

to acknowledge their past, by making sense of it rather than ignoring it or attempting to become something else. The archive helps to return history to products, and history through the archive is a component for credibility.

**BACK TO SYMBOLIC VALUES** Understanding a locally specific brand and its products in relation to their contextual frame of reference enables discovering what they mean historically and culturally, what they represent to a local culture, to its country and its people. This enables the consideration of objects beyond mere commodities but rather as instrumental to a "context-related materialism" (Csikszentmihalyi & Rochenberg-Halt, 1981: 231).

#### **REFERENCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY**

- AIGA & Cheskin (2006) An ethnography primer [Internet], New York: AIGA. Available from: AIGA, the professional association for design -<http://www.aiga.org/ethnography-primer/> [Accessed 20 May 2011].
- Appadurai, A. (1990). 'Disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy'. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 7 (2) June, pp.295-310.
- Appadurai, A. (Ed.) (1986) *The social life of things*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bell, N. (2004) 'The steamroller of branding'. *Eye magazine*, 14 (53) Autumn, pp.18-27.
- Clarke, A. (2011) *Design anthropology. Object culture in the 21st Century*. Edition *Angewandte*, book series of the University of Applied Arts Vienna. Wien: Springer-Verlag.
- Csikszentmihalyi, M. & Rochberg-Halton, E. (1981) *The meaning of things: domestic symbols and the self*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Derrida, J. (1996) *Archive fever: a Freudian impression*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Olins, W. (1995) *The new guide to identity – Wolff Olins: corporate identity, retail identity, brand identity, organizational identity, the corporate brand, the corporate vision, and the central idea – how to create and sustain change through managing identity*. 2nd ed. Hampshire: The Design Council & Gower Publishing.
- Person, O. & Snelders, D. (2009) 'Brand styles in commercial design'. *Design Issues*, 26 (1) Winter 2010, pp.82-94.



## Conclusions

Although centered in brand identity, this research makes a contribution to methods and cultural diversity. It shows that the methods developed can serve various fields of application beyond the commercial purpose that brands are usually attached to. It made it possible to understand that brands produce cultural objects that allow us generating meaning, and that their study enables us to know more about the contexts from which they originate. It also made it possible to understand the value of brand archives to present design contexts and that the methods developed enclose a great deal of potential for applications within design research, design education, design practice, and the feeding of cultural dissemination. Not only do the methods enable the rescuing and analysis of historical memory, but they also can help others to make sense of visual and material culture related with locally specific brands. Whether for design students, companies, cultural institutions or local communities, this research contributes to broadening the scope of brands as a theme under-considered with respect to the preservation of local cultures.

Thinking about brand archives as containers of historical memory makes them a source to derive and convey cultural memory into the future, and visual identity is a channel through which cultural memory can be acknowledged, displayed and experienced.

**Deconstruction and analysis of brand identities.** Application of the timeline/chronological table methodology with Year 2 undergraduate design students at the University of Aveiro, 2012 (image center left). **Workshop on visual methods. Mapping a territory: establishing a visual conversation for contextual analysis.** Workshop on visual methodologies with Year 2 MA communication design students at ESAD Matosinhos, 2012 (all other images). Photographs courtesy of ESAD, MA Communication Design.

### Picture sources & credits

All photographs, drawings and diagrams by the author except: Frontispiece courtesy Emílio de Almeida; P.32 former EIC site courtesy Daniel Regalado Neto; P.33 Ref.431/02-236 courtesy CFPIC; P.41 courtesy Fernando Sampaio Sousa; P.42 courtesy Maurício Guimarães; P.43 courtesy Francisco Cardoso Lima and G.D.Oliveira (Coimbra); P.62 AFP in: Saraiva, H.J (Ed.) (2004) História de Portugal, a terceira reública–do 25 de Abril aos nossos dias. Vol.X. Matosinhos: Quidnovi, p.9 illus; P.88 courtesy Pedro Correia; P.89 courtesy Francisco Parreira Lavado; P.94 courtesy Daniel Regalado Neto; P.127–28 in: A Bola (1995) História de 50 anos do desporto Português. Lisbon: A Bola, p.494, 507, illus; P.131–32 in: Neto & Silva (1999) Associação Desportiva Sanjoanense 75 anos de História. S. João da Madeira: Laborpress, p.108 illus; P.134 i mages drawn from various sources on the Internet. P.150 courtesy MA Communication Design, ESAD Matosinhos.

### Acknowledgements

My supervisory team: Professor Janet McDonnell, Professor Caroline Dakers, and Professor Phil Baines. FCT-Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia. University of Aveiro and my students at the Strategic Design (2005–2007) and Design Management (2012) courses. Dr. Andrew McGettigan and Aman Sagoo at Central Saint Martins Research. Judy Lindsay at The Central Saint Martins Museum and Study Collection. Andrea Lioy at Central Saint Martins BAGD Contextual Studies and Area D–Action Research in Art & Design Ltd. Dino dos Santos at DSType. Andrew Howard at the MA Communication Design ESAD Matosinhos. Emílio de Almeida and Ana Maria Almeida. Arménio Alberto Adé and António Rainho at ADS, Vítor Amorim, Abel Balseiro at Sapataria Balseiro, CFPIC–S. João da Madeira, Álvaro Santos Chaves at Casa Bambi, Pedro Correia and Valdemar Correia's family, Goretti Costa at Novalma, Henrique Fernandes, Maria José Ferreira at CTCP, Elsa Guerra at Sapataria Guerra, Liliana Guimarães, Maurício Guimarães, Frederica Jordão, Carina Kong and Fernando Sampaio Sousa, Francisco Parreira Lavado, Rosa Lemos at Casa Isac, Francisco Cardoso Lima, Pedro Malaquias and Suzana Menezes at the Museu da Chapelaria, Georgina Moreira at Sapataria Halley, Daniel Regalado Neto, Luís Quintino, Ana Raposo, Gilda Rodrigues and António Augusto do Vale at Sapataria Serra&Vale, Charlie Rose, Carlos Santos, João Gomes da Silva, Manuel Lopes da Silva at Sapataria Lopes, and Joana and Marisa Ventura at 100% Algodão, for their generous contributions to this research. Dr. Barrie Abbott and Noémia Santiago at Britania Academy, Graphic surgery assistants Rita Moniz and Ligia Afreixo, and production assistant Isabel Fernandes. MR Artes Gráficas. Manuel Fernandes at Fersado+Son for kindly supporting the production of this catalogue.



### **Dedication**

I would like to dedicate this exhibition and catalogue to those who are emotionally attached to the original Sanjos, to all the forgotten Portuguese brands from the Estado Novo period, and especially to the unknown yet fabulous Portuguese graphic artists from that era: your legacy has been a great source of inspiration to me.

I also would like to dedicate this work to Mr. Álvaro Santos Chaves, who passed away before this catalogue could be finished.

