

BRAND ARCHIVES:

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

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ABSTRACT

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” (Bell, 2004). 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 historically and culturally unique about them is often misinterpreted, neglected, or even discarded.

By showing what can be lost with regards to historical and cultural memory within a brand’s imagery, this thesis questions the significance of archives to locally specific brands claiming symbolic and cultural relevance. It shows how can graphic designers can contribute to the preservation of cultural diversity through visual identity.

To address the loss of cultural memory as well as the globalization of visual identity, 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 main case-study is presented to demonstrate how the methods originated, how they enable 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 (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 their life spans.

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.

By examining the relevance of archives for addressing identity issues, the thesis shows that current graphic design practices can avoid failing to address historical contextualisation and cultural relevance 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 put together in the right context. By considering the possibilities that brand archives present for exploring the symbolic values of objects and generating meaning, 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-contextualisation of cultural objects.

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...the study of the processes of information production, distribution, access, use and evaluation, and the study of the social, cultural, economic and political contexts in which these processes take place. (p. 10)

The 'communication' field is defined as:

...the study of the processes of communication production, distribution, access, use and evaluation, and the study of the social, cultural, economic and political contexts in which these processes take place. (p. 10)

The 'information science' field is defined as:

...the study of the processes of information production, distribution, access, use and evaluation, and the study of the social, cultural, economic and political contexts in which these processes take place. (p. 10)

The 'information studies' field is defined as:

...the study of the processes of information production, distribution, access, use and evaluation, and the study of the social, cultural, economic and political contexts in which these processes take place. (p. 10)

The 'information technology' field is defined as:

...the study of the processes of information production, distribution, access, use and evaluation, and the study of the social, cultural, economic and political contexts in which these processes take place. (p. 10)

The 'information systems' field is defined as:

...the study of the processes of information production, distribution, access, use and evaluation, and the study of the social, cultural, economic and political contexts in which these processes take place. (p. 10)

The 'information management' field is defined as:

...the study of the processes of information production, distribution, access, use and evaluation, and the study of the social, cultural, economic and political contexts in which these processes take place. (p. 10)

The 'information policy' field is defined as:

...the study of the processes of information production, distribution, access, use and evaluation, and the study of the social, cultural, economic and political contexts in which these processes take place. (p. 10)

The 'information law' field is defined as:

...the study of the processes of information production, distribution, access, use and evaluation, and the study of the social, cultural, economic and political contexts in which these processes take place. (p. 10)

*“Collecting is a primal phenomenon of study:
the student collects knowledge.”*

Walter Benjamin

PROLOGUE: BRAND ATTACHMENT

Prologue BRAND ATTACHMENT

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INTRODUCTION TO THE PROLOGUE

I decided to start my writing by reflecting on my own experiences in life since childhood. This helped me to understand the array of influences that shaped me as a person, as a graphic designer and as a researcher. Above all, they sustain most of the reasons why I decided to do a PhD.

I have decided to start by drawing on previous experiences in life because I found this was an effective way to reflect on how brands both influence people and local identities, so to position the research in relation to that is a natural place to start. This means I started by reflecting on two rather complementary perspectives regarding graphic design and brand identity: one as a consumer influenced by brands, and the other as a graphic design practitioner concerned with how brands are vehicles for cultural transformation and how they relate to historical memory. Bear in mind the prologue sets the scene from which the research project emerged, and that is the reason why it is written in the first person. But please don't panic. I will do this but will give you the thesis back.

The influences described not only explain the course of my professional experience in relation to design, corporate identity and sports shoe brands, but they also link these subjects to my actual concerns about current design practices in Portugal and to the study of Portuguese design heritage. These concerns relate to the retrieval, archiving and exploration of historical evidence that is unique for analysis.

This practice-related research takes into account the specificities of the Portuguese historical context during the 20th century and how that has influenced many of the forms of trademarks' and brands' imagery. I also intend to understand the symbolic values behind one of the most representative iconic products from this era, the Sanjo sports shoes. Analysis of Sanjo history reveals the contextual influences brands either suffered or caused in political, economical, social and cultural terms. My concerns originated from the fact that many products, like the Sanjos were very popular in Portugal for decades but have been dismissed since the 1980s. They started disappearing from the Portuguese market due to the pervasion of products from multinational brands, and the lack of competitiveness of Portuguese products.

Ultimately, my research questions the significance that design heritage and cultural specificity have to the present design context.

BRAND ATTACHMENT

My PhD could well be a story about passion, memory and branded sports shoes, including the Portuguese iconic Sanjos. It might have started decades before I could imagine myself doing a PhD, or even how to spell my name. That goes back to the early 1970s before I knew how to read, write or that such a thing as a brand would exist. Nevertheless, I was already passionate about sneakers and their colours, their forms, materials and smell. I could see them in childhood as my favourite toy. I could take them everywhere without losing them since they're attached to my feet. I could walk on them, and that was great! That happened in 1976, I was four years old.

My Sanjos

It is possible to determine the date of my first Sanjos due to a family photograph I knew about and looked for desperately in family albums (Figure P.1).

When I was still a child but already could read, I found these shoes had a name, a box and a label on it. I found they were called Sanjo. But before I had the first pair I struggled asking my mother for a sort of sports shoes older kids used to wear when passing by my door. I can remember myself looking from the window watching a youngster walking down the street with the shoes I almost instantly fell in love with.

I can also remember how frustrating that communication process was. At the time, I didn't know how to describe them or name them so that I could explain to my mother which shoes they were or how to get them. It took some time until that wish could be satisfied. During several weeks or even months, I just can't be precise, we went together several times to shoe shops to try to find something as abstract as a pair of shoes "like the ones that a few kids passing by our door have and that the outsole is round!" It was just as obvious as frustrating since you could spot them clearly at distance but that never happened when my mother was around. However, also I don't know how it happened, I was finally able to get a pair of those wonderful shoes so my dream came true. The challenge was over but it took me to the next level: staring at and playing with them possibly for hours, as if they were some toys that you could wear and ride around as you do with a bicycle. It was just great feeling like a grown young man.

This phenomenon had happened with many other Portuguese people who had also regarded the Sanjos as an object of desire. During my field research in the past two years I interviewed several people who told me similar stories. One of

Figure P.1 — My first Sanjos.
1976, Carrazedo de Montenegro, Portugal.



these people, a man in his fifties from an old shoe shop in Coimbra, he asked for his identity to remain anonymous, recalled his experience: “I started working here when I was eleven. I didn’t get paid for about two years since it was common practice. I used to sell the Sanjos and of-course wished I could have a pair, but there was no chance. I was thirteen when I finally got paid. The boss didn’t give me any money but a pair of Sanjos instead! I put them near my bed as soon as I got home that day. Due to overwhelming excitement I could hardly sleep the following nights.”

The magic around my first Sanjos and the challenging process of getting them might have disappeared almost all of a sudden. Perhaps they became too small. I have no memories of those shoes nor about playing around anymore, further evidence no longer exists until a few years later, when I got my second pair of Sanjos in a totally different context. It was in 1982. I was ten years old.

The process of getting that second pair of Sanjos was again a nostalgic return to a great memory of childhood. I remember saying something to my parents like “yes, I like these ones very much and they seem appropriate. I think they’re very similar to the ones I’ve had sometime in the past”. Nevertheless, the passion hit again when we got home. The purpose of the purchase was a special event I was attending, so the shoes were to be kept unused and inside the box until the event (Figure P.2).

My parents had placed them inside their bedroom on top of the wardrobe. But I found them easily! And secretly, for many weeks perhaps, I had taken them out of the box several times to try them on repeatedly. By this time I could see them as a brand new toy inside its box. It was a great pleasure being able to appreciate those shoes again in a more attentive way, their shape, the labels around, the materials, the yellow and blue jeans textile they were made of and the smell of rubber.

Another passion I remember ever since is drawing. I remember spending long afternoons drawing all sorts of cars, spaceships, boats and motifs that could drive my imagination anywhere. One of the favourite themes sooner became shoes, and the Sanjos were definitely a great inspirational motif (Figure P.3).

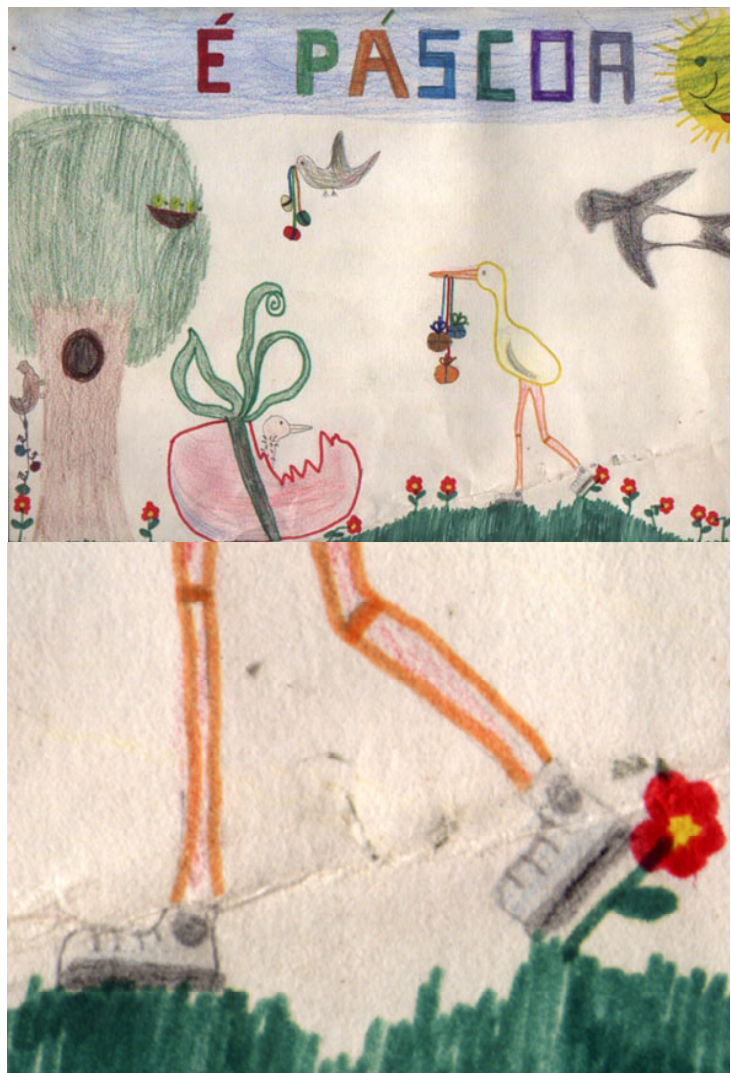
My Le Coq Sportif ‘Arthur Ashe’

Not much later on in the process, around 1981 or 1982, I was overwhelmed by one of my favourite uncle’s gift. My uncle Mário was a journalist at a national radio station

Figure P.2 — Denim and yellow:
my second Sanjos.
1982, Figueira da Foz, Portugal



Figure P.3 — É Páscoa’
(It’s Easter).
1979, drawing made at Colégio
de Nossa Senhora da Bonança,
Vila Nova de Gaia, Portugal.
The bottom image is a detail of
the drawing showing a round
label on both sides of the shoes.
This was a distinctive feature of
the original Sanjos.



based in Porto, Portugal, who went to Paris to attend a football game featuring a Portuguese team. That gift was a product catalogue from Le Coq Sportif sports brand. It was astonishing, something I had never had seen before, much better than any book or a toy!

That catalogue featured 1:1 scale colour photographs of maybe a dozen shoes. I was amazed with all those images of cutting edge shoes and the details those photographs could provide, along with a comprehensive series of captions chiefly explaining all the materials and functions concerning that brand's high performance shoes for sports. As far as I can remember, there were shoes for tennis, such as the *Arthur Ashe* model, and for running, such as the *Variospeed* and *Dynatec* models. After seeing this, my passion became Le Coq Sportif.

My uncle Mário was definitely influential to my initial understanding of sports shoes and brands, and to the awareness that brands are intrinsic to products in terms of naming as well as that they are instrumental to the construction of the products' overall imagery. The French and Italian magazines about football he used for his work would very often include A1 size posters that he awarded as prizes in occasional and fun quiz games. Those posters featured world famous players such as the Brazilian Zico, the Argentinean Diego Maradona and the French Michel Platini performing in their respective team kits. Brands populated those images in a quite visible fashion. In those days, my uncle's stories about sports and football often included references to well established brands such as the rivalry between the two Dassler brothers who founded Adidas and Puma in Germany back in the 1940s.

In *Sneaker Wars*, Barbara Smit (2008) masterly presents the results of extensive and very detailed research into the historical context in which the family feud behind Adidas and Puma ruled the world of sports for several decades.

A sponsored playground

In my parents' backyard, where my brothers and I used to play, there were white walls which I used to draw on with chalk as if they were billboards. Those walls were outside our grandfather's workshop. My grandfather Daniel, known as Mr. Daniel 'das Caixinhas' (Mr. Daniel 'of the Little Boxes') was a craftsman locally renowned for producing and selling crafted wood and velvet jewel cases among other crafted household items, including little musical boxes. He passed away in 1984 and the workshop remained as a loft where my uncle Mário kept his magazines and my

uncle Fernando produced his own furniture. My brothers, cousins and myself also used it for joyful activities for several years, especially in summer.

My drawings resembled some of the brands featuring in our prized posters, such as Adidas, Puma or Le Coq Sportif, often inspirational to give form to a 'sponsored playground'. That was not my uncle's idea, but he laughed at it because he said he and his brothers used to play in the very same way when they were kids. I cannot be sure whether I started drawing sports brands first on walls or on paper, but for sure reproducing those brands' images was one of the most enjoyable activities I have had for several years not only at home but also at school (Figure P.4). That was a time full of delight and wonder.

Rights for drawing

At one time, I had to do my drawings secretly away from my father's eyes, so that he would not realize I was spending time dedicated to drawing rather than to studying. We had many unpleasant discussions because "drawings will not lead you anywhere and mathematics is what you need to get into". I clearly understand now the reasons behind his concern: he could have been an excellent artist or architect, or both, but his parents just suppressed his dreams and skills by not giving him the chance to choose his own way. Nonetheless, I just could not prevent myself from enjoying those moments of intense pleasure and happiness that drawing could provide, just because of mathematics. Following up on that I decided to imagine my own brand, product catalogue and a factory, as a response to what seemed to be unreasonable restrictions, so to prove that there could be some good chances for personal expression and growth. Then I went to shops in Porto acting as a salesman not to sell my drawings but the products themselves as if they were for real (Figure P.5). At those shops I was either told they were not interested or sent to the back-office to ask their bosses. I was thirteen.

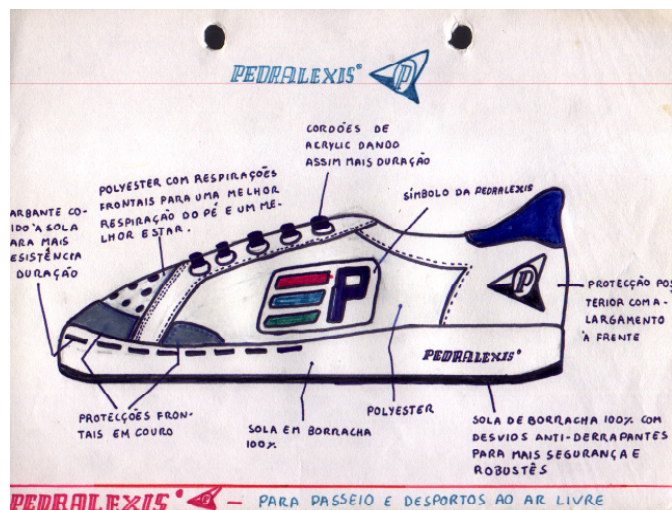
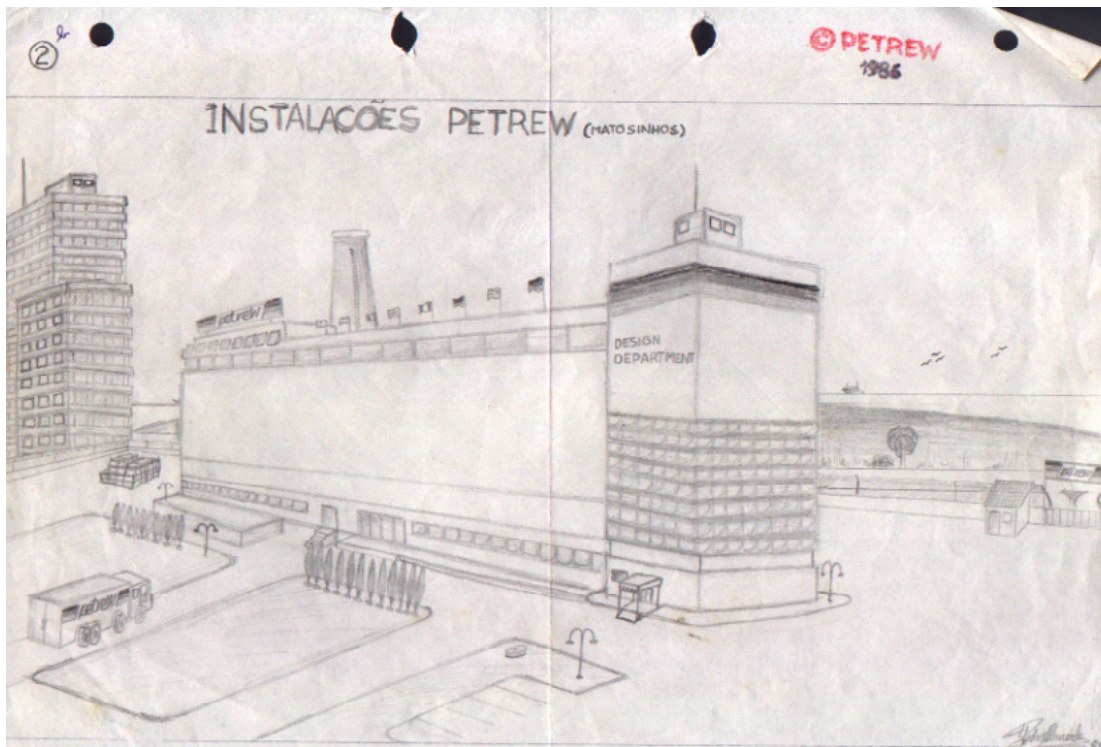
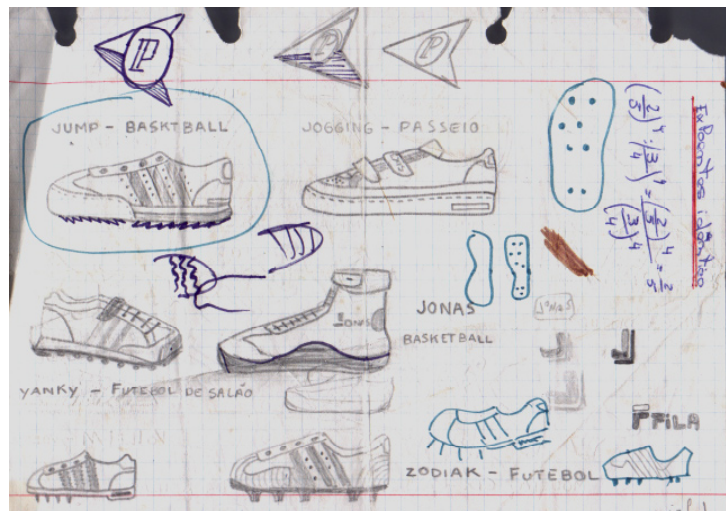
Sports shops' windows voyeurism

In the early 1980s, alongside the pleasure of drawing and the achievement of some independence that allowed me to walk around the downtown of Porto either with my eldest brother or with friends, I started noticing a gradual appearance of amazing sports shoes that started populating the windows of the city's most respectable sports equipment shops.

Figure P.4 – ‘A mais modestas e humildes marcas mundiais’ (the world’s humblest sports brands).
1984, drawing made at Silvestre Pestana’s Visual Education class, Almeida Garrett secondary school, Vila Nova de Gaia, Portugal.



Figure P.5 – ‘Pedralexis’ and ‘Petrew’ imaginary brands.
1984 to 1986, selection of sketches and drawings for the brands’ visual identity, product catalogue and factory.



My parents had always worked at the same office in Porto. There I always had a space and desks available, stationary materials for free, and exceptional photocopy machines to use with no restriction. Going to their office in the afternoons I didn't have to go to school was always a good excuse for drawing rather doing homework, as well as for spending hours in sports shoe shops. That was a great hobby, actually, it still is! At the same time it would keep me updated about new product releases and new brands. I did know about the best shops in town, every brand and their respective models available and prices (Figure P.6). There was a big difference between the shops selling branded sports shoes and the ones that did not.

The prices of such branded sports shoes such as the Adidas, Puma, Le Coq Sportif, Asics Tiger or Diadora were quite prohibitive due to being very expensive. Having a pair of those shoes could easily be the dream of any children who was aware of this phenomenon and the social status they started representing. In many cases, I could also remember kids at school or near where I lived by the shoes they wore. The most expensive the shoes the better I could remember the kids.

In the mid 1980s, either the black and white or totally white Sanjos could be still a good option for most everyone since they were very popular and very well regarded, and they were also comparatively cheap. However, owning a pair of the Le Coq Sportif's *Arthur Ashe*, the Adidas' *Illie Nastase* or the Puma's *Guillermo Vilas* was something really outstanding at that time in Portugal. They could even be worn on Sundays to go to church. Practicing sports could be a good excuse to make that dream come true if parents could afford to buy such expensive shoes and agreed to do so after being properly convinced. The process could take several weeks or months, and Christmas or birthday constituted also extra opportunities for getting a pair of branded shoes as a gift.

It didn't take long until the Sanjos started losing their appeal since it was clearly hard to compete with such colourful, innovative and socially distinctive branded shoes. However somehow, my madness about sports brands was dismissed shortly after this sort of puberty catharsis. Another reason for this was the discovery of Design as a concept and a profession through Bruno Munari's book 'Design as Art' (1982). I was determined to follow my studies on Graphic Arts and Communication Design at a secondary art school in Porto. I was fifteen.

A new wave of brands

I've always lived by the sea on the Atlantic coast, meaning the weather can be very pleasant and warm in summer but not that comfortable during autumn and winter. Influenced by a wave of new friends at the Soares dos Reis secondary art school in

Figure P.6 — Sports brands' labels and packaging details. 1992, collage of original labels collected between 1984 and 1987. This was a response to 2nd year undergraduate graphic design degree brief on brands at FBAUP (Faculty of Fine Arts University of Porto).



Porto, I came across some Brazilian and American magazines related to surfing. My imaginary interests moved then into surfing and to the stable warmth of remote tropical islands where summer shines all year round and the water is clear.

My previous strong feelings about sports brands remained almost untouched but the theme was substantially different from then on. It took the shape of surfboards, beautiful tanned bodies and beachwear brands that were associated with a totally different lifestyle and to a new typology of shoes and clothing accessories. That was in 1988, I was sixteen.

One year later, I started surfing and got close to Porto's big wave rider and *shaper* Abílio Pinto (known also as Billy Boy), a local pioneer surfboard maker who owned his own brand Golfinho that later became Quebra-Côco. That summer I approached him to offer my designs for his brand. Soon I was spending wonderful afternoons in his workshop near Miramar beach, customizing surfboards while exchanging drawings for surfing equipment.

In 1990 I enrolled in Communication Design (Graphic Arts) at the Faculty of Fine Arts of the University of Porto (FBAUP). This was a five years licentiate degree course. Alongside my studies involving brand design and organisational identity, collaborations with Billy Boy, among others, was my professional debut as a free-lance graphic designer. That included logotype designs for Golfinho and Quebra-Côco brands (Figure P.7) and poster designs for surf competitions he organized in the area, at local, national and international levels. I could now afford my first car, a (very) used Citroën 2CV that unfortunately lasted just one beautiful summer. However, I could clearly understand how rewarding it could be to approach small companies to offer services they could need.

My grandfather's workshop: a link to crafts, design and the arts

Benefiting from being at an arts college and from the discussions with sculpture, painting and architecture students there, I was able to find in art practice the same pleasures that designing could provide. There was a difference however, we were the clients and were able to set our own purposes. Alongside graphic design, such challenging discussions and contacts provided me with different ways of thinking, looking and practicing. For instance, I discovered in installation art many possibilities that could work well with design such as the concept of narrative and display.

Figure P.7 – Golfinho and Quebra-Côco brand designs.
 1990 (Golfinho) and 1993 (Quebra-Côco) brand designs for surfboards and clothing. Miramar, Vila Nova de Gaia Portugal.



Figure P.8 — 'A Oficina do Meu Avó' (My Grandfather's Workshop).

1992, Installation. Series of large scale photocopies (original size A0, photographs and personal objects. Casa da Cultura, Madalena, Vila Nova de Gaia, Portugal.



This challenged my approach to drawing and objects, leading to a discovery of where nostalgia, space intervention and design could be put together at work.

I was still living with my parents then. The backyard and my grandfather's workshop, I saw decaying alongside the walls I use to draw on, confined a site where I also stayed alone many times. So I have nostalgic and melancholic feelings about this place.

When I was asked to participate in a local arts show and was offered the possibility to use the basement of an old mansion as a space for an exhibition I didn't hesitate. I would recreate the atmosphere of my grandfather's workshop by reconstituting some parts so to share it with the local community, either with older people that actually met him or with younger generations that could enjoy the intervention and know more about him and the former place. I could also give myself a chance for not feeling alone there as well as to paying homage to my well-respected grandfather (Figure P.8). That was in 1992, I was twenty.

Portugal in the 1990s: an emergent graphic design community

The 1990s were a significant decade for graphic design in Portugal. Portugal was now part of the EU and the economic forecast was optimistic in general terms. Companies like *Sonae*, Amorim, and Portugal Telecom, among others, became relevant players in international markets. Graphic design started being better known as a discipline and many professional opportunities for graphic designers were also arising. Events like 1994 Lisbon European Capital of Culture, 1995 Icograda's (International Council of Graphic Design Associations) congress held in Lisbon and Porto that included the exhibition and book Sebastião Rodrigues designer (Icograda, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian) in the same year, and Expo'98 and Experimentadesign'99 also held in Lisbon, were key for consolidating a graphic design community in Portugal.

Emerging technological developments such as the Apple computers and specific graphic design software were crucial since they represented a critical paradigm shift. These became widely accessible to graphic design professionals and students, as the ultimate tools for practicing. The increase of books available at Portuguese bookshops under the subject of graphic design, mostly from non-Portuguese publishers, was also a significant contribution to the field. Internationally renowned graphic designers such as Neville Brody and David Carson started emerging as 'design-stars' that many Portuguese graphic design students

idolized during the 1990s. I must confess I was one of them.

This period provided me with the awareness of a broad graphic design community emerging in Portugal that I was engaging with, and I am grateful for having had the chance to share experiences with people with similar interests, either students, tutors or established professionals.

At the time, the graphic design course at FBAUP was one of the best in Portugal, and my generation of design students one of the best ever. This phenomenon is perhaps due to my generation being lucky enough to experience the transitional transformations and effects that the shift from analogue to digital form could provide graphic design students with in the mid 1990s.

‘Trashdesign’ postcards from Norwich: made out of personal experiences and rubbish

In 1996, I was granted an ERASMUS exchange studentship at the Norwich School of Art and Design. Since a dream I had for many years was about studying graphic design in the UK, this happened to be a major opportunity. My project was about engaging the experience as much as I could while transforming that into something I could share with my classmates and tutors back in Portugal.

The Internet was becoming widely accessible as websites and emails were amongst the most challenging technological platforms for graphic designers. However, I realized the physical interaction with objects that their volume, texture or smell makes possible, was a quite limited feature of the digital age. Despite the new possibilities technology could provide, I was still interested in exploring space, time and people through the poetics of crafted objects.

These objects could be a means to assemble fragments or traces of my experiences whilst living abroad. They could embed texture or smell from found objects or even rubbish that was part of a different context and a different culture which at the same time, could live a different life and tell a different story, in a different place. The project was about the construction of communication artefacts to function as short stories that would be part of a wider narrative: the places I’d been to, the people I met, the techniques I’d learnt, the food I had, the drinks I’d tried, the differences of living in a different country but also the similarities I came across. Literally anything that was part of my new life in Norwich could originate a small story in a postcard to send away to Portugal. Each one of those stories had a different shape, embedded a different taste, although it could be made out of waste.

Thus the postcard had once been part of another context, however, and that made each of them unique (Figure P.9). That was the first time I lived out of Portugal. I was touched, I was twenty-four.

Into corporate identity and design management

My first job as a graphic designer in a design studio started in 1996, one year before I completed the Communication Design degree at FBAUP. I couldn't resist applying for a graphic design position at the *Escritório de Design* (literally Design Office) that is one of the most respected design firms in Portugal. There I had the chance to start collaborating closely with Industrial Designer and Professor Carlos Aguiar, whose international reputation is also due in part being awarded some of the world's most

Figure P.9 – 'Trashdesign' postcards #33, #36, #48.
1996, details of postcards #33 and #36 made from rubbish found at the typography workshop, and of postcard #48. Norwich School of Art and Design, UK.



notable design prizes¹.

There I had one of the most fantastic professional experiences ever as a graphic designer. With the likes of Buckminster Fuller and Dieter Rams' design approaches and thinking, the fundamentals of *Escritório de Design* were based, and still are, in an understanding of design as a sustainable holistic activity, making the most of engineering, architecture and design. With Professor Carlos Aguiar I learned about the articulation of industrial and communication design through working with clients at a top managerial level. These clients included some of the most prominent Portuguese multinationals such as *Sonae* and *Cifial* to whom I was fortunate enough to conduct graphic design projects. Such experience provided me not only with the technical skills to develop graphic design projects and visual identity programs from brief to production, but also to discuss directly with clients their overall concerns and needs in terms of communication design at the highest organisational levels.

At the *Escritório de Design* I learned about the sharing of ideas, engagement and commitment with clients, and the managing process behind larger-scale design projects. However close relationships can be, the role of the designer working for clients is ultimately external to them. This means that designers work mainly upon the clients' purposes. In terms of reflecting about graphic design practice, one may raise the question what is the purpose of the designer?

Although working at the *Escritório de Design* could be very stimulating to any designer as well as also being financially rewarding—the firm was growing at a fast pace and turnover was doubling every year—I decided to do something different and to quit the job after summer holidays surfing the Portuguese southwest coast swells. That was in August 1999. I was twenty-seven.

My intentions would be to do something different, like teaching but I couldn't escape graphic design and visual identity programs. Working in more professionally

¹ Carlos Aguiar is a prominent Portuguese Designer and Professor, who is linked to the creation of both the Design Course in the University of Aveiro and the Design Studio at the Faculty of Engineering of the University of Porto. His design prizes include, among others, the European Design Prize 1997, Design Plus ISH 2001, Good Design Award 2002 and 2005, Red Dot 2002 and 2007, G-Mark Award (JIDPO) Japan 2006, IF Gold Design Award 2006 and 2007, European Design Management Award 2008, and the Australian International Design Award 2009.

relaxed environment with friends setting up a small design studio was the next stage. At the same time I accepted an offer to teach visual arts at undergraduate level in a private college.

The process of exchanging a reasonable salary for a minimum income was also quite challenging. I acted as a graphic designer, creative director and strategist. At the new studio we had to go out searching for clients in need of visual/corporate identity programs but soon the efforts started paying off. After six months we had earned enough to treat ourselves to a month's holiday in Brazil. Despite the fun of starting from scratch, the creative freedom and comfortable income, after less than one year I found it somehow regressive working there. Apart from the entrepreneurial side the experience didn't add much compared to previous achievements at *Escritório de Design*, so I decided to leave. It was the end of the year 2000. I was twenty-eight.

Collaborations with other design firms followed, including Ecoteca, there I had the chance to present work at Frankfurt and New York trade fairs, and *SinoDesign* (now A Transformadora²). In 2001, graphic design directors at *SinoDesign* Anselmo Canha and Alexandra Dias invited me to collaborate with them in the designs for a promising client: *Metro do Porto*³ (Porto's light rail service). *SinoDesign* had been initially invited to participate in a 'closed' design contest involving *Novodesign*⁴, a brand agency from Lisbon, to decorate a considerable extension of protective hoardings in the construction sites across Porto. *Novodesign* was the biggest brand agency in Portugal and one of the biggest in Europe in the 1990s, which designed the visual identity for several institutions in Porto. However, we soon realized *Metro do Porto* needed a more comprehensive and consistent visual identity program, that *Novodesign* certainly would propose, and we wanted this to be designed in Porto.

Discussions I had with Anselmo Canha around the purpose of the *Metro do Porto*'s brief led to the questioning of ethics in design practice. I critically examined my practice as a designer in relation to some of the clients I worked for previously and one issue arose: that is the balance and correspondence I believe should exist

² www.atransformadora.pt.

³ www.metrodoporto.pt.

⁴ *Novodesign* founding members later originated *Brandia Central* and *Ivity* branding agencies.

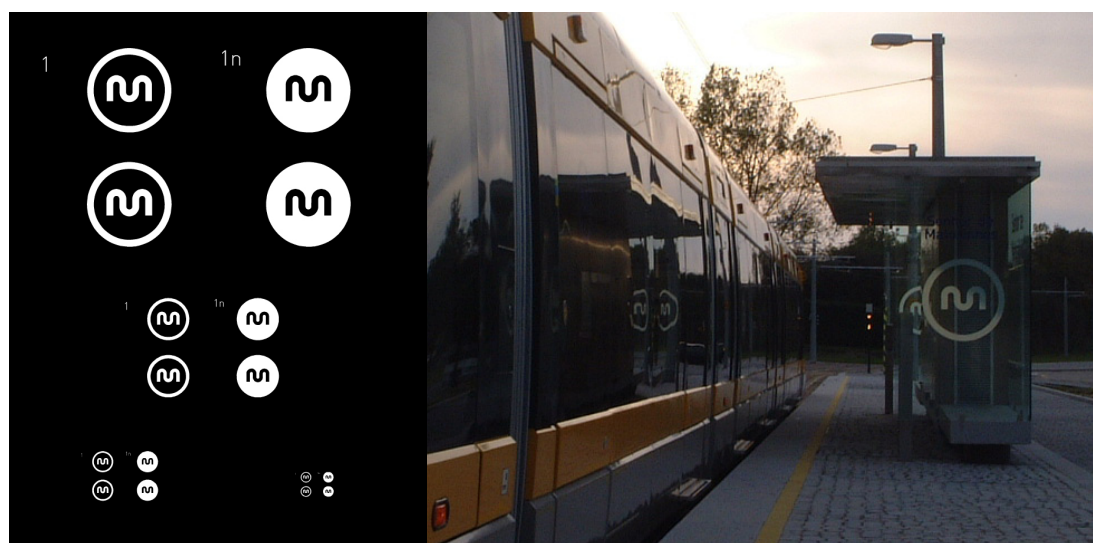
between visual identity and organisational behaviour. In other words, what could or should a communication designer do when facing clients' briefs asking to beautify messages and to create expectations in potential consumers' minds, when such expectations may be deliberately misleading? At the time, *Metro do Porto*'s brief could be understood as if they were asking designers to manipulate the way in which citizens would preferably perceive the organization's public image since there was no service to offer yet but some financial slippery slope and further controversy instead. There was however a genuine interest in developing a positive image and we decided to go ahead with the project. I participated directly in the design of the new symbol for the *Metro do Porto* (Figure P.10), including other aspects of the visual identity structure. Our proposal was the chosen one and this is still the most visible graphic design project I ever participated in. I was proud, I was twenty-nine.

Design education, design thinking and design heritage

Professor Carlos Aguiar had always been a mentor to me since I met him. I'm still very grateful for all the opportunities he provided me with as well as for his trust. In 2001 he was one of the design course leaders at the Communication and Arts Department at the University of Aveiro, and was head of the industrial design course. Again, I also owe him the privilege of being able to teach both at undergraduate and postgraduate levels. He suggested I should apply for a position

Figure P.10 – Metro do Porto.

2001, graphic designs commissioned by Sino Design for the symbol of the Metro do Porto light railway. Porto, Portugal. Graphic designs and photograph by the author: author's collection



to teach on his course. The mission would be to influence industrial design students with the ability to respond to the complexities of graphic and communication design. I am still not sure how successful this collaboration was to students, but as soon as the course was designed to merge both industrial and communication design I found the space where I could be helpful the most. Some of my students won national design contests, were nominated for international design awards, but above all, after a few years of teaching experience, I felt they could engage and respond successfully to complex design problems in the field of visual identity. Being able to see students grow in design terms while engaging and enjoying the design process so deeply has been the most rewarding experience I have ever had.

A concern regarding Portuguese design was about to materialise, that is the relationship between graphic design and contextual aesthetics. In 1996, in a design exhibition⁵ and seminar held at ESAD design college in Matosinhos, near Porto, invited speaker Jon Wozencroft from the Royal College of Art mentioned many posters featuring at the exhibition at ESAD as having a “German accent”. Such posters had been designed by graphic design students to explore the theme of typography and typefaces. In fact, many students had chosen to explore Erik Spikermann’s Meta typeface (1991 – 1998, FontShop International). At the time this typeface was synonymous with cutting-edge contemporary typeface design.

The spread of aesthetical influences can be seen historically across many disciplines, including in graphic design and in many countries and times. It can be problematic however when using established aesthetics or trends to make claims either authorship or identity.

That problem reoccurred later when I was teaching when a group of my students presented the work of a collective of young graphic designers for discussion. The purpose of that collective was to promote Portuguese graphic design internationally. The turn of the millennium with the advent of the Internet alongside graphic design being regarded in Portugal as something *fashionable*, provided the context where the realization of such self promotional projects could be regarded as easy to give form, making them visible. It followed that the aesthetics’ analysis proved the graphic language used was based on the same digital tools and

5 FBAUP Professor Heitor Alvelos invited me to participate in this exhibition as a FBAUP finalist student and to present the postcard project developed at the Norwich School of Art and Design.

visual trends that could be seen as being across UK magazines such as *The Wire*, or in graphic design projects from Tokyo, New York or Melbourne. Furthermore, content hardly established any link to Portuguese culture itself, apart from the fact that Portugal was being inundated by all sorts of international influences and styles through products, advertising, merchandising, television, movies, books and magazines. It could then be questioned whether the aim of that Portuguese collective was to promote any distinctiveness in Portuguese graphic design, including aesthetics, or if they were trying to prove to the world that Portuguese graphic designers could be regarded as good as any other internationally recognized ones. Even if one or two years late. In the context of authorship and branding where differentiation is a subject that matters, how can followers stand out as different?

In order to pursue an academic career at the University of Aveiro, it was suggested in 2001 that I enrol the 'Mestrado em Design, Materiais e Gestão de Produto' (Masters in Design, Materials and Product Management) that was created in the same year. I did enrol that year for the masters degree as a part-time student. I saw there a great opportunity to return to my old passion and do research on sports shoe brands.

Given that Portugal was internationally well regarded as a country for quality shoe production, especially due to considerable investments in large-scale footwear industrial productions in the 1980s and 1990s, why was it that the number of quality Portuguese footwear brands was comparatively so few? Also, concerning the Sanjos I had been so passionate about many years before, what had happened to the product and brand in terms of their former designs and authenticity?

Whereas production technologies and know-how had been improved considerably in Portugal, the same was not true regarding the participation of graphic designers and brand design knowledge in the process. The answer was simply because productions aimed mainly at international clients and non-Portuguese brands. Major efforts, investments, knowledge and training focused mainly on conventional leather footwear production, not athletic shoes. In 2003, the highest grade for specific training regarding shoe production in Portugal, including styling —not fashion design—was only the equivalent to A levels at the best (12th year) grade. Even so some Portuguese stylists have been able to achieve international recognition. It followed that manufacturing international footwear brands could be far more rewarding to Portuguese industry than trying to compete with Portuguese own brands. Regarding creativity and knowledge in relation to

branding or product design to some extent, it became clear that following trends, or copying designers' shoes is easier and much less costly. According to a conversation with a representative of the company, branding expenses at Portuguese brand *Adventure Boots* cost nearly the equivalent to five million euros/year in the 1990s, including sponsoring rally races in Sweden. The company decided to stop investing in advertising once it could have become financially disastrous. They opted for being subcontractors instead. Their clients include New York's *Adbusters* magazine partners *Black Spot Sneakers*⁶ among others that fall in the category of the 'social responsible' brands⁷.

As a student at the Master's Competitive Strategies and Product Innovation classes I had the highest mark, but as a graphic designer it didn't prove much. In a real-life design project I did struggled working towards the construction of a Portuguese footwear brand. The company's mindset I tried working with was 'programmed' for dealing with international client brands' requests, such as Clarks, Kickers, Mephisto and Camel, rather than on incorporating design in their businesses. Recalling a conversation with Isabel Maria Brarens training coordinator at the CPD—Centro Português de Design (Portuguese Design Centre) about Portuguese design and the footwear industry, she mentioned a program promoted by CPD which failed in attempting to established bridges between designers and companies: "designers claimed that working in such industrial environment was much less appealing than working from their own studios with their regular clients, mainly from the cultural sector. In turn, the footwear companies involved in the program claimed such collaborations didn't add much to their actual needs."

I turned then to my passion about the Sanjos and to a different approach, that is working both as a researcher and a silent graphic designer. I found very little about Sanjos original products since they had been out of the market for years and the company went bankrupt in 1996 and I found out that their industrial site would become the 'Museu da Chapelaria' (Hat Museum). I also found the brand had been bought and that new productions were taking place in China to be sold exclusively

6 <https://www.adbusters.org/campaigns/blackspot> [Accessed 6 March 2009].

7 This category includes Central Saint Martins alumnus' *Above+Below London*TM shoe brand, made of recycled materials from former London's underground tube carriages and buses seats. However, whether brands under this category tend to be committed to social responsible concerns or due to the hype of the business is a matter for another discussion.

Figure P.11 – Sanjos Made in China.

2003 to 2008, shoe shop windows photographed in Vila Nova de Gaia, Coimbra and Riomeão, Portugal.



in Portugal. They cheaply resembled best sellers from Adidas, Puma, Nike and Converse, though ‘stamped’ with redesigned Sanjo logotype and symbol. They also cheaply resembled the former Sanjos (Figure P.11).

Sanjo has no in-house designers and the brand was relaunch in 2010.⁸ That was the initial stage of what was to become an in-depth research into the history of the Sanjos products, brand and former company. I started with no great expectations of finding original products or consistent evidence since information was scarce as it was disappearing very rapidly. However the efforts, money and time spent in researching the Sanjos proved worthy a few years later. Today I possibly hold the most relevant collection of Sanjos (Figure P.12).

My hypothesis was that the retrieval of historical evidence could help the

⁸ Apart from mentioning “memories from the past” and a short text drawn from my research, no further reference to the history of the brand is established in its current visual identity, including the new mark and logotype designs. <http://www.sanjo.pt/>.

Figure P.12 – Sanjo originals.

Made in Portugal, designs and production dates span from circa the 1950s and the 1990s. Sanjo originals collected across Portugal between 2003 and 2010.



reconstitution of the brand's imagery, and that its contextualization from a graphic design perspective would provide the brand with a new life although based on its past history. Such pieces of previous lives could spark happy memories that different generations of Portuguese people could react to differently, either due to emotional reasons or the apparently contradictory newness. It's approach to brands was far more concerned with cultural values, rather than with corporate business culture.

At that time I was teaching 'Strategic Design' on the University of Aveiro's design course. The subject was less about 'design for profit' or creating 'audience-targeted' strategies and 'brand values' but was far more concerned with exploring design as a discipline to address cultural values. The opportunity to explore my research subjects in the context of design education was very productive to my students and to myself. Following up on the passion about Sanjo and its cultural meaning, I asked students to search for other Portuguese brands that could embody similar meanings to their family members, elder friends or to themselves. The

Figure P.13 – Exhibition ‘Identidade Cultural e Memória Coletiva: Marcas Comerciais Portuguesas do Século XX’ (Cultural Identity and Collective Memory: Portuguese Trademarks from the 20th Century), 2005.

Exhibition of project conducted with 4th year design students Strategic Design course, University of Aveiro, Portugal. Photographs: courtesy of Gonalo Cavaleiro, NCF/AAUAv.

The exhibition was organized according to the design process (top to bottom rows):

- 1) Collection of evidence from Portuguese brand imageries (top row);
- 2) Graphic recovery of visual materials and production of portable communication artefacts (postcards);
- 3) Further explorations of the materials through design. These included typography, illustration and product design approaches (bottom row).

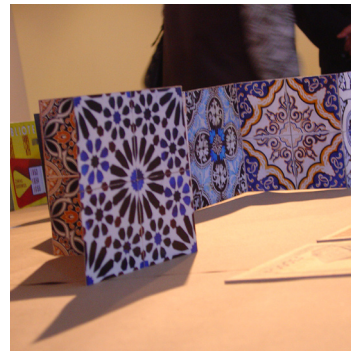


Figure P.14 – Former ‘Strategic Design’ classroom.

2007, assessment of objects collected by students. Strategic design course, University of Aveiro, Portugal.



project was divided in three parts: to collect, to reconstitute and to reinterpret. An exhibition was produced according the same structure (Figure P.13). Part of the result was sent to RMIT (Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology, Australia), to which Australian graphic design students replied.

The idea of the project was to investigate whether Portuguese students could find emotional links between iconic brands and people, as well as to explore cultural specific imagery through design. Like Sanjo research it was about finding authenticity in design heritage and to investigate whether it could influence present day design approaches and how. The ambivalence of combining the past with contemporary practice was rather fruitful. The amount of material uncovered was surprising because there were gathered hundreds of cultural objects in just a few weeks (Figure P.14). The materials proved to be a pedagogical tool for design

education and enabled the establishment of networks of people through life stories and the cultural specific. The overall project provided an array of different experiences through design that were rather engaging too. By the end of that year I completed the Masters degree. That was in 2005, I was thirty-three.

I continued teaching 'Strategic Design' in the two following years questioning the significance of Portuguese design heritage to present design practice, learning more and more, while gathering substantial evidence of trademarks' imageries from the 20th century. The gathered materials include records of up to 200 trademarks, 40 small case studies, nearly 300 artefacts recreating many of the trademarks' imageries, and over 2500 photographs of original products. Such evidence provided me with a better understanding of Portuguese graphic design history and that the 'Estado Novo' (New State, 1933–1974) nationalistic political regime had influenced somehow the shape of such imagery (Figure P.15).

Whether influenced directly or not by the state, such products had been vehicles to communicate the regime's nationalistic ideologies for decades, some would argue as a consequence of the economic protectionism of Portuguese industries and the fact that Portugal was neutral during WWII. I began to understand why the Sanjos had been so popular as well as an object of desire for many. The products' standards were high as there was no other option for consumers. The same can be seen in many other Portuguese products and brands from the same period.

After some experience of design practice, teaching and research, I decided it was the time to apply for a scholarship from FCT (Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology) and to enrol for a PhD degree. I was concerned in articulating graphic design, visual identity and brands with regards to the culturally specific, as well as in contributing to the acknowledgement of Portuguese design history, by exploring design heritage in the contexts of design research, practice and education. That was a great timing. It was in 2007, I was thirty-five and my life was about to change.

Figure P.15 – Postcard panel.

2005 to 2007, selection of postcards produced by students, based on the graphic recovery of Portuguese brand imagery. Strategic Design course, University of Aveiro, Portugal.



CHAPTER 1: CULTURAL MEMORY IN HERITAGE BRANDS

Chapter 1 CULTURAL MEMORY IN HERITAGE BRANDS

CONTENTS

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We are entering an epoch in which only those corporations making highly competitive products will survive. This means, in the longer term, that products from major competing companies around the world will become increasingly similar.
(Olins, 1989: 9)

What is your target audience? is a contextual question asked more frequently than What is your ideological position?

Market economy is driving all before it and commercial worth is increasingly taking precedence over cultural value.

(Ball & Naylor, 2005: 46)

There is a widespread and shared feeling that we are living in an era of globalization, of multinational business and an increasing homogenization of culture. Globalization is the process by which companies operate on an international level and socioeconomic patterns become adopted on a global scale (...)

'Global' as a term is often interchangeable with 'international. It is frequently perceived as opposed to regionalization and often associated with the wiping out of regional and national identities (...) Many are arguing that differences are disappearing and the consequent uniformity is a major threat to world culture (...) and worry that we will all soon be living in a world of bland product conformity.

(McDermott, 2007: 119–20)

Montaging, for Benjamin, cannot be disassociated from the act of rescuing, the efforts to recycle rubbish, detritus, scraps that appear to have no value. He deployed for the purposes of critical enlightenment what he called 'rags and refuse', a procedure later described in his Arcades Project.

Benjamin's procedure involved less a rescue of tradition than the rescue of experiences unacknowledged, experiences under threat, rejectamenta, materials on the point of disappearance. (Leslie, 2007: 62–3)

1.1 INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH AIMS

Brands are powerful vehicles for cultural dissemination but the global phenomenon led to brand identities becoming increasingly homogenized. A close inspection of brands that have become cultural icons in their countries of origin show that many tend to become more and more like global brands, by adopting nonspecific visual references. They also tend to develop with disregard to their contextual history and cultural significance.

Why do many brands today tend to look the same? Why is it that their historical and contextual histories are not told? Why do graphic designers, when designing for a heritage local brand, often end up blurring its essence, distorting its history, almost nullifying the identity that relies on its historical memory? Why do graphic designers and companies limit themselves to act according to corporate visual identity norms and not rethink their approaches to such culturally specific brands?

The wealth of cultural evidence from heritage brands has not been gathered, preserved and explored. Rather it tends to disappear in peoples' homes where a great deal of such material culture is kept for affective reasons. It tends to disappear too due to companies closing down, or because they overlook such evidence as valuable assets, lacking archival systems concerned with the preservation of their own productions. It also tends to disappear because technological and design developments often discard previous solutions. In general, companies tend to overlook their archives and hardly know how to deal with them in experimental or exploratory terms. Cultural evidence also tends to disappear due to a lack of research in the field, because the subject of cultural memory in heritage brands is not among those extensively covered.

The main focus of this practice-related doctoral research project is:

- a) how brands relate to cultural memory,
- b) what can be lost if companies loose their archives, and
- c) what can designers do to address authenticity issues?

That is, it is concerned with the cultural difference across brand imagery as opposed to the globalization of visual identity. The research addresses:

- a) the historical context and
- b) today's cultural relevance of a brand's archive.

Thereby investigating its symbolic and broad cultural significance with respect to the present design context.

It aims to draw on visual design heritage to achieve:

- a) an understanding of the past and
- b) a means and a source to feed future cultural development.

1.2 A PROCESS OF RESCUING

The research is practice-related, informed both by practice and research methods. The practicality emerged as the research unfolded, hence this research can be seen as much as about exploring a methodological approach as it is about the subject of local brands themselves.

To position the researcher as a designer is critical to an understanding of how and why the research progressed as it did. The researcher and the designer must be also positioned in relation to personal experience, which explains why the prologue was included as well as its length. I draw from previous experience as a graphic designer who specialized in visual identity, as well as from the perspective of a consumer who since childhood observed the transformations of a local brand moving from cultural specific to nonspecific identity.

Historical oblivion motivated the need for doing the research, which proposes the rescuing of fragmented evidence such as products, imagery and histories, that otherwise could have been lost. Hence a process of rescuing evidence from Portuguese heritage brands that are being lost was my initial response to this phenomenon. Prior to the research for this thesis I started collecting, gathering, storing and processing evidence related to the visual identity of such brands (see Appendix A).

That material is a collection of imagery of Portuguese brands from the 'Estado Novo' period (New State, 1933–1974). This was a totalitarian, conservative and protectionist regime that strongly influenced all aspects of the state, including the economy, production, culture, and ultimately design. A great deal of evidence still remains unstudied, including the imagery of brands from that period. Among these, I chose the Sanjo sports shoes brand for in depth analysis for this thesis not only because it is representative of the period, but also because I experienced the brand as a consumer in a fairly profound way. Therefore the choice of Sanjo as the main case study is not arbitrary. My response included developing ways of retrieving historical evidence, establishing connections between the gathered materials, and experiments with how the materials can enable further explorations.

Throughout its various components, what the research shows through the Sanjo case is the thorough understanding of a brand with this sort of depth and the potential in exploring such locally specific brand imagery from a graphic design perspective.

1.2.1 Preservation and exploration of cultural memory in heritage brands

The approach to heritage brands developed in two ways particularly regarding the graphic design aspects across their formal representations.

- a) One in relation to individual companies and their brands, like Sanjo.
- b) The other relates to the study of heritage brands in a broader sense, which is a territory worth exploring in future work.

That is the case, for example, of a great deal of Portuguese brands that are contemporary of Sanjo. Despite there being a growing interest in Portugal about these brands, especially for affective and nostalgic reasons and because of the national awareness they represent, including for commercial tourism purposes, it is no less true that the vast majority remains unstudied and many tend to disappear rapidly. In most cases, as with Sanjo, the original companies closed down decades ago and along with it so are many manufacturing processes being threatened by the loss of historical memory and mass-production's bland uniformity. Despite the rising interest in these brands, the subject of Portuguese heritage brands this thesis brings to light is yet to be considered within a broader academic debate.

In the context of individual companies, the main concern was in rescuing evidence of the graphic designs from their brand's identity. This enabled establishment of connections between the graphic elements as a way to understand how they evolved and *can further develop*. In a broader cultural sense, regarding historical memory in heritage brands, the analysis of the gathered evidence also enabled the discovery of relationships between the brand, its country, its culture and its people.

The rescuing of brand imagery, either within companies or in a broader sense can feed future cultural developments, thus this research holds potential at various levels. For example,

- a) as materials and processes to be further explored in the context of design education;
- b) as a means and a source to foster exhibitions and publications for disseminating local cultures through curatorial practices;

c) to feed design historians;

d) to provide a rich resource for a brand's own distinctive development.

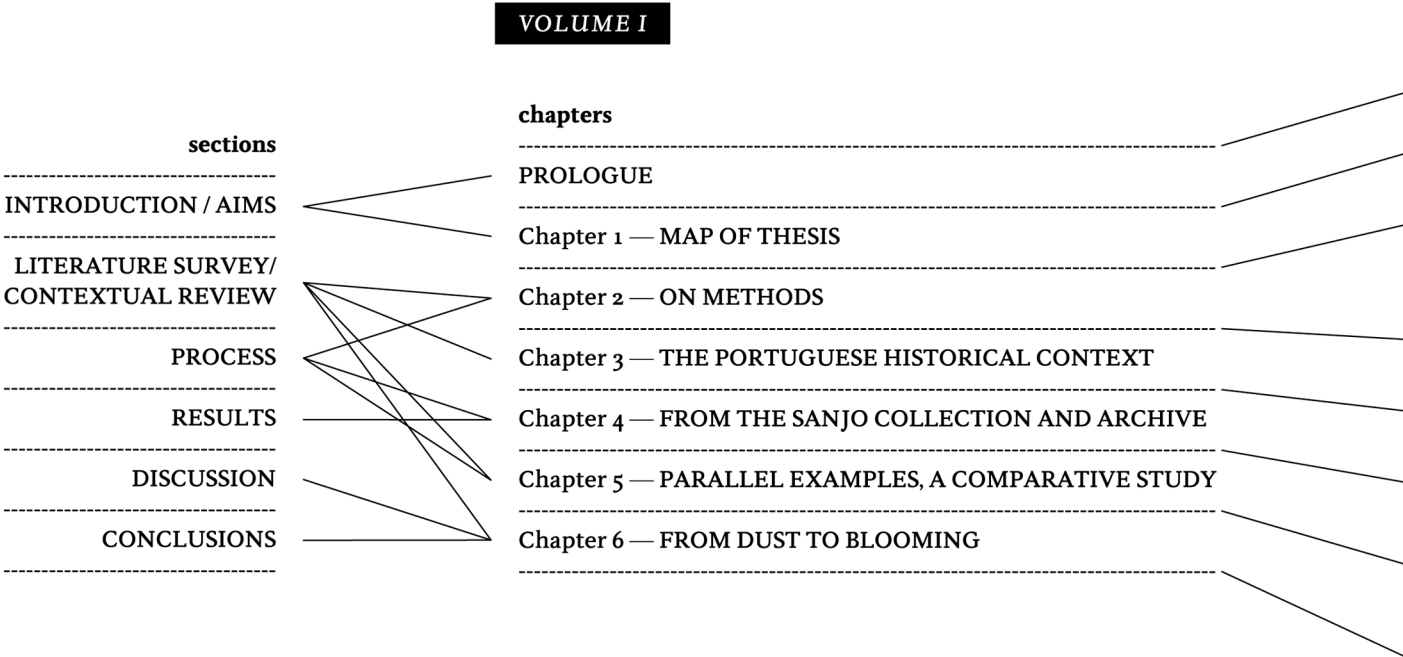
Ultimately, this rescuing is of utmost importance for companies involved with such brands.

1.3 MAP OF THE THESIS

What follows is the map of the thesis. The map in Figure 1.1 (unfolding pages) was influenced by Philips & Pugh's (2002: 65) suggestion for a thesis structure. Their way of thinking helped its design according to what they "baldly" stated are the main sections: "introduction / aims, literature survey / contextual review, process, results, discussion and conclusions". These general sections unfold into chapters, their respective contents and the appendices to which they relate.

In addition to Figure 1.1, what follows next is a brief description of the contents of each chapter, which attempts to explain how they relate to each other.

Figure 1.1 – Map of the thesis.
Volume I, Volume II and Scholarly Edition.
Sections, chapters, contents, appendices and
components of the Scholarly Edition.



contents

Background and motivations.

Brand archives: a graphic design response to the globalization of visual identity.

The rescuing of culturally specific brand imagery towards the construction and analysis of a brand's archive:

- *Ethnographic research*;
- *Graphic design methods*;
- *Contextual and visual analysis*.

The Sanjo brand in the “Estado Novo” (New State) period.

Chronological table and matrix for contextual and visual analysis, main case study.

Sports shoe brands from authoritarian regimes, which have been subject to revival after falling into oblivion.

On the role of brand archives. Relevance of brand archives to companies and designers. Contribution of practice to cultural diversity and possibilities for further developments.

VOLUME II

appendices

A — Pre-doctoral work

B — Mindmaps and diagrams

C — Timelines

D — Visual archive of Sanjo

E — Published work related with this thesis

SCHOLARLY EDITION

components

EXHIBITION

EXHIBITION CATALOGUE

1.3.1 Literature survey / contextual review

The literature review is distributed throughout various chapters (2, 3, 5 and 6) rather than being reported in a single place. Although the thesis' focus is on how culturally specific (sports shoe) brands deal with historical memory, the study encompasses various topics that were approached separately.

Topics include: the theoretical and methodological framework underpinning the research from a design practice related perspective (chapter 2); graphic design practices in relation to visual identity constructions and ways of rescuing historical memory (chapters 5 and 6); analysis of the contextual trajectory and cultural significance of one main case study analysed in depth (chapter 3); the contextual analysis of parallel examples drawn from similar contexts that form a comparative study (chapter 5); and current discussions on archival practices with regards to culturally specific brand identity developments (chapter 6).

1.3.2 Process

Chapter 2 maps the methodological possibilities for the retrieval, construction and analysis of a brand's archive. It delves into the techniques used to deal with visual materials drawn from a brand's visual identity and how some of these techniques were explored from a graphic design perspective. This resulted in a new methodological approach to retrieve and make sense of historical and visual data, which graphic design methods commonly deployed in the context of visual identity often overlook.

The combination of ethnographic research, graphic design and visual analysis methods respond to the questions raised within the present doctoral research project. To examine a brand's identity from historical and visual perspective, 'brand archaeology' and 'graphic surgery' emerged as methods to collect and analyse data. In chapter 4, the main case studied illustrates how graphic surgery addresses the retrieval, analysis and interpretation of visual culture in relation to brand identity in a way that is barely covered by most visual methodologies (Rose, 2007).

A comparative study is also part of the methods used aiming to understand whether the case of Sanjo studied in chapter 3 is unique or are there similar cases. An analogy is established between the contextual history of Sanjo, which emerged under an authoritarian political regime, and other brands studied in chapter 5 that also became dominant in their respective countries due to similar political circumstances.

It was found they have in common the fact they didn't resist to the threat of global brands after the fall of regimes and that, like Sanjo, have been also revived in the recent years. Although revivals link to a sense of place and collective nostalgia, in most cases historical evidence tends to dissolve in the face of commercial interests.

1.3.3 Results

Chapter 4 shows how the methods addressed in chapter 2 developed, finding a tool that enables the thorough understanding of how a brand's visual identity evolved from a graphic design and historical perspectives.

Both chronological tables and visual matrices were applied to the main case study. They allow various readings depending on the categories of information contained. Trademarks were the main category considered for the study once they represent core visual elements of a brand's identity. Through the interpretation of how the marks evolved in relation to the brand's contextual history it is possible to see the various social, cultural, political and economical transformations that occurred in its life-span. This is what enables the thorough understanding of its uniqueness.

1.3.4 Discussion

Chapter 6 discusses the relevance of brand archives to companies and designers dealing with culturally specific brands. The emphasis on archival practices is sustained by reference to current discussions about the preservation of cultural memory as well as in the creative potentials that archives contain, not only to feed future brand developments but also to sustain cultural difference.

1.3.5 Conclusions

The study ends by concluding that the boundaries between locally specific and global brands tend to blur partly due to design practices that fail to acknowledge the significance of historical memory as a means and a source to address cultural difference in the global context. As a response, considering that brands are vehicles to disseminate local cultures and that designers are agents of cultural transformation, it is suggested that the approach to brand archives through a design ethos is a means for the rescuing of culturally specific identities that tend to disappear rapidly, that what is recovered is a source to enable the preservation of cultural diversity, and that the methods developed can contribute to feed future developments.

1.3.6 Appendices

A series of appendices, listed below, are included as part of thesis in a separate volume (Volume II), containing information that is relevant to the research although it is not presented in the main body of the thesis:

Appendix A — Empirical developments produced prior to the research in the context of design education and design practice;

Appendix B — Mindmaps, diagrams and report sheets produced throughout the research referring to the research approach in relation to the field, methods for retrieving and processing data, and for contextual analysis;

Appendix C — Timelines and chronological tables for the historical and contextual analysis of the main case study, and of the parallel examples.

Appendix D — Visual data collected for the main case study, gathered as evidence of a brand's archive. It also includes the research sources.

Appendix E — List of all published work related with this thesis, including in proceedings of international conferences, seminars, and exhibitions.

1.3.7 Scholarly Edition

The submission of a Scholarly Edition accompanies the written component and it is integral to the thesis. It comprises of an exhibition together with a catalogue, which reflect and result from the methods developed.

Whereas the exhibition is an opportunity to assemble and display the physical objects and the various types of evidence uncovered, the catalogue incorporates the rationale of the exhibition, the materials and narratives presented in a different format. Both the exhibition and the catalogue show how the methodological approach applies to a case from curatorial and graphic design perspectives, and how the processes developed for the gathering, recovery and comparative analysis are applicable to other cases. Throughout its various modules, what the exhibition and the catalogue aim to show is the thorough understanding of a brand's identity, its relevance to local cultures, and the creative potential there is in exploring locally specific brand imagery.

CHAPTER 2: ON METHODS

FOUND OBJECT (*Object trouvé*)

Otherwise known as object trouvé, this is a natural or synthetic object transferred to an art or design context. Unlike the ready-made, it is chosen for its aesthetic or visual appeal and often carries connotations of chance discovery, re-seeing the ordinary and re-evaluating the meanings usually ascribed to objects (...) Since the late 1950s the found object has become much used because of its potential to inspire rethinking of the function and meaning of objects in our society, and because it provides a readily accessible source of materials and images. More recently, the found object has become the basis of the Bricolage approach, with the artist as a commentator on the fragmented world.*

(McDermott, 2007: 111)

* The term "bricolage" was also discussed in the context of cultural studies where "one is pragmatic and strategic in choosing and applying different methods and practices" (Alasuutari, 1995, cited in Pink, 2007: 15).

Chapter 2 ON METHODS

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Figure 2.1 – My parents' Sanjos, 1988 and circa 1990s.
Those I've also used for playing volleyball.
Photograph: author's collection.

2.1 INTRODUCTION TO METHODS

Considering (that) the driving purpose of this practice-related research (deals with examining how brands deal with historical memory and with their broad cultural significance to the present design context), this chapter on methods contains three fundamental considerations, which interrelate with each other. Hence the boundaries between them are difficult to establish.

One is about the qualitative nature of the research. Another deals with the methods deployed and how they articulate, ultimately originating a methodological approach to the retrieval and visual analysis of brand identity. The third is acknowledging that there are different levels of reflection closely linked to design practice-related research.

The research is mainly of a qualitative nature because it deals with material culture of various sorts, which relate to the visual aspects of brand identity. These range from found objects (Figure 2.1) to printed materials and photographs but all require a great deal of visual analysis. So being aware of a simple foundation behind all forms of qualitative data analysis (Seidel, 1998), that is that “noticing, collecting and thinking about interesting things” in a continuous, iterative process, is a fundamental form of reasoning to understand the process through which this research progressed.

The second consideration is that despite that there are various approaches to qualitative research (Creswell, 2007), such as case study and ethnographic research, and that there are also various methodologies for dealing with visual culture (Rose, 2007), there was still the need to develop a methodological approach to better serve the purpose of the research from a graphic design perspective. This included looking into ways of collecting, processing and analysing of visual data that are well established within the social sciences to see their value for understanding the graphic design principles behind corporate and brand identity (Olins, 1995; Mollerup, 1997). Hence the approach resulted firstly in the articulation of ethnographic research and graphic design methods as a “designerly¹” (Cross, 2007)

1 According to Nigel Cross, referring to the claim from the Royal College of Art study on Design in General Education, “there are things to know, ways of knowing them, and ways of finding out about them that are specific to the design area (...) distinct from the more usually-recognized scientific and scholarly ways of knowing” (2007:22). “Designerly ways of knowing rest on the manipulation of non-verbal codes in the material culture” (2007: 26) and “this characteristically ‘constructive’ way of thinking is distinct from the more commonly accepted acknowledged inductive and deductive kinds of reasoning” (2007: 28).

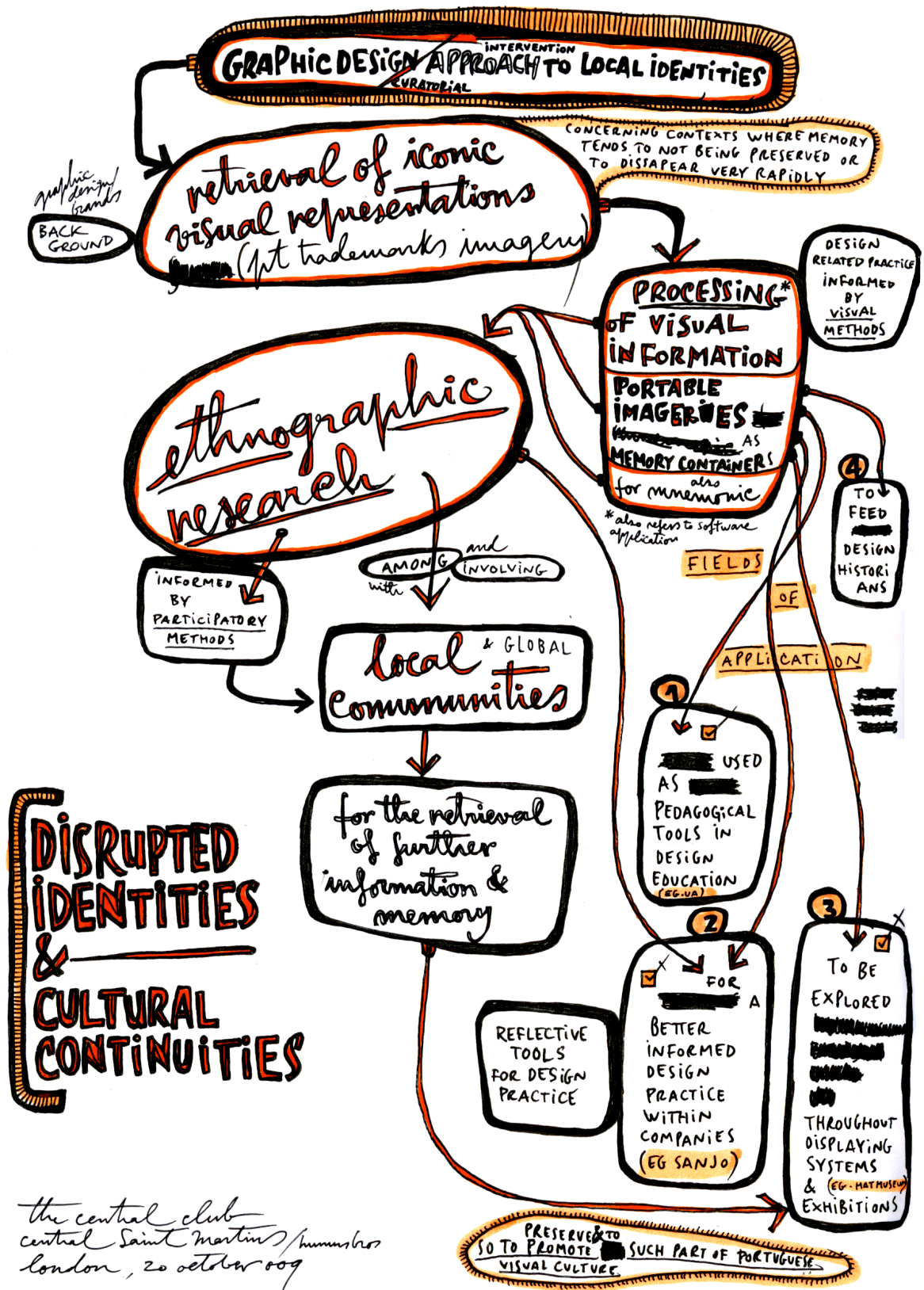
way of retrieving and processing visual data (Figure 2.2). And secondly, in the establishment of connections between ‘identity fragments’ as a form of visual and contextual analysis, to enhance the overall approach as a visual methodology for the thorough study of culturally specific brands.

Being aware of the different levels of reflection in design (McDonnell, Lloyd, & Valkenburg, 2004)—reflections in action, reflections on action, and interpretation of events—was essential for a critical understanding of the work produced within this research and make sense of it. The first level, thinking while doing research, helps explain decisions made while collecting and handling materials. The second level, thinking about the doing, helps to a better understanding of how and why decisions were made. And the third level, interpreting events, enables thinking about generalizations and how the study of one particular case applies to other cases.

Bearing these considerations in mind, this chapter unfolds according to three different but rather complementary topics. The first goes into detail about the foundation that sustains qualitative data analysis, as well as of the various levels of reflection. The second consists of a brief description of the qualitative research approaches deployed to better inform some aspects of the study with regards to brand identity, namely those relating to data collection. And the third section delves into ‘graphic surgery’, a methodological approach that this project originated, resulting in a specific research tool for the recovery and visual analysis of brand identity that current visual methodologies fail to address.

The chapter concludes by establishing the grounds upon which the main case study, presented in the following chapter, developed.

Figure 2.2 – Preliminary concept of the methodological approach.
Diagrammatic view, early developments.



2.2 BRAND ARCHAEOLOGY: ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH AND GRAPHIC DESIGN METHODS

The selection and mixture of the research methods that follows may look drawn from the shelves of the social sciences by chance, so to be oddly mixed with graphic design methods and techniques. Conversely, these methods are discussed in terms of how some fundamental ideas behind them were adapted to underpin the rationale that serves the purpose of this research in rescuing historical memory through a brand's imagery. It follows then the ideas of "montaging" and "bricolage" (Alasuutari, 1995, cited in Pink, 2007: 15).

This 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. Overall, the methodological approach aims at the recovery, visual analysis and thorough understanding of a brand's identity from a design perspective, with respect to its contextual history and local culture. Such perspective could be roughly defined as 'brand archaeology' [my term]. The case of Sanjo was the main case studied through which this methodological approach developed (Figure 2.3).

Complementary ways of assessing the gathered materials also developed within the specificities of the research approach:

MIND MAPS — for structuring information (Appendix B);

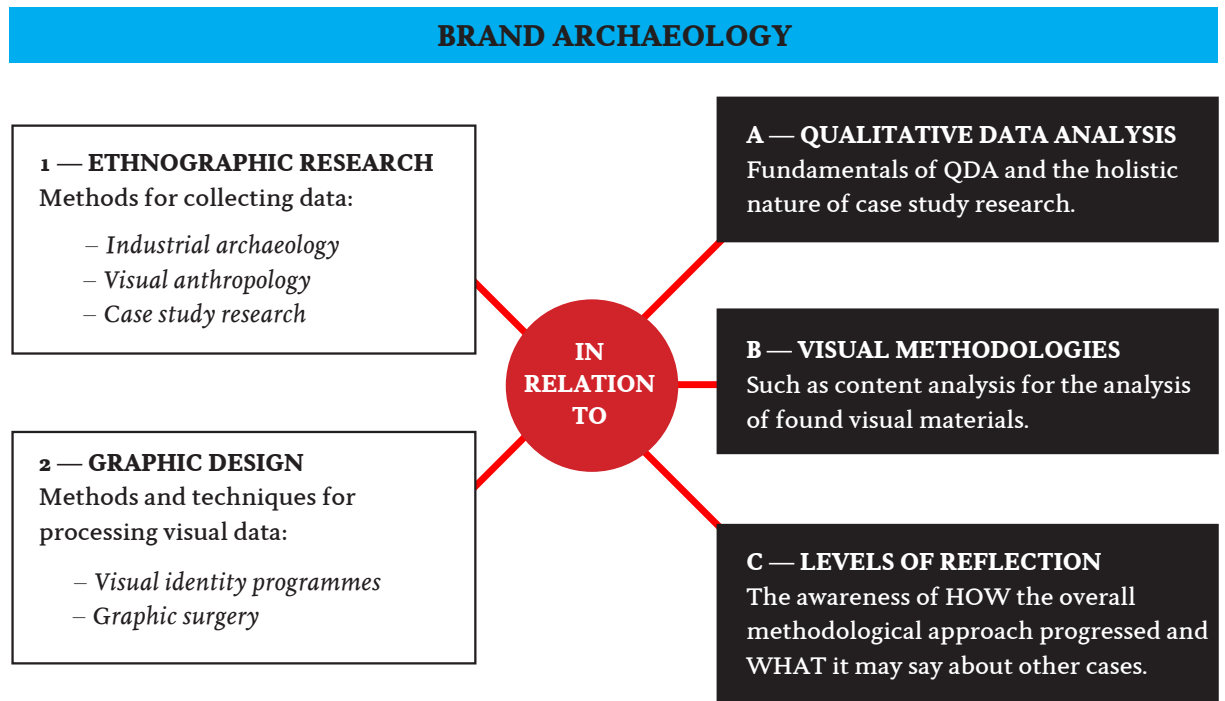
DIAGRAMS — for finding connections between data (Appendix B);

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES — for historical and contextual analysis;

VISUAL MATRICES — of instances and groups of images for visual analysis.

As a result, this developed a purposeful and clear methodology to study a brand's visual identity in depth, which offers the possibility of its thorough understanding in relation to a broader context. Ultimately, in terms of future applications, it provides companies and designers with a set of principles and procedures according to which the retrieval and exploration of historical memory can be done, particularly with regards to locally relevant and culturally specific brands, about which little is known of their 'authenticity'. And this includes acknowledging cultural difference through uncovering what is 'authentic' in brands and in their related imagery. By doing so, a major contribution of the rationale behind this approach is to foster the debate on the role of graphic designers as agents of cultural transformation.

Figure 2.3 – Brand archaeology.
 Diagrammatic representation of the research methodology that originated a design approach to the study of culturally specific brands.



2.2.1 Qualitative Data Analysis (QDA)

Despite the highs and lows in collecting different types of objects and data about the Sanjo brand that in the first instance would be unthinkable to obtain, the question of what to do with the materials remained open. I realized later in the course of the research that the problem was related with the absence of a formal qualitative analysis procedure.

As Seidel (1998: 1) argues, “there is a simple foundation behind all forms of Qualitative Data Analysis (QDA)”, however it is not a linear process. But, he continues, “once you grasp this foundation you can move in many different directions”. In his model, QDA is about “noticing, collecting and thinking about interesting things” in a rather continuous way, like “an infinite spiral”. QDA is an “iterative and progres-

sive, recursive and holographic process” (1998: 2) which is a relevant reasoning to consider with respect to visual analysis in the context of a graphic design research project (Figure 2.4).

The process has the following characteristics:

Iterative and Progressive — *The process is iterative and progressive because it is a cycle that keeps repeating. For example, when you are thinking about things you also start noticing new things in the data. You then collect and think about these new things. In principle the process is an infinite spiral.*

Recursive — *The process is recursive because one part can call you back to a previous part. For example, while you are busy collecting things you might simultaneously start noticing new things to collect.*

Holographic — *The process is holographic in that each step in the process contains the entire process. For example, when you first notice things you are already mentally collecting and thinking about those things.*

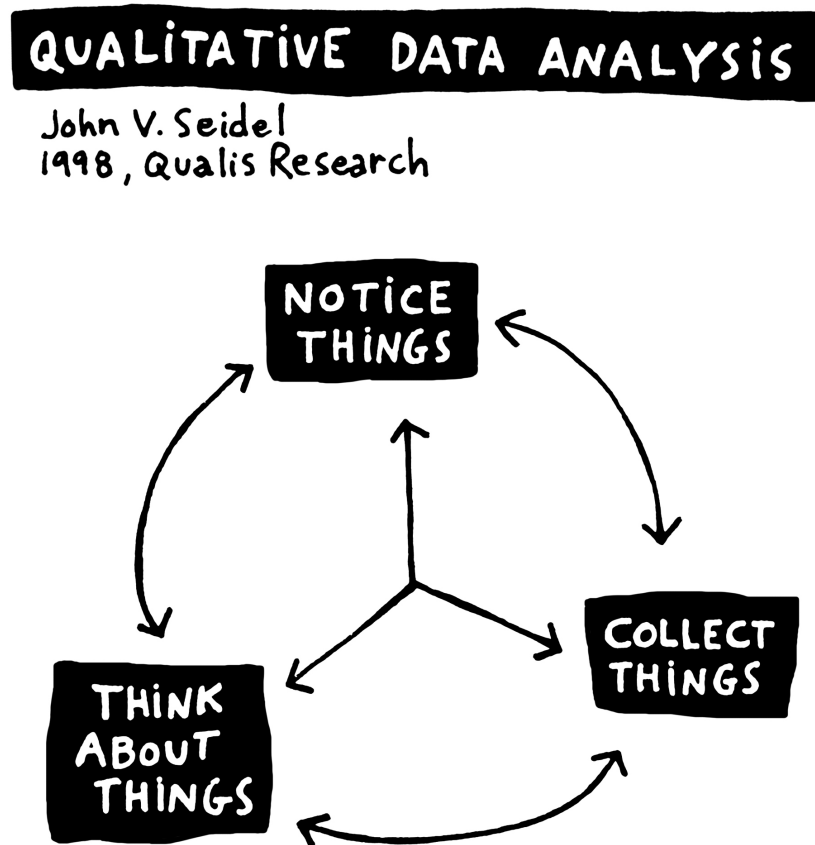
Thus, while there is a simple foundation to QDA, the process of doing qualitative data analysis is complex. The key is to root yourself in this foundation and the rest will flow from this foundation (Seidel, 1998: 2).

In fact, noticing occurrences and difference between visual elements of the Sanjo brand identity led to thinking further about the relationships between the elements. It often led to discover new things about them as materials were handled over and over again. If the procedures of collectors and archivists are often linear, such as gathering, recovering, digitising and cataloguing evidence, the discovery of meaning requires a great deal more than mechanical procedures. Detailed observation for instance is a good point to start with.

Seidel (1998) establishes the analogy of the puzzle. We start by organizing pieces according to categories, that is by grouping pieces which share the same characteristics. For example colours, tones, borders, corners, and so on. The difference in QDA—as with the remains of a brand—is that we do not always have access to the complete puzzle. As happens with many Portuguese brands that became cultural icons and are today at a point of disappearance, this also happened with the research on Sanjo: there were only fragments of histories and visuals found.

The reconstruction and mapping of a few elements of the Sanjo brand in an early stage of the research enabled the establishment of a relationship between them, leading to the identification of categories and different periods in time to

Figure 2.4 – Seidel's QDA model: Noticing, collecting and thinking about interesting things.
Seidel's model to describe a simple foundation behind all forms of Qualitative Data Analysis. Redrawn from: "The data analysis process" (Seidel, 1998: 2).



which they relate. More evidence could be found through field research, the more connections and meaning could be established, hence enriching the 'puzzle' and widening possibilities for discovering meaning.

If the process initially developed as a reconstructive process, concerned with the graphic recovery of some of the Sanjo brand's visual elements found, such as former marks, graphic ornaments and type forms, it became clear that the most important aspect was the value of the fragment as being part of a whole. Not only because of what they show is there, but also because of what they show is missing. Through the fragment one can recognize the significance of the whole.

2.2.2 From reflections in action to the interpretation of events

There are different levels of reflection linking the awareness of learning in a design context and therefore to the performance of design practitioners (Figure 2.5).

To acknowledge this in the context of this practice-related research in design was particularly valuable.

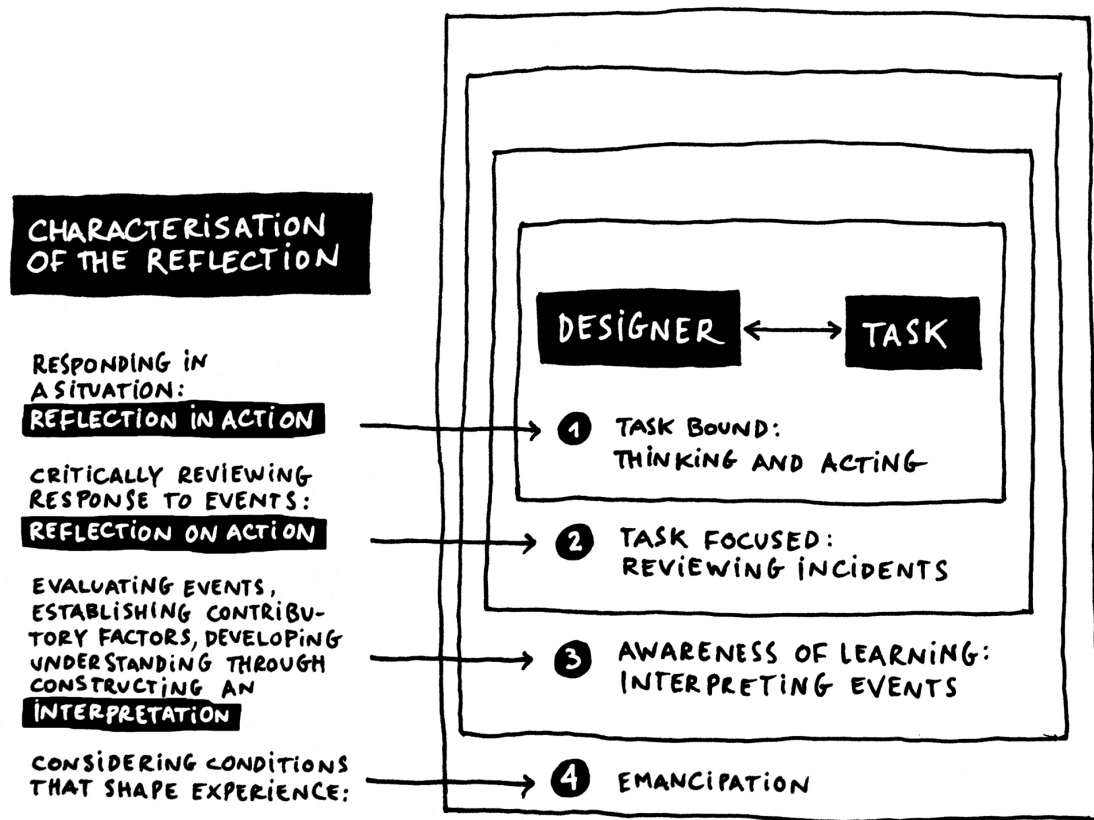
When you are going to make a story out of it you have to look at the record of the design process critically and that's what makes the difference ('M.' cited in McDonnell, Lloyd & Valkenburg, 2004: 522).

According to McDonnell et al. (2004: 512) “reflection is a kind of standing back, a mental action that distances a person from events so that they can be viewed in a more critical manner”. Reflection, they continue, is placed “as a vital mechanism in learning that operates at a number of different levels” (...) “according to whether we are responding to a situation as it unfolds or critically reviewing past events to make sense of what occurred” (2004: 509–13). Building up on Donald Schön's (1983) descriptions of ‘reflection-in-action’ and ‘reflection-on-action’, McDonnell et al. offer further insights for describing reflection at different levels in the contexts of design education, design practice, design process and design expertise. These include reflection in action, reflection on action, interpretation of events, and emancipation (Figure 2.5). Regarding the first three levels, I established a correspondence with three distinct phases of this research: data collection, data analysis, and reflection on the process of collection and analysis, and how they might lead to further developments beyond this research.

Level 1 — Reflections in action: reflecting while events occur. The first level of reflection involves thinking while doing, for example during the search for evidence about a case and the analysis of that evidence. It is “responding in a situation” (Figure 2.5–1). In the context of this research, it was the kind of reflection involved, for example, while data was being gathered: thinking while fragmented information about the Sanjo brand was being collected and visual materials were being produced, and thinking about how putting that information together so to make sense of it with regards to the brand's visual identity and its history. Here conclusions originate from the facts that the materials show.

Figure 2.5 – From reflections in action to the interpretation of events.

Redrawn from: "Reflection at different levels"
(McDonnell, Lloyd & Valkenburg, 2004: 513).



Level 2 — Reflection on action: reviewing events. The second level of reflection relates to reviewing events: thinking and reflecting about the doing. Reflecting, for example upon how the information was collected and was put together, how materials relate to each other, how it made sense and about the story it tells. On this level, conclusions refer back to the particular story or narrative that the gathered materials can say about the Sanjo case, and about how this was obtained through a process of collecting and analysis.

Level 3 — Interpretation of events: awareness of learning and abstract conceptualization. The third level is about the interpretation of events. It refers to how knowledge structures develop, thinking about generalizations. For example, reflecting on how the case studied and the process it originated may apply to a broader field of inquiry and may say about other cases.

The critical difference between level 2 and level 3, namely the moving from reviewing specific events to constructing interpretations that establish and give an account of the contributory factors, might be encouraged by story construction since a defining purpose of narrative is to explicate; to account for some set of experiences. (...) They [the stories] are both a powerful and an accessible means of sharing knowledge and their value and pervasiveness in conveying knowledge is well-recognized (McDonnell, Lloyd & Valkenburg, 2004: 513–14).

Level 4 — Emancipation. “Emancipatory goals are concerned with self-critique with a view to transformation” (2004: 518).

McDonnell et al. emphasize the “role of narrative in sense-making and in the creation and communication of knowledge” (2004: 513). The construction of narrative plays an important role in sense making, since “the making of a story requires the teller to go beyond passive reviewing of an experience to the construction of an interpretation of it”. The construction of a story requires however “a defining purpose of narrative to explicate”. To make further sense to others, they argue, connections between the story and what is canonical must be established. In the function of a story, like of the Sanjo brand, is to find a deviation from a canonical cultural pattern and make it comprehensible. Reflection is then enhanced when it is shared with others, so having a stated purpose for reflection, such as to acknowledge the cultural specific in this case, encourages it. However, having an opportunity for reflection “is not always sufficient to make it happen effectively” (2004: 516), something extra is needed. “For this we need some intellectual device such as a model or a theory” (2004: 514). Recognizing the concept of reflection at different levels was the crucial ‘model’ or ‘theory’ for a critical understanding of the processes involved in this design research. This helped to understand how the research evolved and what it has generated, and finally, it contributed to acknowledge the terms in which a narrative was constructed so to make sense to others and what it may say about other cases.

This was particularly noticeable during the various stages of this research, which developed since the collection of data about the Sanjo brand, discovery of relationships between different types of information, its analysis and interpretation, and construction of a narrative about the overall research as a journey of inquiry that is replicable.

2.2.3 Visual methodologies

Being aware of the various visual methodologies used in the social sciences to examine visual materials is beneficial to graphic designers involved with researching visual culture. Gillian Rose's introduction to visual methodologies (Rose, 2007) describes in the first instance the three major contexts of reference that visual images refer to. These are the sites of production, of image itself, and site of audiencing. Then she delves into thorough explanations of the various methods used for dealing with visual images in relation to these sites, and the research contexts in which they can serve the best.

This means that there are methodologies better equipped to respond to some research situations than others, depending on the amount and nature of the visual materials involved, ranging from photographs, paintings, advertisements, magazines and newspapers, films and others. But it also means that the adequacy of the methodological approaches depends on the context(s) of reference to which they relate, whether the sites of production, the image itself, the audience, or eventually any combination of these. According to Rose, the methods used to analyse the various types of visual materials include (2007: 31):

Compositional interpretation — *fine art paintings;*

Content analysis — *any sort of images when there are large numbers of them;*

Semiology — *advertising, fine art paintings;*

Psychoanalysis — *films;*

Discourse analysis I — *a wide range of still and moving images, including book illustrations, maps, photographs, paintings and cartoons;*

Discourse analysis II — *institutions that display visual images and objects, for example museums and art galleries;*

Audience studies — *television programmes;*

An anthropological approach — *photographs and fine art objects.*

However, each research case is unique so researchers, as well as designers, should be able to respond critically in methodological terms to the specificities of the problems they are dealing with, and using more than one method “clearly has benefits” (Rose, 2007: 261).

Within the design field, the articulation and adaptation of methods from the social sciences such as ethnography and visual methodologies is increasing both among design researchers (Sevaldson, 2010) and design practitioners (AIGA &

Cheskin, 2006). The combination of various methods “allows a richly detailed picture of images’ significance to be developed, and in particular it can shed interesting light on the contradictory meanings an image may articulate” (Rose, 2007: 260–61). Moreover, Rose continues, “making images (as well as studying them) as part of research into the workings of visual culture could be a very productive research strategy (...) to explore more fully the range of meanings invested in an image at its different sites”.

Ultimately, designers can develop their own approaches by drawing on specific aspects of different methodologies that better suit their research purposes, while improving or creating others, according to the specific nature of the data they are dealing with. This is what happened with this research. Despite the number of visual methodologies available to investigate visual culture, which Rose chiefly illustrates with relevant and thorough examples, there was still the need to develop one specific methodology to approach the subject of this research. This is because little attention has been given to the specific requirements for the analysis of brand visual identity in methodological terms. Further, the study of historical memory and the formation of local identities through looking at brand imagery also “points to [the] new avenues of investigation in design studies that engage contemporary debates around globalization and take advantage of the field’s transdisciplinary context” (Fiss, 2009: 3).

2.3 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH APPROACHES

Ethnography is a research strategy often used in the social sciences, such as in anthropology and sociology, also known as part of historical science that studies social and cultural formations, including material culture (Creswell, 2007). It is often employed for gathering empirical data, commonly through observation techniques and interviews, aimed at describing the nature of those who are studied in the form of writing.

Within ethnographic observation there is a large range of methodological techniques for collecting different kinds of information that are also related to identity constructions. According to Barnard & Spencer (2002: 550–51) “some exemplary methods” include archival documents, comparative analysis, extended case-study analysis, interviews, life-histories, social network analysis, and observation of life in natural settings, sampling, surveys, and tests.

Ethnography is a broad subject and it involves approaches and methods that are flexible enough to be adjusted along the research journey to the specificities of

the context in analysis. As Sarah Pink defines, “rather than a method for the collection of data, ethnography is a process of creating and representing knowledge (about society, culture and individuals) that is based on ethnographers’ own experiences”. Furthermore, “it does not claim to produce an objective or truthful account of reality, but should aim to offer versions of ethnographers’ experiences of reality that are as loyal as possible to the context (2007: 22).

I then suggest it is appropriate applying to the study of brand imagery, as well as it can combine other methods. For this research, industrial archaeology, visual ethnography and case study research methods formed the basis of an ethnographic approach upon which this research progressed. It required extensive fieldwork and looking at various sources of information over a long period of time.

Because there are different methodological applications (Creswell, 2007; Pink, 2007; Rose, 2007) I shall make clear the ethnographic methods used in this research were adapted in my own design terms, since “there is no blueprint for how to do fieldwork” and that it largely depends on the context of analysis, and for this reason “we have to construct our theories of how to do fieldwork in the field” (Josephides, 1997, cited in Pink, 2007: 5).

2.3.1 Industrial archaeology

Industrial archaeology is a term in use since the late 1950s to describe the archaeology of industrial production in iron and steam age, concerning the study of industrial material culture from the past. Aims at recording and understanding the remains of industrialization, including the production sites, its processes, and raw materials. Hudson (1983) suggested the term could be also applied to “the archaeology of the consumer society”, thus including the study of the social relationships between material culture and consumers across space and through time.

Palmer & Neaverson (1998: 1) define industrial archaeology as “the systematic study of structures and artefacts as a means of enlarging our understanding of the industrial past”. Although findings are usually presented chronologically, a new approach proposes industrial archaeology not chronologically constrained but culturally specific (Nevell, 2006). There archaeological evidence is drawn from industrial sites and buildings, material culture, and its relation to contemporary documents, photographic and oral evidence, to comment upon today by drawing from the recent past. However, within the field of industrial archaeology, the skills,

methods and sensibility of graphic designers are unlikely to be involved in processes of recording and examining the visual identity aspects of such industrial remains.

Merge of industrial archaeology and visual identity methods

The visual identity of companies, organizations and brands concern “the explicit management of all the ways in which they present themselves (or its products and services) through experiences and perceptions to all of its audiences” (Olins, 1995: xvii). The design programme is described by Olins as a methodological approach to visual identity constructions comprised of four major stages. In his terms, the “design audit” is the first stage of the process. It consists of knowing the organization’s history in detail, so to understand the ‘current state’ of its visual identity. This implies digging into the organization’s visual materials to gather all sorts of graphic designs applications in buildings, retailing spaces, advertisements, catalogues, packaging and labels, among other visual communication materials. This process often provides a wide variety of data for analysis, upon which an account of the various ways the organization presented itself throughout the years will be given. Its aims are assessing visual consistency issues, coherence and contradictions in the use of graphic elements, as finding periods of economical progress, transition or constraint. The amount, quality and diversity of the gathered visual elements will help to reflect on how organisational changes affected its visual identity. After the audit, the following stages concern developing a new visual identity system, its implementation and launch, and then, its monitoring and continuation. This means a new visual identity system will be produced, often bringing an effect of rupture with the past. Similar approaches are suggested by other authors (Mollerup, 1997; Chaves, 2010), which form the core activity of branding agencies.

The term “brand archaeology” (Lindstrom, 2006; Daye & Van Auken, 2008; Lost and Found, 2008) has been used in the fields of strategic branding, marketing, advertising and fashion. Across these fields, it refers to drawing on the past of companies historically rooted in the market as a competitive advantage of brands to perform in the market today. However, it is unclear how graphic design is involved and which methods are used.

For this research, brand archaeology is defined as bringing together principles of industrial archaeology in relation to visual identity, and the design audit drawn from ‘corporate identity’ programmes, involving the skills and sensibility of graphic

designers in the process of collecting and analysing found visual materials. The main aim is the retrieval and broad contextual understanding of a company's brand identity in historical and cultural terms, whether commercially available or not.

According to Olins, just a few ingredients are needed to develop a visual identity system: "the basic elements of identity are: name and subsidiary names, symbol, main typeface and subsidiary typefaces, and colours" (1995, Olins: 82). Explicit references to the brand graphic marks are usually visible in products and across printed materials such as in packaging, labels, and other promotional objects like stickers and postcards. Applications of marks often vary in scale, shape, graphic detail, and quality of printing, according to different series and periods of time.

As a starting point for the research to progress, the collection of data focused these basic elements. Altogether, the various representations of a brand's identity show how it changed across time, providing evidence of the various transformations a company or a brand went through its life span. However, the process of reconstructing the visual identity of a brand like Sanjo challenged this apparent simplicity.

The problem of "impermanency"

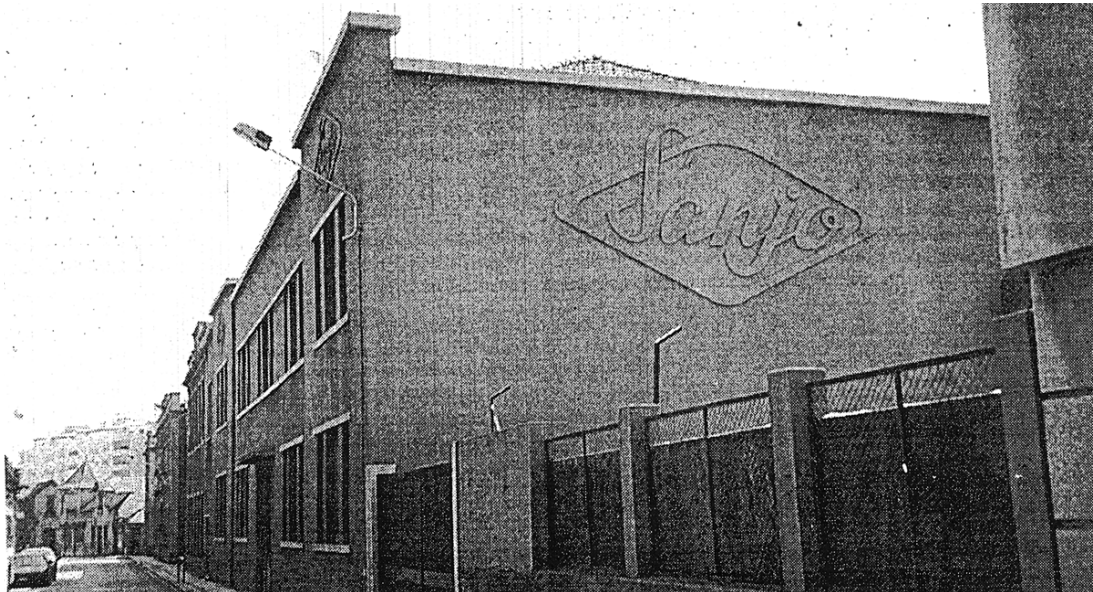
The process of knowing about a company or a brand that no longer extant requires a great deal of field work and can lead to unexpected results, either rewarding or disappointing. According to Hudson, the archeologist faces the problem of "impermanency" (1983: 7): when "one dies or become absorbed into a larger group, little mercy is likely to be shown to its records, its buildings or its equipment, no matter what their historical importance may be". This is particularly true with regards to consumer goods which stop being produced, are absorbed by other brands, or fall into oblivion.

A series of obstacles for researchers approaching industrial archaeology "is likely that a 20th century industrial or commercial concern will display these characteristics: it will not be in its original buildings; it will have either very poor records or, especially for its earlier history, none at all; it will have no written company history, apart from a few sketchy and often inaccurate notes" (Hudson, 1983: 9).

Regarding the Sanjo case, the closure of the company almost dictated the disappearance of its remains. A part of the building concerning the production of hats was rescued for the creation of a specific museum on this topic. However, the footwear section was dismantled, sold off and its building torn down (Figure 2.6).

Figure 2.6 – EIC building, 1996 and 2003.
Large-scale Sanjo mark designs were removed from the building's façades. **Top:** "O fim da Sanjo" (the end

of Sanjo). In: *O Regional*, November 1996, p.3, illus. **Bottom:** Construction of the Museu da Chapelaria (Hat Museum). Photograph: courtesy of Daniel Neto.



The visual research strategy and collection of visual data

Since industrial archaeology deals with evidence that is scarce and of a fragmentary nature, literally anything can be of considerable importance. To know more about the brand under study, the research strategy followed consisted of gathering and relating various sources of information.

However, if “most firms are willing to be cooperative with the industrial archaeologist—they will produce what they have in the way of records—and often apologize that there is so little” (Hudson, 1983: 9), in many cases like Sanjo the problem of impermanency can be a greater limitation. For example, the Sanjo brand was originally created and produced by a company that closed down over a decade ago. Otherwise, Hudson continues, the archaeologist would “allow the company to participate in the investigation in a constructive way” and at the same time would “give them an opportunity to put on their files historical material of which they would otherwise be ignorant” (1983: 9).

Therefore, other investigative strategies had to be explored. Considering the study is primarily concerned with locally specific brand imagery and it is visually driven, the main focus of attention was on visual materials. Much of the products, including packaging, advertisements and documents from the company started being collected as much as possible, through searching not only the former industrial site, but also in old shops, local newspapers and publications, and personal memorabilia.

Detailed observation for detecting differences and similarities on how such visual ‘codes’ were applied allowed establishing comparative analyses. This enabled discovering how and why the brand and its products changed and evolved. These refer to changes of the designs over decades, materials used, printing techniques and fabrication processes, and ways in which the brand was deliberately presented to the public or how changes happened by chance. Remaining evidence about the company and its social and economic impact in the region was found on location through systematic field trips amongst the city’s social and cultural structures. Fieldwork included visits to old shops, libraries, a local footwear production training centre, a sports club. It also included searching in the private sphere where some ephemera, publications and used products were found. Visits included informal conversations and interviews with older people that worked for the company, either as employees or CEO’s. Contacts made during the research provided the creation of a network of people somehow involved with the brand.

If the region proved to be a good source for finding evidence, the geographical coverage of the research went far beyond its limits. Field trips across the country were made every time an indication to find new evidence was obtained. These usually happened to be at shops where remaining stocks of original products were found and bought, in some cases over 30 years old, or in libraries where photographs and advertising from books or magazines could be scanned. These were also opportunities for interviewing people and to record them.

2.3.2 Visual anthropology and visual ethnography

Visual anthropology is mainly concerned with the study of the values, behaviour and language of a “culture-sharing group” (Creswell, 2007), either through participant observation, by becoming directly involved in the ongoing activities of the group, or through detached observation. It comprises a set of techniques that are visually driven, including recording observations through photography, film, and more recently, by exploring new media.

On another level, academics working in the domain of social anthropology, for example, are increasing the amount of fieldwork being carried out inside the domestic interior (Csíkszentmihályi & Rochberg-Halton, 1981; Miller, 2010). Miller, for example, stresses the interchange relationships between objects (consumer goods) and people (consumers, users, potential consumers/users), proposing new approaches to the debate concerning the visual and material culture.

Visual anthropology methods require researchers to spend a considerable amount of time, often several months or years among the members of that cultural group. Researchers may be required to engage in informal conversations, and to some extent to establish trustful relationships to gain access to some sorts of private information.

In other developments relating to the exploration of the visual in the social sciences, Pink (2007) started expanding the potential of photography, video and the new media in ethnographic research. The approach Pink suggests builds up on the notion of classic visual anthropology, since providing more flexible methods and approaches into the processes of collecting data, as well as adapting those methods to the study of the visual within new social structures. If classic visual anthropology known as such can be still connoted with the study of culture-shared groups, that usually were new to the classic anthropologist, for instance in early 20th century

studies (Bateson, 1972), Pink further explores the potential of photography, video and hypermedia in social and ethnographic research by acknowledging wider possibilities in methodological terms but also defending a critical understanding of the ethnographic field. The approach Pink suggests also takes into account the broader scope of contemporary fields of application, such as the domestic space, mobility of people, ethnographic research on-line, and the ability of people to dream and imagine.

Brand imagery as manifestations of culture

According to Ruby (1996: 1345) despite visual anthropology “may be conceptually wide-ranging”, in practice it is “dominated primarily by an interest in pictorial media as a means of communicating anthropological knowledge. That is, ethnographic films and photographs and, secondarily, the study of pictorial manifestations of culture”. In an attempt to merge visual anthropology methods and graphic design, as we shall see in the following chapters, brands and their related imagery provide vivid pictures with explicit details about cultural groups, which are a rich source for feeding research in the visual domain of locally specific brand identities.

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. Having access to photographs through talking to people provided a chance for getting closer portraits of the social relationships that an iconic brand like Sanjo established with former audiences. The term audience is defined here as referring to: users who used the brand’s products (e.g. children); people who paid for it (e.g. parents); potential consumers (e.g. people who wish could have had such items and to whom the Sanjos were objects of desire); stakeholders (e.g. CEOs); former employees; sellers and distributors.

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. These aimed at: surveying the various contexts in which the Sanjos have been used; knowing about peoples’ experiences and emotional engagement with the products and the brand; collecting their stories and assess the symbolic meaning the brand has to people. This provided the gathering of a variety of mixed information about the company, the brand, its products and its audiences across space and time.

Found family photographs

When asking former consumers about their memories of the brand, some positive answers later would turn into interviews, but getting access to family photographs was more difficult. In most cases people did not have or could find them. But the photographs accessed enabled finding complementary evidence such as missing links with regards to dates, geographic locations, contexts of use, or points of contrast between personal experiences.

Some participants did provide the research with family photographs. To accompany them, participants were asked to write small texts with factual information about the date, location, name of the persons in the photograph, why they were taken and by whom, in what circumstances, whether there was any particular reason for people wearing the product, and what they meant to them (Figure 2.7). Family photographs could then help inform the research in several ways:

- By providing contextual information and evidence about space and time, crucial in some cases for determining dates, versions of the products in use and for proving locations, as in the Portuguese colonies;
- Function as mnemonic tools, as triggers for enabling people's memories to become more vivid when talking on their experiences about the brand;
- Helping to explain how people related to the brand, and to being more explicit about the histories and the symbolic meanings behind;
- Since most photographs contain life histories relating to past experiences, ultimately, these can either be good or bad. In the case of Sanjo, it happens that people's memories often refer to happy moments, leading most participants to recall joyful experiences in life.

Strokes of serendipity

As Sarah Pink enlightens “uses of the visual in ethnography are either planned or (like many moments in ethnography) serendipitous” (2007, p.9). Although field research was planned and various sources of information were identified in order to be explored, a great deal of data was found in unpredicted circumstances. This means that planning field research is as important as to be aware of the unexpected, and that some opportunities are likely to be unique. It happened with people I met by chance during field trips, whose help enabled discover parts of a wider network

Figure 2.7 – Found family photographs.

Clockwise, top to bottom: *Fernando Sampaio Sousa, Mozambique, 1969; Maurício Guimarães, S. João da Madeira, circa 1970s; Francisco Cardoso Lima, Gerês, circa 1980s. Photographs courtesy of: Carina Kong & Fernando Sampaio Sousa, Liliana Guimarães & Maurício Guimarães, and Francisco Cardoso Lima.*



Figure 2.8 – Fond memories, London 2009.
Charlie Rose lived his youth in Lisbon, in the 1950s. He could remember his Sanjos at “a time full of joy and wonder”. Photograph: author’s collection.



Figure 2.9 – Mozambique, 1972.
“Seleção Escola Vasco da Gama, Maristas 1972.jpg” (Vasco da Gama, Maristas college team) [Online image]. Available from: <http://delagoabay.wordpress.com/category/1920-anos/> [Accessed 22 March 2012].



of people and objects that intersect and complement (Figure 2.8).

A list of people and places to visit was made, which served as a starting point for the field research. From there on, some of these contacts led to the discovery of others, thus expanding the network of people as well as increasing the range of information sources (see Appendix D).

Digital sources and new media

Digital social networks also provided alternative research means for retrieving anthropological information. In relation to use of the new media, detached observation enabled finding people’s natural reactions about Sanjo on the Internet. Many were from younger generations who were excited about the brand but barely had heard about it before, whereas older people’s reactions would vary between excite-

ment for the revival and disappointment because of the fact they were made in China and their poor quality with regards to the original Sanjos.

This research observed the creation of 'weblogs' on the Internet and profiles on 'Facebook' about Sanjo and followed them closely. Numbers say about the popularity of the brand today¹. A great number of images relating to the brand have been put online, but most refer to the 'new' Sanjos made in China. From the hundreds of images available today just a very few depict the original Sanjos.

Nevertheless, it was possible to find people online available to contribute to the research with information otherwise almost impossible to get. In addition, there were found 'weblogs' dedicated to how was life in the former Portuguese colonies, which provided this research with rich visual material (Figure 2.9).

Informal conversations and unstructured interviews

Informal conversations and unstructured interviews took place in occasional or unexpected circumstances, although these often occurred during planned field research trips. For the purpose of finding either physical or oral evidence, field research trips consisted of two different approaches. One was about visiting people and locations as soon as there were signs of obtaining information. The other was about doing regular visits to the city where the brand use to be produced and to shoe shops, so to find people available to share their stories. Recordings varied from field notes to audio and audiovisual recordings.

Through talking to different people it was possible to find the brand has different levels of meaning and means different things to different people. A dominant feeling was that the brand was perceived as having a positive 'aura' and people could associate it with good memories or good feelings. Another reason for positive connotations was the sense of place. In the region of the former industrial site, local people were proud the brand had been both created and the shoes produced there. A similar impression was possible to get at a national level.

¹ From the various profiles of Sanjo created on Facebook only 'The Original Sanjo' is officially supported by the brand. In December 2010 the profile 'Sapatilhas Sanjo' had 687 friends on Facebook (www.facebook.com/Sanjolovers), 'Sanjo' had 1,314 friends (www.facebook.com/Sanjopt), and 'The Original Sanjo' had 2,484 friends (www.facebook.com/pages/The-Original-Sanjo/108928132477566). In February 2012 'Sanjo Lovers' had 719 friends, 'Sanjo' had 2,156 friends, and 'The Original Sanjo' had 6,288 friends. In April 2012 'The Original Sanjo' had 8,776 friends.

2.3.3 Case study research

Case study research is a qualitative approach in which the investigator explores a bounded system (a case) or multiple bound systems (cases) over time, through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information (e.g. observations, interviews, audiovisual material, and documents and reports), and reports a case description and case-based themes (Creswell, 2007).

Considering the broad and qualitative nature of visual identity, case study research was an appropriate method to consider approaching a brand since it dealt with various sources of information holistically. From retrieving new data to ways of organizing previous findings towards presenting a case, various sources of information can be put together in order to construct a narrative for bringing up historical picture.

Multiple sources of evidence

In case study research, evidence is the primary concern. In fact, various sources of information are necessary. “The data collection in case study research is typically extensive, drawing on multiple sources of information, such as observations, interviews, documents, and audiovisual materials” (Creswell, 2007, p.73). Authors agree in recommending the following types of information to collect: documents, archival records, interviews, participant and direct or ‘detached’ observations, and physical artefacts (Gillham, 2000; Yin, 2003; Creswell, 2007). The use of multiple sources of evidence “allows an investigator to address a broader range of historical and behavioural issues” (Yin, 2009, p.114).

According to Gillham (2000, p.32) case study research is “very much like detective work”. “All evidence is of some use to the case study researcher: nothing is turned away”, “everything is weighed and sifted; and checked or corroborated”. However, if the use of such varied evidence is a major strength of case study data collection, this also may represent a major difficulty precisely due to extension and variety. The tendency is to accumulate evidence and it can get easily untidy and difficult to access. “The need to use multiple sources of evidence far exceeds that in other methods, such as experiments, surveys or histories” (Yin, 2009, p.114–15) and this will require the creation and maintenance of a case study database to sorting out types of evidence from various sources.

2.4 GRAPHIC SURGERY: A PROCESS FOR RESCUING A BRAND'S IDENTITY

Graphic surgery is the term I coined to name a graphic design process which was developed in the context of the present research. It is a visual approach concerning the assembling of the images collected through field research, which in turn aims at reconstructing visual identity (here of the Sanjo brand) (Figure 2.10).

As a graphic design process, the purpose of graphic surgery is to enable the recovery, reconstruction and visual analysis of heritage brand identity. In this case, the rescuing of iconic designs from the Sanjo brand identity through retrieving historical evidence. It is worth situating graphic surgery as a visual method that is complementary to graphic design techniques in relation to a brands' contextual history. At its best, such a method would facilitate visual analysis by making it possible to establish various relationships between the visual elements of a brand, such as through chronological sequencing and grouping of visual elements. Establishing relationships between elements make consistencies and disruptions in brand identity visible, as this allows us to associate visual phenomena with dates and events. Thus this process contributes to a better understanding of how and why brand designs evolved in a certain way.

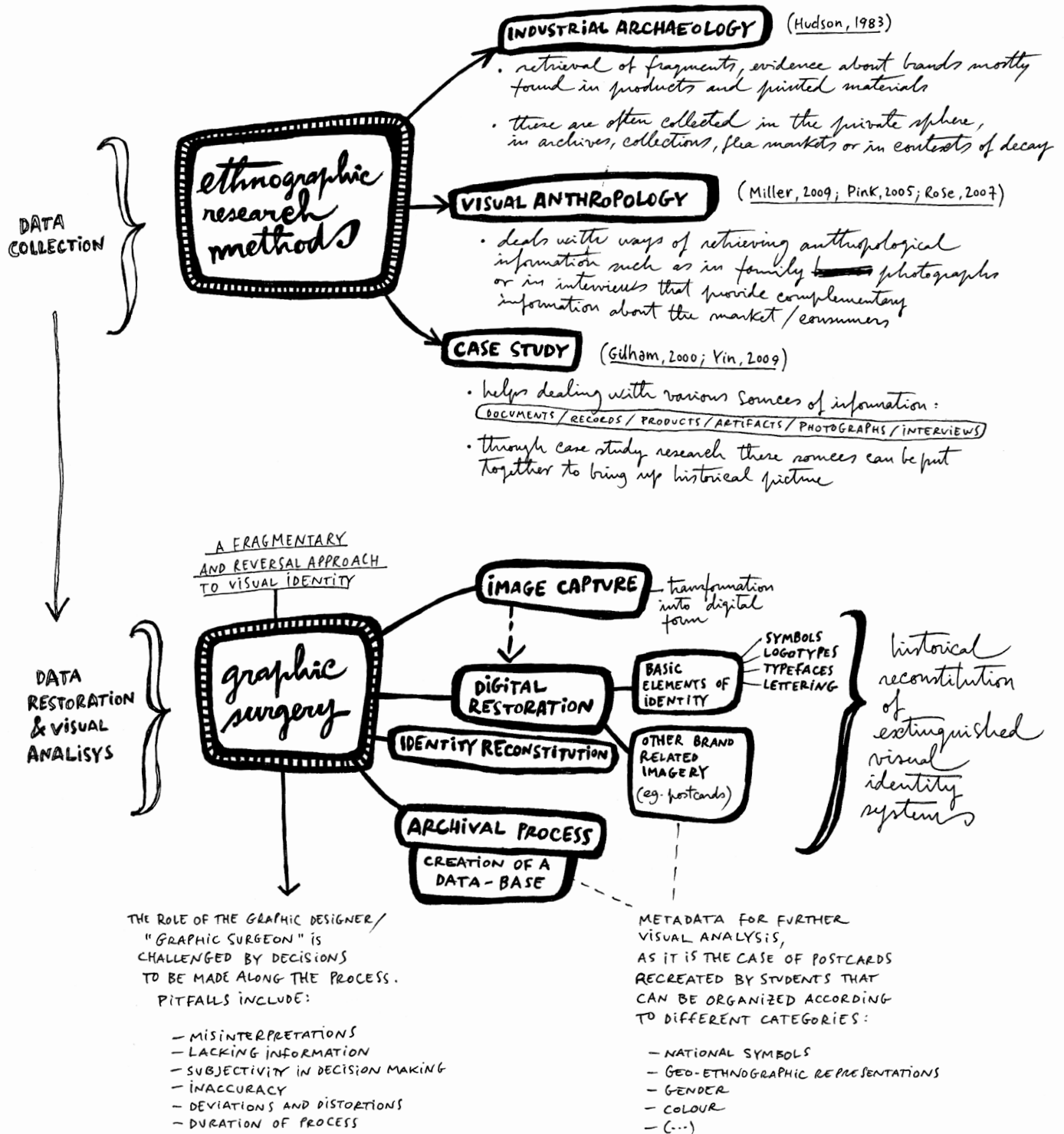
The term graphic surgery has been used already in the context of design¹ and of medical² practices but there it was given different meanings. Hence this section describes the basic ideas and techniques from which graphic surgery emerged and continues to evolve in the terms of this research project. It started developing as a way of restoring images and "decoding" (McDermott, 2007: 120) brand identity. The purpose was to create a digital archive, in the sense of creating a territory from which the gathered visual data could be accessed, so to widen possibilities for exploring brand identity. The construction of the archive led to creating such a territory, and together with the process, it led to the development of a 'system' for rescuing a brand's identity, to enable its visual and contextual analysis, and allow its exploration from a design perspective.

There are many ways of exploring, relating and interpreting data in an archive. According to Cummings & Lewandowska (2006: 150) its constituents and

1 <http://www.graphicsurgery.co.uk> [Accessed 2 February 2011]; <http://www.urbanartcore.eu/geometrical-graffiti-graphic-surgery/> [Accessed 2 February 2011].

2 <http://www.graphicsurgery.com/employer/design.html> [Accessed 2 February 2011].

Figure 2.10 – Ethnographic research and graphic surgery.
Diagrammatic view, early developments.



meanings are “up-for-grabs” so there is no need to impose a single narrative or interpretation. Thus, it is possible that the most important aspect in the construction of a brand’s archive resides in the possibilities it offers as a “relational mapping tool” (Cummings, 2010 b). But an archive needs to be built first so that any interpretation can be made. Hence this section aims at explaining how a digital archive developed, how it differs from its analogue counterpart and is complementary to it, and also how it originated a means for decoding a brand’s identity. According to McDermott (2007: 120), “in design terms it [decoding] is used to describe the ideas of deconstruction, attempting to reveal the complex layers of meaning hidden in any image”. Approaches include applying the “methods of semiotics and post-Freudian analysis to analyse and interpret graphic design. Decoding is widely used in design discourse to signal that designed objects have complex meanings that function on different levels”.

For this thesis, although it was not a linear process, graphic surgery developed through unfolding stages. Similarly to the foundations behind Seidel’s model, I discovered that the terms in which graphic surgery was developing were closely related to a process of “noticing, collecting, and thinking about things”. Just as the archive is a territory in evolution, so too the process became clearer as new evidence was found and connections between elements established.

The process of noticing occurrences and difference between visual elements of the Sanjo identity lead to thinking further about the relationships between those elements and to the discovery of new things. The reconstruction and mapping of the elements I found helped not only in establishing relationships between them but it also helped in identifying groups of information and their relationship with time.

If in graphic surgery the most important aspect was recovering fragments of brand identity, in visual analysis the value of the fragment is in being part of a whole. Through the fragment one may recognize the significance of the whole. In this case, fragments are visual elements whereas the whole is the brand’s identity.

2.4.1 Basic elements of brand identity

According to Mollerup (1997: 46) “the part of a company’s corporate identity that is visual is generally referred to as visual identity. Every company has one, whether the members of the company think about it or not. Some companies carefully

create and sustain their visual identity, while others neglect it”. Both corporate and brand identities are constructed upon “a number of basic elements and a number of rules for their application”, of which “the most usual basic elements” can be seen in any brand (Figure 2.11).

There is a close link between corporate identity—more correctly defined as organisational identity (Olins, 1995: xviii)—and branding. Both relate to graphic design methods and to the construction and control of visual identity systems. One on the organisational level and the other on the product level (Mollerup, 1997: 45). To put it simply, organisational identity concerns the construction of visual identity for corporate businesses and activities between organizations, whereas branding is the same thing applied to products and services. The ultimate goal of visual identity is differentiation. It is how products, services and organizations stand out as ‘different’ from each other. In the case of Sanjo, the trademark does not denote a company, but a class of products made by a company formerly known as Empresa Industrial de Chapalaria. In Mollerup’s terms, Sanjo is a brand:

When trademarks are applied to a product or a class of products they are sometimes called ‘brands’. In effect, a brand is more than the visual trademark. A brand is a product (or class of products) including its trademark, its brand name, its reputation and the atmosphere built around it. When we talk about a brand we talk about verbal, visual and conceptual aspects of product identity (Mollerup, 1997: 56).

If mark designs play a major role as points of entrance to the imagery of brands, the use of typefaces are no less relevant with respect to differentiation. Its contemporary use links to present day choices predetermined by the computerization of things and blending options. Images in Figure 2.11 show that there is a shift in approaching the Sanjo brand name, which moved from a specific lettering (top left) to a computer standard typeface (bottom right).

2.4.2 Graphic surgery: procedure

Therefore the basic elements of visual identity form the core ‘ingredients’ upon which the visual analysis of brand identity can be made. In this case, conversely to what usually happens when designing for companies, the way of thinking about such elements and the number of rules for their application in the context of rescuing is the opposite of the “design programmes” aiming the constructing of visual identity

systems as suggested by Olins (1995: 10) and Mollerup (1997: 45). Hence it is rather about acknowledging the existence of such elements across a brand's existence and retrieving them from former communication supports. This aims to expose hidden internal assumptions and contradictions, through a process of deconstruction—or decoding—of what there is there already. This enables interpreting a visual identity system and the rules upon which the basic elements were applied in the past. Like in the work of a detective, these elements are crucial evidence to trace back how a visual identity system was created, what it involved, and how it evolved. Ultimately, the basic elements of identity unlock a means for understanding a brand and its reputation, the atmosphere built around it, the visual and conceptual aspects of product identity, the terms in which they are different, and its overall contextual frame of reference.

Figure 2.11 – The basic elements of the Sanjo visual identity in different periods.

Letter mark, typefaces and colours used across time and how they changed throughout the various stages of the brand. Clockwise from top left: circa 1970s, 1988, 1990 and 2010.



Image capture

Objects and images of different size and shape were collected through this research. On the one hand, the materials retrieved include rare physical objects such as a collection of shoes, their packaging, printed materials and documents. On the other hand digital records of all of the evidence found were produced. Whilst the collected objects contribute to the construction of a physical archive that is unique for analysis, its digital counterpart is easier to store, access, print, display and manipulate. A digital archive allows data to be sorted in multiple ways, for example by isolating graphic elements from composite images (e.g. letter marks, picture marks, and lettering). Such immaterial archive also enables, for example, images to be organized in chronological sequence or in groups of categories (e.g. comprising of representations of products, communications, places and people). Capturing instances related to the basic elements of visual identity was the starting point for a better understanding of the bigger picture and getting a broader view of the brand's imagery.

Digitisation of evidence

Techniques and tools that are commonly used by graphic designers were used throughout the process of recording visual data. Most of these tools are nowadays accessible to anybody, including digital cameras for recording still images, video cameras for capturing moving images, dictating machines for recording conversations and interviews, and flatbed scanners for digitising flat objects in high resolution such as family photographs, documents and other printed materials. In some cases, even making a photocopy can be surprisingly useful for recording evidence.

Moreover, most of these tools and techniques are quite similar to those recommended by experts for the digitisation of collections and archives in museums and institutions. With regards to this matter, there is comprehensive literature available online, which provides useful information on how to deal with the subject's complexities (Foni, Papagiannakis & Magnenat-Thalmann, 2010; JISC Digital Media, 2011; McKenna & Patsatzi, 2011; MLA Renaissance East Midlands, n.d.). It worth noting that the materials collected for this project are of museum quality and therefore they need to be considered as such.

Photographs as records

Despite the variety of recording tools available today, digital photography was key to for recording much of the evidence that it was not possible to record in another way, for example shoes, people and places. Most of the people who agreed to be interviewed and some other people holding physical evidence related to Sanjo were photographed in their natural environment. Most of the locations visited were also photographed, including the shops where shoes were found. Indeed, a significant part of the gathered evidence was photographed to complement other digital means of recording it. Throughout the research one major concern was in recording all evidence possible and storing it, regardless of how to make sense of it, as long as it was evidence of the Sanjo broader imagery. Photography became useful in several ways. In some cases there were things in objects easy to notice but difficult to scan, whereas others only become perceptible and meaningful at a later stage due to observing the photographs countless times. I often discovered new things about some 'pieces of the puzzle' long after they were photographed.

For example, this was the case of a pair of shoes photographed previously that had the company's mark embossed on the side next to the Sanjo name. The mark was rather difficult to visualise and its design almost impossible to recreate. As the gathering of evidence progressed, other materials were found showing that particular mark in a clearer form, the mark on the shoe became easier to decipher. Gradually, it became possible to understand the structure of the mark's design. I found it first on the side of that shoe, then printed on the insole of other shoes, and finally clearly visible in official documents of EIC. Once the design could be seen clearly, it became possible to replicate it accurately (Figure 2.12). The significance of the mark's presence on the indecipherable parts of the 'puzzle' is in piecing together historical evidence of brand development chronologically, including about product design, graphic 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.

Other sorts of photographs were collected for the archive and analysis, although the quality is very limited in many cases. Some of these are images found on the Internet, for instance in weblogs where people uploaded them to illustrate their memories as former users of the Sanjos. In some cases their stories are relevant to the contextual history of the brand because they are fragments of particular nar-

Figure 2.12 – Marks of the ‘Empresa Industrial de Chapalaria’.

Left to right, top to bottom: embossed on leather, printed on a textile insole, and on a company’s headed

paper and postcard. The mark was noticed on a shoe first, but it was only possible to identify and retrieve the design unambiguously, retrospectively after finding it on a larger scale elsewhere.



ratives of a social, cultural and political nature. Images collected show the shoes, or people wearing them, in various contexts ranging from sports, military, or in moments of ordinary life. In any case, the layers of meaning that images reveal need to be noted, often providing rich information about the various contexts of use of the brand at different times, including contrasting social relationships between similar products and different people. In one case for example, images show the shoes being worn by pupils at the Military College (Figure 2.13). In another example, according to the author of a photograph taken in 2005, “the shoes belonged to a couple of drug addicts, whose drying hanger could be seen through my window” in a neighbourhood in Lisbon. “But in the meantime”—she continues when asked to provide further information about the owners of the shoes—“they died” (Rosa Pomar, personal communication on Facebook, 4 August 2010) (Figure 2.14).

Figure 2.13 – At the Military College in Lisbon, 1975.
*The Sanjos worn by pupils on the night of ‘Speliking’,
 a traditional exercise of the 7th grade at the Military
 College in Lisbon.*

“Na noite do Speliking” [Online image]. Available
 from: < [http://defreitas.blog.co.uk/2006/03/18/
 speliking~633572/](http://defreitas.blog.co.uk/2006/03/18/speliking~633572/) > [Accessed 5 May 2010].



Figure 2.14 – D(r)ying Sanjos, 2005.

“Obras em casa, dia dois” (refurbishing home, day two)
 [Online image]. Available from: [http://aervilhacorderosa.
 com/2005/06/obras-em-casa-dia-dois/#comments](http://aervilhacorderosa.com/2005/06/obras-em-casa-dia-dois/#comments)
 [Accessed 5 May 2010].

Scanned images

Although many objects, places and people could not be captured in good quality images, it was possible to capture many other objects in higher definition where details can be clearly seen. High-resolution scans of documents, labels on packaging and other flat objects were possible to make. Scanned images provided a source of visual information from which not the basic elements of identity could be extracted. In addition, composite images such as old family photographs and documents from different owners could be digitised and added to the archive. Although scanning images is a relatively straightforward process, the activity of scanning itself often provided the opportunity for noticing new things in the objects being scanned. Handling materials again and again often led to discovery.

Black and white photocopy

Traditional photocopy may fall out of our current understanding of digital tools, especially black and white mechanical photocopiers. However, this was another useful way for recording evidence. In some cases it was the most effective means, or even the only means available. It happened for example with advertisements in newspapers found at a local library (Figure 2.15), and with photocopied publications where originals could not be retrieved. All photocopies containing unique data for analysis were scanned in high resolution and in some cases the images retouched.

The connection that black and white photocopies establish with several aspects of the work is also interesting, particularly with black and white laser prints of marks and typefaces produced from the digital archive. In terms of graphic design and legibility, both photocopies and laser prints show how effectively a mark responds to visual identity requirements. According to Mollerup (1997), among other features he describes for a mark to be effective in terms of identification and recognition, a trademark has to be simple and clearly legible in black and white first before introducing colour. It has to be legible in smaller and larger scales, as it should accommodate being printed, embossed or moulded in various surfaces without affecting legibility. We have seen above in relation to the mark of the Empresa Industrial de Chapalaria on the side of a shoe (see Figure 2.12), the complexity of the design lost legibility when scale was reduced, when printed on textiles, and when embossed on leather.

Figure 2.15 – Joanino Hats and Sanjo footwear.
Chapéus Joanino e calçado Sanjo (1964) O Regional,
11 July, p. 105, illus.



Digital restoration

After obtaining images I viewed them repeatedly. Some revealed themselves to be more interesting than others depending on the layers of meaning of each image, of the graphic signs they represented, and of the possible links that could be established with other images. Many became relevant due to showing different designs from others previously collected, or because they had been found with better detail, therefore deepening the study or enhancing its quality.

However, some images needed to be improved digitally so that the definition of marks, symbols or lettering could be improved too. This happened because the quality of the prints in the original source was low or was too small, or because there were flaws in the image and hence in the graphic designs. There were also images collected in digital format, for example from the Internet, where the resolution was low. So I tried to increase the image quality often up-sizing its scale and resolution, so that the contours of the marks, symbols or lettering could be improve. When found in colours, the basic elements were copied digitally and converted into grey scale versions. Thereafter they were given contrast before being converted into black and white images. The various marks found of the Sanjo brand were then extracted from original images in order to be used separately, as individual graphic elements. In the images whose originals had better resolution, the designs were extracted with better definition too. On this matter, Renaissance East Midlands (n.d.) offer valuable insights.

Image editing software available today allow the process of digital restoration to be relatively easy, without it becoming apparent that there has been a recovery intervention. The dirt can be removed to make cleaner images, colours can be re-established, and so on. However, although it is possible to improve images I was interested in keeping the inaccuracies of the original printings, so to preserve the characteristics of graphic designs and the respective reproduction features. This was the case with several images I found either in packaging, in printed documents or on the Internet. One example is a scan of a label in a box of Sanjo shoes containing what is possibly the oldest mark of the brand, along with information about the product inside and about the company. It was possible from that image to extract the mark for producing a high definition digital version of the original design, while preserving its character, particularly when reproduced in a larger scale (Figure 2.16).

The aim of the digital restoration was to improve the properties of images, so as to preserve the characteristics of the original designs, recreating them from their

purest form, i.e. drawings of the mark in black and white. From the moment that the mark is contrasted, we gain access to the structural design from which it is then easier to explore, for instance, in terms of colour, scale and reproduction.

This process may seem rather obvious and simplistic even to novice graphic designers, but there are examples that show it might be not common practice. Iconic designs can be severely distorted depending on the graphic quality of the sources available, as well as on the accuracy of the graphic intervention and previous knowledge of the original designs. Whether intentionally or not, this happened with the Sanjo brand revival in 2008, either because the original designs available at the time lacked in quality or because the designers involved were unfamiliar with the brand. In any case, it is visible that there was a progressive distortion of the mark from series to series, as well as of the format where it has been applied (Figure 2.17).

Figure 2.16 – Digital restoration.

Process sequence: digitising, editing and extraction of the oldest Sanjo mark design. Author's collection (original size of mark design 3,1×6,1cm).

Bottom: Enlarged scale of the graphic recovery of the mark design. It not only respects the original drawing but it also preserves printing flaws.



Figure 2.17 – Distortion of the Sanjo mark over time.

Top row: progression of how the former mark design distorted throughout its application in products due to graphic misinterpretation.

Left to right: circa 1970s, 1997 and 2008.

Bottom: Distorted mark on a shoe box, 2008
(compare with recovered mark in Figure 2.16).



In this research, in order to present the different marks uniformly it was necessary to recover and retouch some of them. In some cases they were very small, in others it was difficult to perceive or extract the structural designs with rigour, because, for example the paper they were printed on was cracked. Regardless of the variety of the versions that were found (Figure 2.18), in all cases the original qualities of the designs were kept as much as possible. In some cases the designs differ in minor details, for example, lettering has a detail that does not exist in any of others, or the mark design was modified to be applied in a different material (e.g. cloth, rubber, leather). However, all the marks presented here are different from each other, and are representative of the various versions used over six decades (circa the 1940s to 2009). They contain information in relation to the others, including print-

ing dates, that enriched the overall understanding of how the brand and the mark designs evolved chronologically (Figure 2.19).

2.4.3 Chronological tables

After collecting fragments of the brand's identity, after digitising and restoring them graphically, the next step was to relate them to each other. But again, I would stress that the process was not as linear as it seems from its description. Though there is a logical order between the different stages of a brand, they often overlapped and their understanding changed as the research progressed. It was a process of going back and forth between field research, finding new evidence, digitising findings, reconstructing graphic elements, and discovering new things about them, just as Seidel (1998) suggests.

An example to illustrate this is the case of changes in corporate image and brand identity. The discovery of a document celebrating the centenary (1891–1991) of the origins of the company (Sanjo, 1991) led to the belief that one of the Sanjo mark designs could have been created and launched at the time (1991). A report carried out by a law firm on the legal registration of the Sanjo mark (Iglésias, 2010; see also Appendix D), shows that the brand was licensed to another company, Oliva, on 30 November 1990. Another piece of evidence, hand-dated packaging, indicates that the mark was already in circulation on 17 October 1990 (Figure 2.20). This collection of evidence is not conclusive about the precise date when the brand identity changed nor about the reasons why it changed. However, this shows two things. One relates to the circumstances in which change has occurred, it was a period of organisational transformation so it is likely that the brand identity changed too. The other illustrates the sort of detective work needed to trace back how the brand identity changed, there are parallels to forensic investigation, or to the idea of “montaging” in Benjamin's terms (Leslie, 2007: 62).

The collection, gathering, and processing of fragments contributed to the analysis of the mark within a broader perspective. Fragments of corporate and brand identity function as the pieces of a puzzle, suggesting relationships to be established, so as to help in the reconstitution of the mark and its historical trajectory. Among the various relationships, the most obvious is perhaps that of chronological sequence. However, sorting marks by dates was a challenging and time consuming task because it was difficult to know how many versions there were, let alone deter-

Figure 2.18 – Various versions of Sanjo mark designs.

Left to right, top to bottom: Photographs and scans of the various Sanjo mark designs found in advertisements, newspapers, magazines, shoe boxes, labels in packaging, labels in shoes, postcards, product catalogue, sticker and in the brand's website.

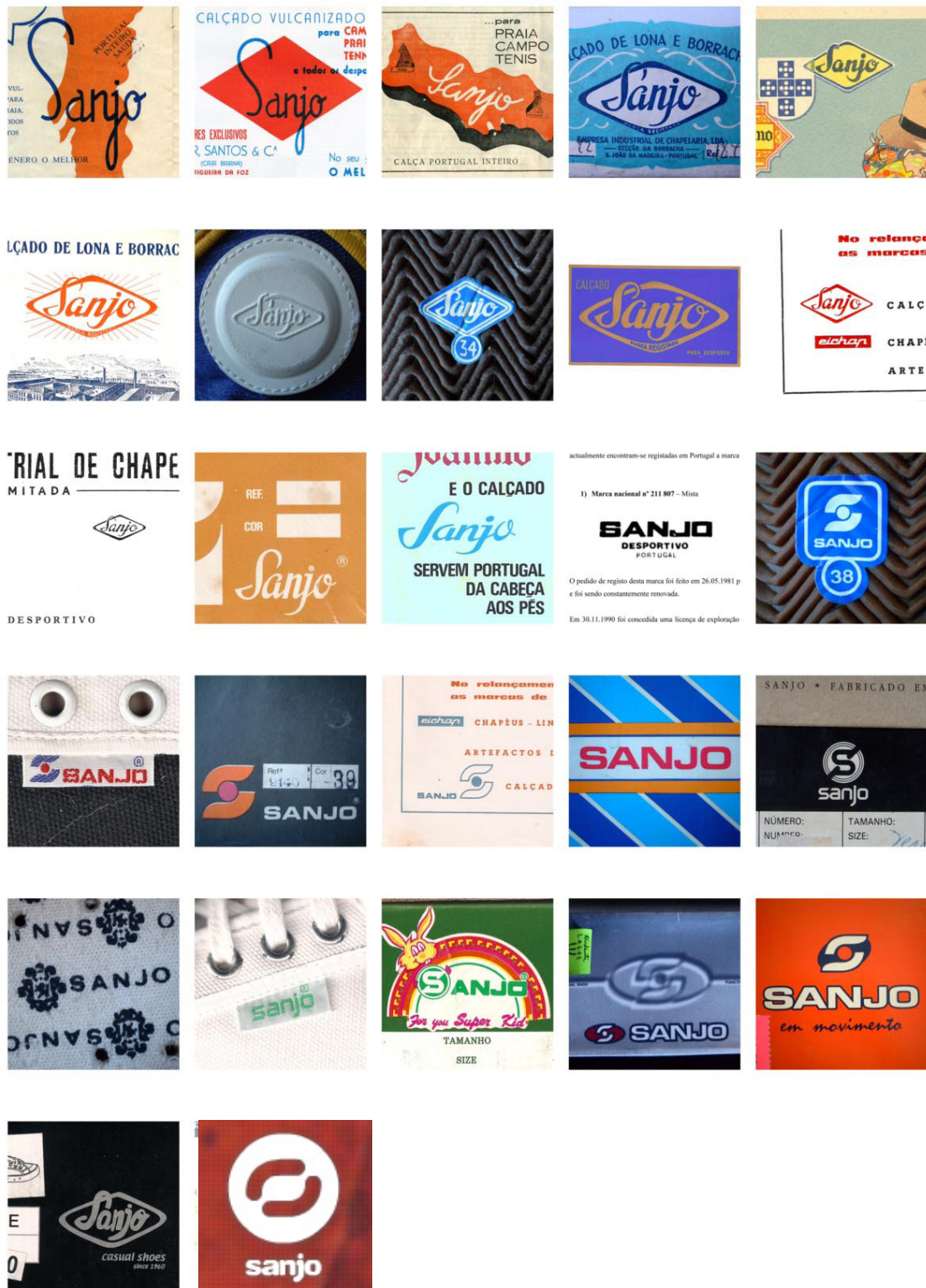


Figure 2.19 – Processed versions of Sanjo mark designs.
Left to right, top to bottom: The various marks were isolated from former composite images (Figure 2.13) and converted into black and white graphic forms, here displayed in chronological sequence.



mine their dates accurately. Because not all documents from which drawings were extracted were dated, I had to resort to other information. I had to search for dates in products, photos, documents, interviews and dates of events that occurred in the company, such as changes in administration, so get approximate dates. Despite this, I could not determine the date of creation of some of the older designs.

The approximate sequencing of marks was an important achievement for the analysis not only because they are the main graphic elements of a brand's identity, but mostly because they triggered further questions and helped identifying gaps. The marks found were placed side by side in chronological sequence. Although the process progressed slowly, further data were added as it they were found (Figure 2.21).

At the initial stage, to map historical progression by examining marks in shoes and in their respective packaging, a series of preliminary charts were produced (Figures 2.22 and 2.23). The various marks found on each shoe were counted and recorded. Further on in the process, it was possible to get a fairly accurate number of how many versions existed, to say approximately when they were first introduced, and to identify the various periods (and their lengths) that the brand went through (Figure 2.24).

Figure 2.20 – Triangulation of data.

Approximate dates of mark designs were possible to determine by cross comparison of information retrieved from a variety of different sources.

Left to right: *Company's centennial brochure, report on the dates of legal registration of the brand in Portugal produced by a law firm, and shoe box.*

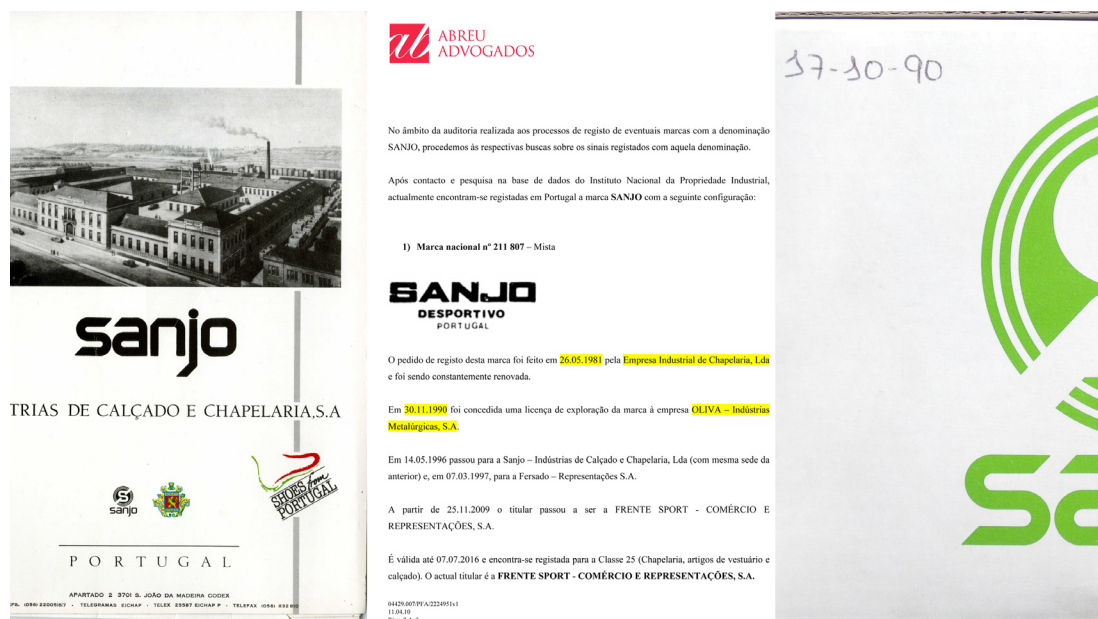


Figure 2.21 – Stages of the brand.

Chronological sequence of the various Sanjo marks used across decades.

From A to D: These tables chart how the process of constructing a chronological table progressed as new data were found. Red lines indicate the end of the former owner of the brand (B), whereas the yellow lines

indicate changes in administration (C and D). These changes coincide with changes in mark designs, which in turn appear replicated in cycles (grey lines in D). Combined, yellow and red lines indicate the 5 stages of the Sanjo brand (grey bars in D). D also shows cycles in the use of the original versions, as well as disruptions in their use.

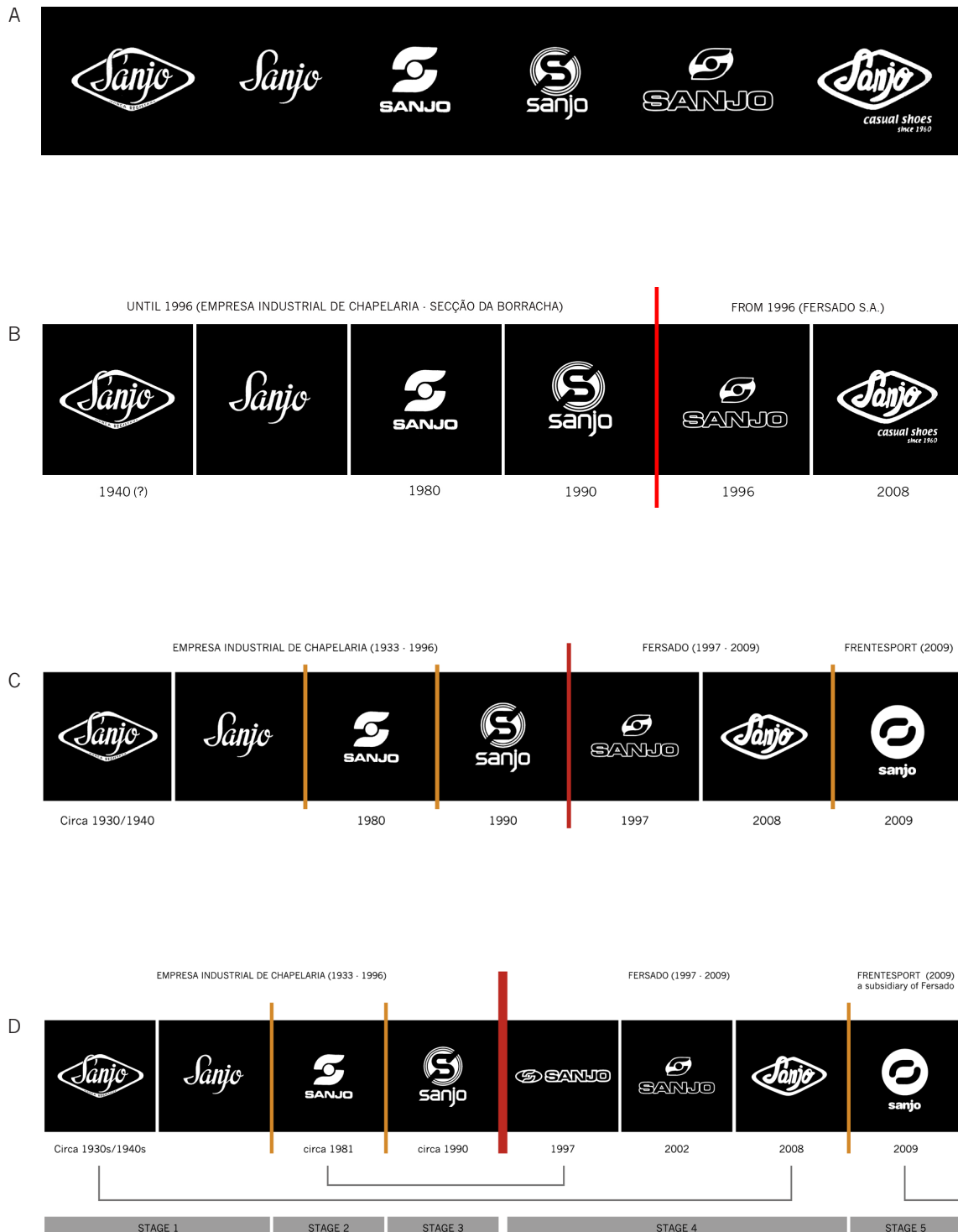


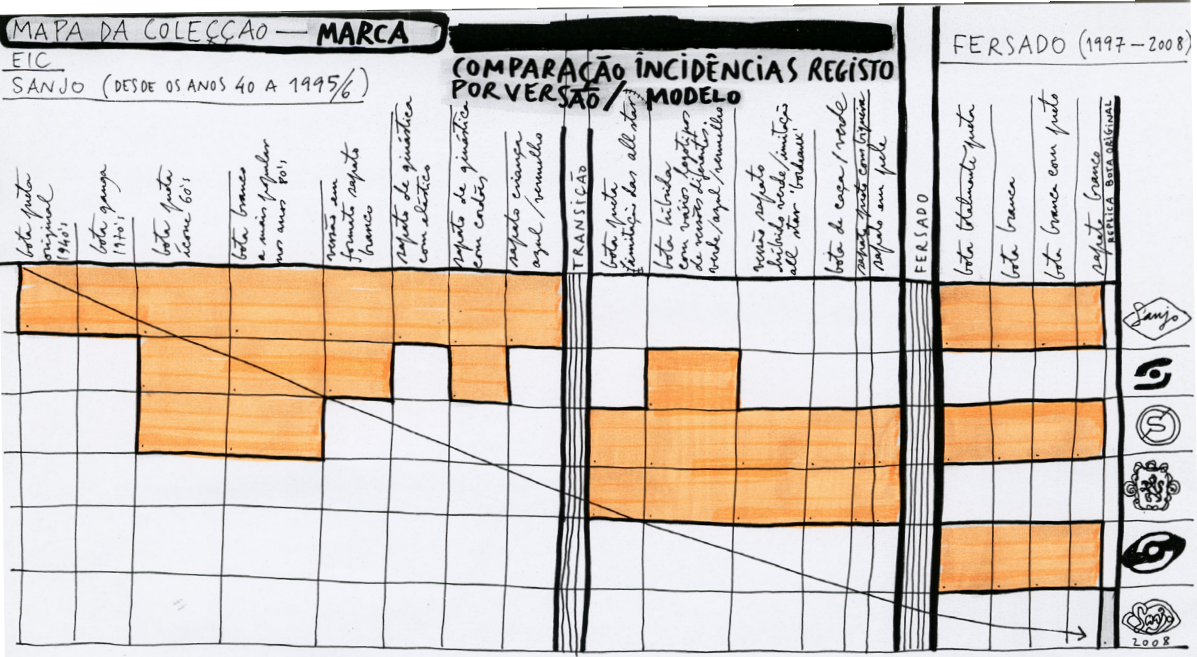
Figure 2.22 – Product’s chronological evolution through the analysis of mark designs.
By counting the different marks on each shoe it is possible to demonstrate how the brand evolved.

From left to right: Older shoes have just one mark, whereas there is a tendency for various mark designs ‘accumulate’ in recent shoes.



Figure 2.23 – Tracing the evolution of the mark.
Each column corresponds to a different Sanjo shoe from the collection, arranged in an approximate

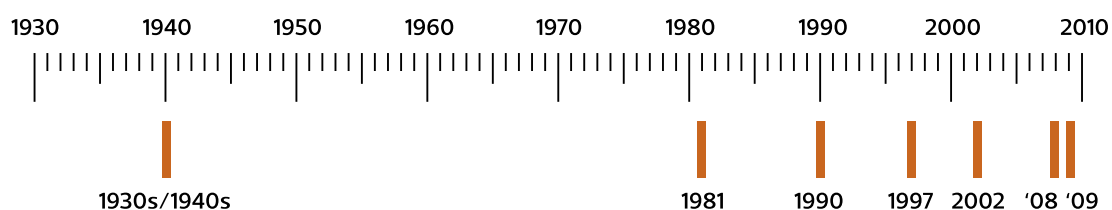
chronological order. Each row painted in orange indicates the version(s) of the mark found on each shoe. Preliminary chart, early developments.





Both Seidel (1998: 8–9) and Cummings (2010 a) argue that in research projects they conducted, respectively in developments for “The Ethnographer” software and for the “Archivalprocess” project in Spain, the selection of an instance and its thorough study helped them finding adequate responses to specific problems they faced. Regarding the analysis of a brand’s visual identity, the instance or slice I chose to study in depth was the mark. In Cummings (2010 b), the possibility of developing a “relational tool” for “mapping different relations” upon

Figure 2.24 – Pace of change in mark designs.
The stability of the former version contrasts with a faster pace of change in the recent decades.



which one can trace and understand the contextual history of a brand is inspiring. Mapping the various versions of the Sanjo marks used across several decades contributed to a better understanding of the history of the brand, of the product, and of the company. I started by constructing a fairly simple timeline where other events in the history of the brand could be included too. A matrix for visual analysis started emerging.

2.4.4 Matrices and grids for visual analysis

In addition to the chronological sequence of the various marks in the form of a timeline, I have also used photographs of products to further enhance visual analysis. I photographed the various Sanjo shoes similarly, e.g. their profile, soles, different applications of the mark and their designs, their relation with packaging and details of manufacture to find further connections between elements and groups of elements, so as to reach new interpretations (Figure 2.25).

Sorting photographs in a grid exposes differences, for instance, between product series. In Figure 2.25, whereas each row refers to a different product design (A, B, C, etc.) each column may show a different aspect of it (lateral view, texture of soles, mark, relationship between product and packaging, etc.). This allows sorting of products in chronological sequence, either individually or according to product series. In total, out of a collection of 160 pairs, 51 different Sanjo models were identified and examined this way, hence providing a broader view of the brand identity and of the product designs across the time.

The process began developing with the restoration of images in mind, particularly images of the mark and their relation to products, but later this developed originating a system for visual analysis, with respect to graphic design, product design, packaging design, and materials, hence strengthening the overall approach of rescuing and decoding. The construction of visual matrices led to the mapping of relations between different constituents of the archive, which are of different orders and nature, revealing contrasts and making them clearly visible. This is where the potential of the system resides because it is incremental. Further data can be added through creating other categories of information, so that further connections can be explored. In methodological terms, this relates to the subject of content analysis as a “research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context” (Krippendorff, 1980 cited in Rose, 2007: 60).

Figure 2.25 – Matrix of photographs for visual analysis. Preliminary study.

Rows from left to right: correspond to photographs of the same shoe in relation to itemized details (e.g. lateral view, application of the mark, texture of the sole, packaging). Each row exposes differences between series (e.g. designs,

materials, colours, textures of soles, versions of the trademark, relationships between product and packaging). From top to bottom, shoes are placed in an estimated chronological sequence, in most cases this is only possible to determine due to the versions of the mark used.



Matrix for visual analysis: examples of application

Example 1

The photographs in Figure 2.26 relate to two particular instances observed in the Sanjo shoes that provide us with another example of visual analysis: the observation of out soles, and the presence of the marks in out soles. These further inform the analysis on how the brand identity evolved and eventually changed. The apparent simplicity in putting these images together systematically contrasts with the amount and complexity of the information that is possible to derive from such juxtaposition. Soles of Sanjos from the various stages of the brand were photographed similarly. Initially there were just a few out soles to examine, but the grid expanded as the variety of samples retrieved throughout the research increased.

Firstly, the analysis of mark designs in the soles helped in sorting the shoes in chronological order, hence associating each pair of shoe to a certain stage of the brand. In most cases it is almost impossible to obtain precise dates, unless they are explicitly captured elsewhere, e.g. in handwritten or stamped on packaging. Knowing in advance the approximate dates of the mark designs makes the challenge easier. For example, images 21 to 24 in Figure 2.26 correspond to the Sanjos made in China since 1997, whereas images 1 to 9 refer to shoes produced in Portugal during the first stage of the brand (circa 1960s–1970s).

Secondly, the types of application of marks inform concerning showing materials, whether applications are in rubber (images 1 to 4), textiles (5 and 6), and paper (7 to 16), or moulded in the soles (17 to 19, 22 to 24). The type of label also informs about the amount of manual work involved, including logistics. Images 1 to 4 show that there were two labels for each shoe, likely placed by hand, one for the brand and the other for size. Images 5 to 16 show that some work was still required to place one label, but such a production step would become unnecessary in moulded soles (17 to 24).

And thirdly, out soles also tell us about production systems. They give further indication about how the product and the brand evolved. In this case, the designs may refer to the unique rubber textures for which the Sanjos became popular (images 2, 7, 10 and 15), or to the moulded soles copied by Sanjo in the 1990s from the Converse All Star (image 17) and from the Vans “waffle sole” (image 20) designed in California in the 1960s (Palladini, 2009: 13). Moulded soles gradually replaced the original vulcanized rubber. The Portuguese company was able to create its own

Figure 2.26 – Grid of photographs for visual analysis.

Images from top left to bottom right correspond to similar photographs of different shoes, including from

the various stages of the brand, organized in chronological order. Parameters for visual analysis include texture of soles, version of mark and type of application, relationship between mark and size of shoe.



distinctive design features (images 1 to 9), barely seen in other sports brands. In contrast, with the emergence of the global brands and the “dizzying diversification that would hit the market in the 1980s” (Vanderbilt, 1998: 10–11), along with a tendency of smaller companies to emulate such brands, the distinctiveness of the Sanjo soles would dissolve (images 16 to 24). Colour was introduced possibly to amplify the product range and make the offer more appealing (images 11, 12 and 14), but ultimately the brand would try to copy its own former creations (compare images 24 and 2). The more recent is the copy (images 21, 23 and 24), the more it differs from the original design (image 2).

Example 2

Figure 2.27 illustrates another example of a matrix for visual analysis. It relates to piecing together the various versions of Sanjo marks in chronological sequence, according to rows and columns, building up on the stages of the brand previously identified (see Figure 2.21–D).

Each one of the three rows (A, B and C) relates to particular instances, whereas each column (images 1 to 7) shows how these instances unfold. Row “A”, of red squares, reports moments of organisational transformation that coincide with visual disruption, also corresponding to events that have affected somehow the mark designs. This is the case, for example, when the brand licence was granted to another company (A3) or when different companies took over the brand (A4 and A7). Row ‘A’ also includes approximate dates of these events, including for example the date of legal registration of the brand in 1981 (A2) and the various attempts to relaunch of the brand in the Portuguese market (A6 and A7). Row ‘B’, of black squares, refers to the representative versions of the various stages of development of the brand. Altogether, the prominence over the other versions in products and visual communication materials, and its consistency in use across time underpin a ‘natural’ criteria for selection. All the other versions which appear less often throughout the gathered materials were placed in the grey squares, on the ‘C’ row and below, corresponding to subsidiary versions.

With regards to columns, they represent the stages of development that the brand went through, from its foundation by the Empresa Industrial de Chapalaria in 1933, to the brand revivals in 1997 by Fersado and by its partner Frentesport in 2009. Each column contains a brief description of the event that triggered change (red

Figure 2.27 – Matrix of brand marks for contextual and visual analysis.

Organisational transformations and relevant dates of changes in the mark (A), main versions of the mark (B), and subsidiary versions (C).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
	<div>ORGANIZA- TIONAL TRANSFOR- MATIONS and dates of changes in the mark</div>	<div>EMPRESA INDUSTRIAL DE CHAPELARIA (EIC) circa 1933/1944</div>	<div>LEGAL REGISTRATION OF THE BRAND 1981</div>	<div>LICENCE GRANTED TO OLIVA 1990</div>	<div>FERSADO TAKES OVER THE BRAND 1997</div>	<div>PRODUCT CATALOGUE AND LEAFLET 2002</div>	<div>RELAUNCH OF ICONIC MODEL 2008</div>	<div>FRENTESPORT TAKES OVER THE BRAND 2009</div>
A								
	<div>MAIN VERSIONS</div>							
B								
	<div>SUBSIDIARY VERSIONS</div>							
C								
D								
E								
F								
G								
H								
I								
J								
K								
L								

squares) of events, the most representative version of the mark of each stage (black) and all subsidiary versions used in that period of time.

Nonetheless, what is important to say is that organizing all these marks in this way makes relationships clearer hence interpretations easier, so to better explain how such a matrix can function in terms of visual analysis. With regards to Sanjo, this matrix reveals matters of consistency and disruption. There it can be seen a consistent use of the brand in its heyday, as well as that visual disruption ruled its progression in the recent decades, furthermore, in the recent years.

What follows is an example of how connections were made and what they mean for better understanding the brand and its visual identity:

B₁ => H₂ / I₃ / D₄ / B₆ / D₇ — The original mark (B₁) can be seen in all stages of the brand, proving it had a strong influence over the life of the brand. It endured especially in the lateral white round labels of the Sanjos, and coexisted with almost all other versions. B₁ to L₁ are circumstantial evidence of the consistency of the original mark designs, where I₁ and J₁ seem to be the only exceptions. Nonetheless are not far from the letterform of the original design.

B₂ => H₃ / B₄ / B₅ — The mark of the second phase (B₂) stands out as a significant moment of transition, being the first rupture in the Sanjo identity after nearly four decades since the original mark established. It was designed and introduced to face the new market economy that emerged in Portugal in the early 1980. It was kept 'alive' through stage 3 (H₃) and was later used as a source of inspiration (B₄ and B₅).

B₃ => C₄ — The mark of the third phase (B₃) also survived to the closure of the Empresa Industrial de Chapalaria and to the sale of the Sanjo brand name to Fersado. This mark can be seen applied in some shoes of phase 4, alongside with version B₄ applied in shoe boxes.

C₅, B₇ and C₇ — Being introduced recently, there were also identified versions that also caused a visual breakdown with past versions. Despite the company's intention in these stages was committed with recovering "memories from the past" (see Figure 2.11 bottom right) the graphic design options ultimately contradict such intention.

2.5 SUMMARY

Through this chapter, a series of methods were identified, described and combined to form a 'designerly' way of collecting, processing and analysing visual materials.

The particular case of Sanjo was used to explore the articulation of ethnographic research methods and graphic design methods for the retrieval and visual assessment of a brand's identity. The overall procedure makes a contribution to qualitative research methods because it shows the relevance of contextual analysis to brand identity through the rescuing of cultural memory. Firstly, bringing together a mixture of methods from the social sciences and graphic design enabled the retrieval of data that is at a point of disappearance and is also unique for analysis. Secondly, thinking about the possibility of assembling the gathered materials according to timelines and matrices/grids for visual analysis increases the potential for generating meaning. The approach also led to the development of two basic ideas: brand archaeology and graphic surgery.

The following chapters will build up on this approach by further exploring the methods and the evidence collected. What follows next is an in depth analysis of brand identity from historical perspective, which helps explain why overlooking a brand's contextual frame of reference contributes to the loss of historical memory and to the homogenization of visual identity. The contextual history of the Sanjo brand will be examined chronologically in chapter 3 by making use of both the materials and of historical data collected. On the one hand, seeing the Portuguese history side by side with the history of Sanjo will enable us to understand how the context influenced the development of a locally specific brand, and how identity transformations over time can be made visible. Following that, chapter 4 will expand on the cross-referencing chronological historical data and other sorts of evidence in the form of a main case study. Through exploring matrices and grids for visual analysis, as well as timelines for contextual analysis, chapters 3 and 4 will provide further insights into the examination of brand identity.

CHAPTER 3:

THE PORTUGUESE

CONTEXT



Figure 3.1 – Symbols of Portugal.

Refinarias de Açúcar Reunidas (2011) *Símbolos de Portugal*. 16 packets of sugar.
 Author's collection (packets' original size 5,4×6,7cm).

Chapter 3 THE PORTUGUESE CONTEXT

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- 3.2 THE 'ESTADO NOVO' PERIOD (NEW STATE, 1933–1974)**
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Figure 3.2 – The ‘Portuguese Youth’ uniform on a packaging of Viarco pencils.

‘Mocidade Portuguesa’ (Portuguese Youth) was the youth corporation of the “New State”. It was mandatory for teenage boys as part of their formation,

they were called ‘Lusitos’.

This image shows a direct influence of the regime by depicting the flag and uniform of ‘Mocidade Portuguesa’ on a commercial product, circa 1940s. Author’s collection (original size 4,7×9cm).

3.1 INTRODUCTION TO THE PORTUGUESE CONTEXT

This chapter introduces the reader to the Portuguese contextual history, aiming to describe the frame of reference within which Sanjos originated as representatives of locally specific brand imagery.

Two fundamental ideas are presented as relevant factors that explain how the Sanjo products and brand identity emerged. One refers to Portuguese economy and industrial developments in the first half of the 20th century, which established the grounds for some brands to prosper. The other refers to the ethnographic practices that not only influenced how a certain idea of Portugal as a nation was constructed, but also extended to product and brand identity in a way that remains visible today (Figure 3.1).

But most importantly, this chapter aims to explain how these two ideas—industrial developments in relation to product design, and ethnography with regards to visual identity constructions—relate to a wider political phenomenon that lasted several decades and profoundly shaped Portuguese design history: the Estado Novo authoritarian regime (Figure 3.2).

Complementary to these ideas, it is of utmost importance to refer that despite there is extensive literature about Portuguese history regarding this context of analysis, very little importance has been given to Portuguese iconic brands from the first half of the 20th century, particularly from a graphic design perspective. Only a few books and studies cover this subject, yet mostly focusing advertising (Cardoso, 1986; Lobo, 2002, Estrela, 2004; 2005; Trindade, 2008; Barbosa, Calvera & Branco, 2009).

Either because the subject concerns commercial interests or because this research topic is in its early stage, the main references are drawn from research produced within the fields of History, Art History, Ethnography, Anthropology, Economics, Political Sciences, Museology and primary source materials.

3.2 THE ESTADO NOVO PERIOD (NEW STATE, 1933–1974)

The New State was an authoritarian, nationalistic, conservative, non-expansionist regime officially imposed in Portugal from 1933 to 1974 by Prime Minister António Oliveira Salazar. 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.

3.4.2 Key ideas of the regime and in propaganda discourse

According to Rosas (1998) the following ideas were key in the New State discourse and they expanded to propaganda, often being translated visually in a quite literal fashion (here translated from Portuguese by author). These ideas were widely visible in schools, villages, streets, at home and in the everyday life, throughout all sorts of visual communication materials (Figure 3.3):

The reinvention of the historical past in a nationalistic, traditionalist and imperial sense. The idea of renewing the tradition, in which the state would not only be a political regime but also the institutional and ontological translation of the true destiny of the nation (...)

The creation of a national identity of rural background, a new Portuguese essence, essentially poor and largely rural (...)

A corporate utopia, against “immoral plutocracy” of liberal capitalism, and against the socialist and communist collectivism (...)

Of conservative Catholic inspiration (...)

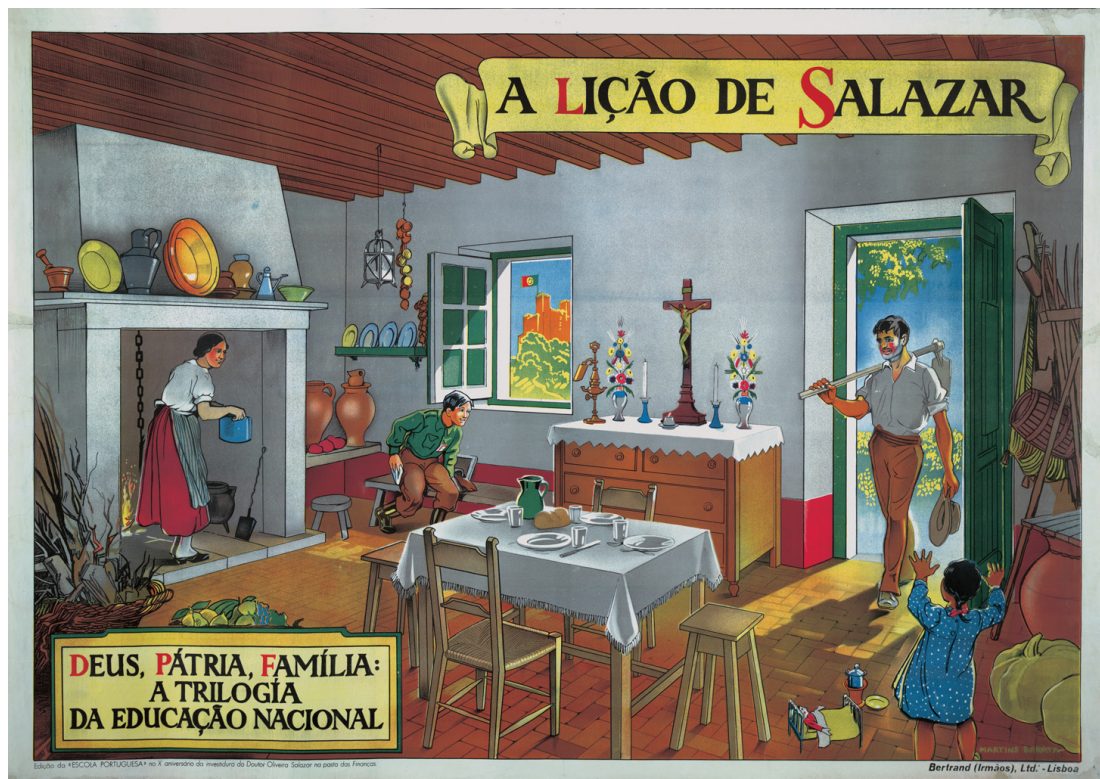
The cult of order, of social and political hierarchies usually static, provided by natural and necessary authority of a strong state (...)

God, nation, authority, family, work. (Rosas, 1998: 259–60)

Figure 3.3 – Salazar's lesson: God, Patria, Family.

Trilogy of national education.

Barata, M. (1938) *A lição de Salazar: Deus, Pátria, Família - a trilogia da educação nacional*. Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, CT. 101 G. Cx (original size 78×113 cm).



Such ideals, including “gender stereotypes and class difference” were “instilled into Salazar’s ‘poor but pious’ peasants both by propaganda and by the infiltration of secret police informers who denounced any independence of mind” (Birmingham, 2003: 167).

3.3 INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENTS AND PRODUCT DESIGN

3.3.1 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 Party¹).

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 bourgeoisie² assumed a political role supported by the New State that would later sustain further developments, as well as 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" (Dias, 2001: 1) of Portuguese economical 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 economical 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, this ultimately led to the emergence of monopolies and cartels.

1 The União Nacional (National Union) was the regime's sole political party. In this congress there was a section on industry.

2 Also referred to by Rosas (2008: 83) as the "industrialist engineers", "industry captains" and "business infantry". Many of these were linked to the few families that dominated industries in relevant economical sectors such as textiles, ceramics, milling, wine, metallurgy and international trading.

3.3.2 Industrial conditioning

Among other policies, such as trade barriers to imports, the ‘condicionamento industrial’ (literally, 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, these were also the ones that best represented the nation’s strategic interests. These were the large organizations, which in turn dominated the major sectors of the economy, such as shipbuilding, energy, and major manufacturing industries.

According to Rosas (1998:230) the formal legislation for industrial controls consisted of a Decree³ (1931) and a Law⁴ (1937) that would remain unaltered for decades (until 1965⁵) 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, 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).

3 In: Fundação Mário Soares, archive and library online. Available from <http://www.fmsoares.pt/aeb/crono/id?id=035363> [Accessed 17 January 2011].

4 Ibid. <http://www.fmsoares.pt/aeb/crono/id?id=035602> [Accessed 17 January 2011].

5 Ibid. <http://www.fmsoares.pt/aeb/crono/id?id=036644> [Accessed 17 January 2011].

3.3.3 The Empresa Industrial de Chapalaria (EIC)

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 Empresa Industrial Chapalaria (EIC) was definitely one of its greatest representatives ever (Figure 3.4).

According to a government study⁶ conducted in 1944 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 (Rosas, 2008: 64). 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.

According to its co-founder (Oliveira, 1968), EIC was established in S. João da Madeira in 1920, building up on a previous hat industry initiated in 1891⁷. The company started producing footwear from the early 1930s⁸ built upon previous brief experience in the early 1920s⁹ but 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 (Figure 3.4, last text box in the bottom image). But according to local newspaper ‘O Regional’ 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. In the following decades, the vulcanized rubber and canvas Sanjos would become the most popular shoes and best-known brand for sports in Portugal.

6 A study by Ferreira Dias (cited in Rosas, 2008: 64) referring to the report of the bill concerning industrial reorganization and the concentration degree of manufacturing industry.

7 In: *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].

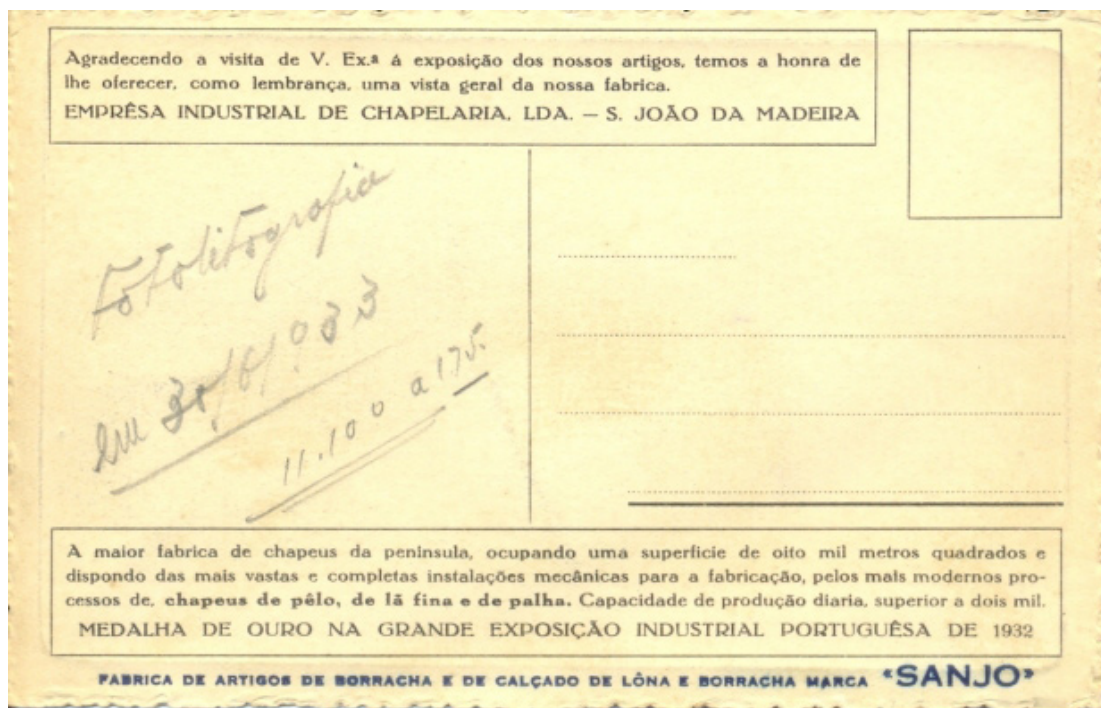
8 In: Museu da Indústria da Chapalaria (2011) *Sanjo. Uma marca. Uma história*. [exhibition viewed 23 October 2010, S. João da Madeira, Portugal].

9 Ibid.

Figure 3.4 – Promotional postcard of the Empresa Industrial de Chapelaria: front and rear views.
An unidentified personal note dating this document as from the 30th June 1933 may prove that Sanjo footwear was already being produced when Salazar came to power, as well revealing that the brand name was established before Adidas (1949).

Top: Postal da EICHAP (n.d.) [Online image]
 Available from: <http://www.museuchapelaria.cm-sjm.pt/cgi-bin/chapeu/ver_doc.pl?a=d_chapeu1087.jpg> [Accessed 9 December 2011].

Bottom: Verso do Postal – Empresa Industrial de Chapelaria, Lda. – S. João da Madeira (Circa 1933) [Online image]. Available from: <<http://culturaldata.wordpress.com/2010/03/02/empresa-industrial-de-chapelaria-lda-s-joao-da-madeira-portugal/>> [Accessed 5 May 2010].



Either directly or indirectly, it is likely that EIC and Sanjos benefited from the New State and particularly the industrial conditioning measures. It is not possible though to accurately determine to what extent this influence occurred, or to make any direct association between the company and the regime. Nevertheless, the Sanjo shoes would benefit as much from operating in a closed market as from having little resistance from competitors, either Portuguese or from other countries. This included cotton supplies from the former colonies in Africa. The scenario lasted for decades, which helps explain the significance and popularity of the Sanjos and why the evolution of the product and the image was simultaneously steady and slow.

3.3.4 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 French Spring Court canvas and rubber sports shoes.

3.3.5 Sanjo benchmarks

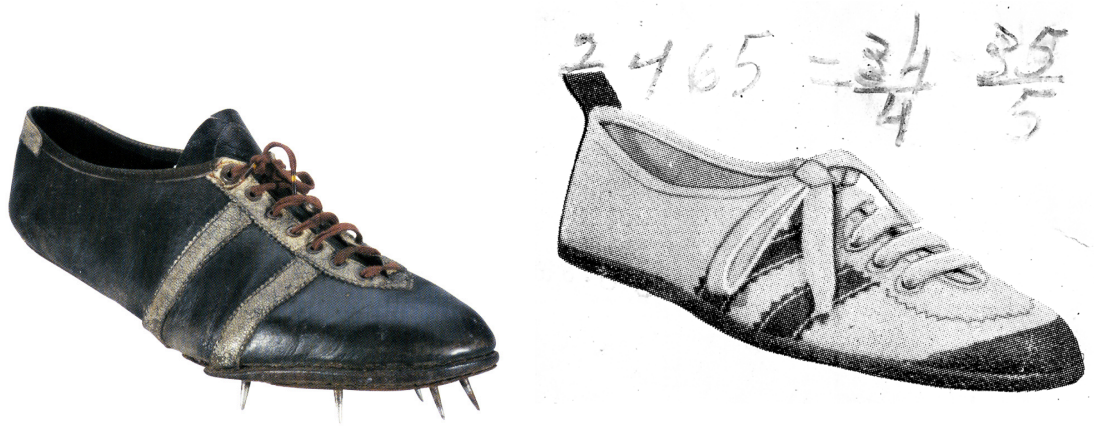
Historical evidence¹⁰ of the Sanjo footwear demonstrates that product designs possibly resulted from a mixture of various influences. These include from the 1930s Dasslers stripes, later Adidas, and from Spring Court's technological innovations introduced in the 1950s (Spring Court, 2010). The two stripes had become a generic default on the side of sports shoes (Smit, 2008: 32) but the Sanjos resemble the

¹⁰ Primary source material retrieved throughout the course of this research, including original products, photographs, dated documents and recorded interviews.

Figure 3.5 – Comparison between Adidas and Sanjos two stripes on the side of shoes.

Left: Dassler shoes with two white stripes worn by Jesse Owens in the 1936 Berlin Summer Olympic Games. In: Yangjun, P. & Jiaojiao, C. (2007) *Adidas*. London: Southbank, p.42, illus.

Right: Sanjo shoes (Ref. 2465) featuring two black stripes in a photograph from 1968. In: Empresa Industrial de Chapelaria (1968) *Calçado de lona e borracha Sanjo, catálogo n.º 40*. Product catalogue: private collection, p. 11, illus.



Dasslers (Figure 3.5), whereas the similarities with Spring Court can be seen by putting promotional materials side by side (Figures 3.6 and 3.7). Spring Court is the name of a French tennis shoe created in 1936 by Georges Grimmeisen with an upper in cotton canvas and outsole in vulcanized rubber (Spring Court, 2010). In 1952 innovative “ventilation technology” was introduced, becoming since then a distinctive feature of the brand (Figure 3.6). It comprised of a “removable insole with arch support incorporating ventilation channels” and “four holes” in the outsole, still remarked on today. A photograph from 1959¹¹ shows the Sanjo designs were close to the 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 month¹²—the Sanjos “ventilation technology” might have been drawn from the French brand. An exquisite and unique product catalogue (Empresa 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 (Figure 3.7).

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

¹¹ Sanjos worn by Académica de Coimbra basketball athletes. See: A Bola (1995) *História de 50 Anos do Desporto Português*. Lisbon. A Bola, p.508.

¹² In: Museu da Indústria da Chapelaria (2011) *Sanjo. Uma marca. Uma história*. [exhibition viewed 23 October 2010, S. João da Madeira, Portugal].

Figure 3.6 – Spring-Court ventilated basketball shoes.

Spring Court's ventilation technology introduced in 1952. Contemporary print of former diagram: author's collection (original size A5).

CHAUSSURE DE BASKET VENTILÉE

BREVETÉE S.G.D.G.

Spring-Court

FABRICATION

MOULÉE

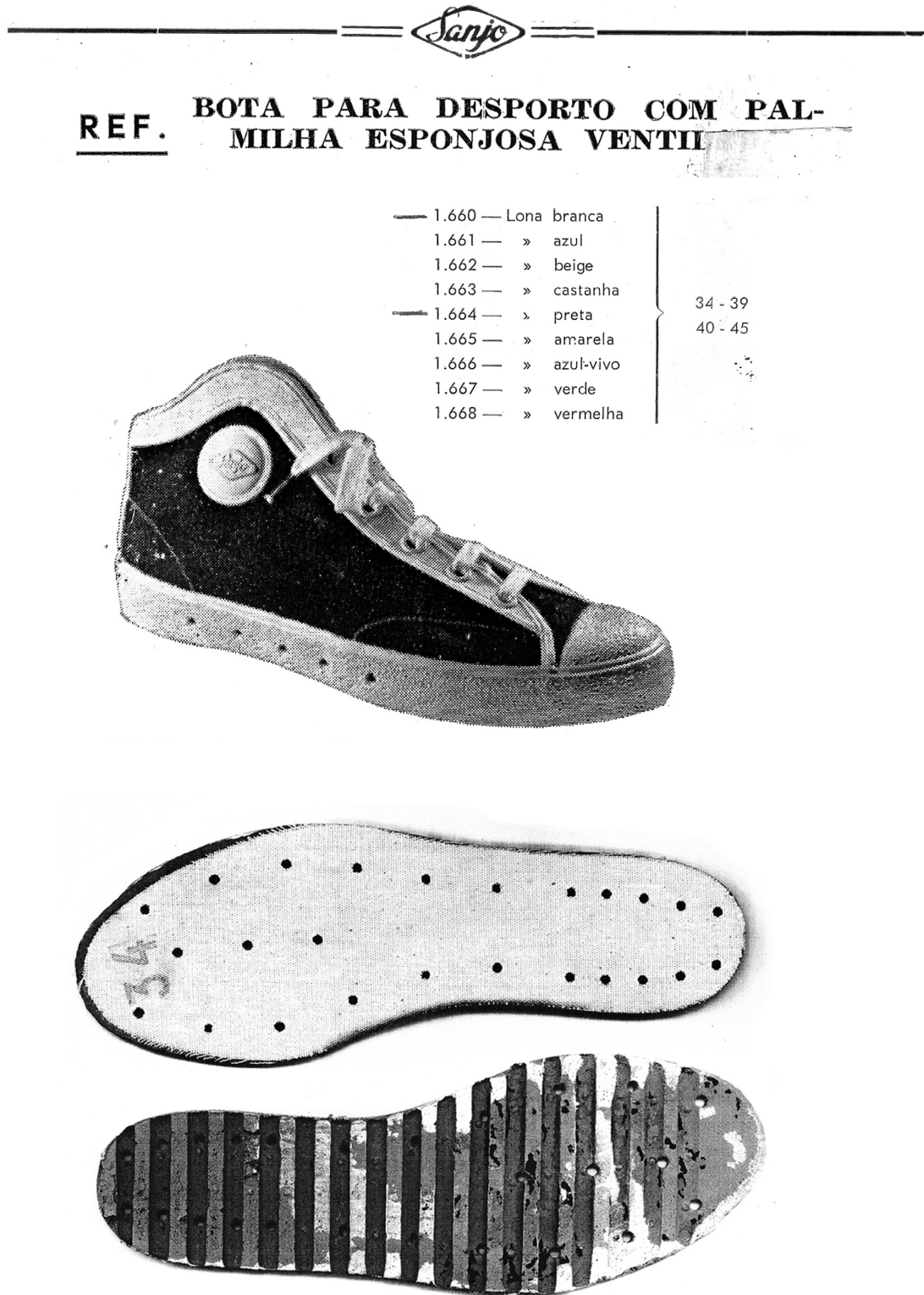


Figure 3.7 – Ref. 1664 black canvas Sanjos with ventilated spongy insoles.

Top: Detail from 1968 Sanjo catalogue showing product Ref. 1664, and photograph of Sanjo originals spongy ventilated insoles. Similarities with Spring-Courts are visible both in the design features of

the shoe and the insole. In: Empresa Industrial de Chapelaria (1968) *Calçado de lona e borracha Sanjo*, catálogo n.º 40. Product catalogue: private collection, p. 5, illus.

Bottom: Sanjo ventilated insoles, 2009. Photograph: author's collection.



designed by anonymous graphic artists working for printing companies (Durão, 2003: 237; Silva, 1995: 21; Lobo, 2002, 10–17). 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), 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 trademarks” identified by Mollerup in ‘Marks of Excellence’ (1997: 90–1).

The early version of the Sanjo mark remained relatively stable for several decades. 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. These often take place when significant transformations occur in companies and such design interventions reflect “changes in management”, “acquisitions”, “mergers”, or “new marketing strategies” (Olins, 1995: 29–32).

3.4 ETHNOGRAPHIC DEPICTION AND VISUAL IDENTITY CONSTRUCTIONS

3.4.1 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. According to Alves (2011: 3–4), 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:

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) (Figure 3.8).

Figure 3.8 – Images of Portuguese folk art.
 Cover detail of an ethnographic study from the
 1930s on Portuguese popular culture. Paulo (Circa
 1937) *Quelques image de l'art populaire Portugais*.
 Monograph: Carlos Rocha collection.



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 imageries (Figure 3.9).

3.4.2 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 later stated:

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 (Alves, 2011: 4).

Ferro’s activities included the creation of platforms for cultural expression such as the foundation of the ‘Verde Gaio’ (green jay) ballet group in 1940 inspired by the Ballets Russes (Alves, 2011: 3), 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) (Figure



Figure 3.9 –Portuguese brands' imagery.

Portuguese companies explored the 'geo-ethnographic' themes throughout their product imagery. These include costumes, regions, monuments, crafts and economic activities.

Top: "Majora" jigsaw puzzle. This image was drawn from Majora's 'Folclore Português' (Portuguese folklore) jigsaw puzzle packaging. It was graphically reconstructed by design student Miguel Batista at the University of Aveiro, 2007. Laser print: author's collection (original size 15×15cm).

Bottom: Regina chocolate tin box (circa 1960s). This image depicts the traditional costumes and gold filigree from the Portuguese north-east region of Minho. Object collected by a design student at the University of Aveiro, 2005. Photograph: author's collection.



3.10), 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, "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" (2008: 16).

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 Gaio' are rich examples of such manifestations and their purpose was to illustrate the most lively and typical 'Portugueseness' (Paulo, 1994: 93).

3.4.3 Propaganda of culture as propaganda

Propaganda and culture provided two rather complementary platforms. In Ferro'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

Figure 3.10 – Portuguese Colonial Exhibition. Propaganda on a matchbox by 'Fosforeira Portuguesa' (Portuguese Matches Company). This image also illustrates further matchboxes publicizing themes

and events related to the colonial ideals promoted by the New State. Fosforeira Portuguesa (Circa 1934) 1ª exposição colonial Portuguesa – Porto 1934. Digital copy of lithograph: author's collection.



with the regime, as it is the case of both EIC and Sanjo (Figure 3.11), like many other.

Despite the fact that the Sanjo advertisements available are only a very few, 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.

3.5 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, which 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 fell with it.

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

Figure 3.11 – Joanino and Sanjo advertisement.
 “The Joanino hats and Sanjo footwear serve Portugal from head to toe” alludes to serving the regime, whereas graphic design depicts Portuguese nationalistic iconography, including ‘geo-ethnographic’

representations prompted by the Estado Novo through António Ferro and the SPN. Lithograph, circa 1940s. [Online image] Available from: <<http://culturaldata.wordpress.com/2010/03/02/os-chapeus-joanino-e-o-calcado-sanjo/digitalizar0004/>> [Accessed 5 May 2010].



Figure 3.12 – Sports brands' degree of specialization. This picture found in an article of Swedish newspaper 'Expressen' shows the degree of specialization of several brands. Adidas can be easily identified through the three stripes, ranging from boxing boots (second row top left),

tennis shoes (second row top right), slippers (top row centre), running spikes (bottom row centre and left), and football boots (third and bottom rows). In: Museu da Chapalaria (2010) Sanjo. Uma marca, uma história. S. João da Madeira. MIC-19250-D.



In a letter dated from 1976 exhibited by the Museu da Chapalaria (2010), 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' (Figure 3.12). 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 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 focussed on vulcanised rubber and cotton canvas shoes broadened its scope to a wide variety of designs and materials, including moulded soles and leather upper.

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 organisational 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. However, the company survived until 1996 by which time the Sanjos had been in production for about 62 years (1933–1995).

3.6 SUMMARY

The longevity of Sanjo and the stability of its visual identity during the early decades of the New State are due largely to protectionism imposed by the regime. The evolution of both the Sanjo product and image in this period was slow and incorporated aesthetic features of the regime's propaganda, whether intentionally or not. Though not fully responsible for the ethnographic approach, Ferro and the SPN activities strongly influenced the image of a great deal of Portuguese trademarks in that way. Incorporating a nationalistic ideology was already a visual communication strategy any company could use. But things would become different. Nationalistic ideals became senseless after the regime ended nevertheless the 'geo-ethnographic' representations remained across many brands' imagery, and would remain visible for years due to deep-rooted influences. However, the absence of an authoritative voice dictating a direction to companies may have given rise to ideological orphan brands.

On the one hand, the forty years of Salazar at the helm of the country contributed to conservative economical stability but also to peace, on the other hand, the country's isolation and dependence on overseas colonies did not benefit the sustainability of many Portuguese brands in the longer term. Like Sanjo, many others have not been able to compete with international brands in an open economic context, especially in terms of image and product sophistication. But the longevity of Sanjo contributed to the brand's conversion into a cultural icon. It marked several generations of Portuguese people who still feel nostalgic about the brand. Coincidentally or not, Sanjo started in 1933 as did the New State and had a boost in the 1960s with the economic growth in Portugal, which helped the

brand to stand strong until the 1980s. But the fall of the regime and restoration of democracy in 1974 also meant the opening of borders to imports and the decline of Portuguese products due to lack of competitiveness. The end of the New State would later dictate the end of Sanjo (Figure 3.13).

If the industrial developments of the first half of the 20th century established the foundations for fostering national production, and if ethnographic practices contributed to the proliferation of imagery depicting specific aspects of the Portuguese history, its territory, its people and culture, what happened to the imagery of brands since then? With regards to product design and visual identity, what is the meaning of the Sanjo brand today and which influences can be seen?

Very little has been studied on the graphic design of brands from this era but the case of Sanjo leaves some clues on how many Portuguese brands have dealt with issues of image as well as the challenges they faced after the fall of the regime, and the sort of influences that can be uncovered.

This brings to light that there is a vast territory to be explored with regards to the cultural wealth that graphic design from this era represents, by suggesting the richness it contains is of utmost relevance to present day design practices concerned with cultural difference, and shows how present day design practices can benefit from this sort of contextual research.

This refers back to the fundamental ideas presented in the opening of the chapter, linking industrial developments to product design, and ethnographic research to visual identity constructions. It is a fact that there is a lack of research on Portuguese brands from this period, but it is also a fact that there is a great deal of cultural memory that can be rescued as a design response to historical oblivion and to the homogenization of visual culture. This aims not only to bring attention to a territory that has been overlooked in terms of research from a graphic design perspective, but also to argue that exploring the contextual histories behind locally specific brands is a valuable contribution to the sustainment of cultural difference, that brand developments tend to neglect but can benefit from.

What follows in chapter 3 is an indication of how the research progressed to an in depth analysis into the visual specificities of the Sanjo brand identity. A methodological approach to the rescuing, visual analysis and exploration of the Sanjo brand's identity emerged from the methods described in chapter 2 and from the contextual history presented in this chapter.

Figure 3.13 – The Sanjos at the Carnation Revolution, 25th April 1974.

Military coup that ended the regime. Among manifestations of rejoice, a young man seated on the

top of the truck is wearing a pair of Sanjos. That was not a sign of protest but of the brand's popularity instead. In: Saraiva, J. H. (2004) *História de Portugal*, Volume 10. Matosinhos, Quidnovi, p. 9, illus.



CHAPTER 4:

FROM THE SANJO

COLLECTION AND

ARCHIVE

A major strength of case study data collection is the opportunity to use many different sources of evidence. Furthermore, the need to use multiple sources of evidence far exceeds that in other methods, such as experiments, surveys, or histories.

(Yin, 2009: 114–115)

Chain of evidence is a principle to be followed, to increase the reliability of the information in a case study.

Such a principle is based on a notion similar to that used in forensic investigations. The principle is to allow an external observer (...) to follow the derivation of any evidence from initial research questions to ultimate case study conclusions.

(Yin, 2009: 122)

Chapter 4 FROM THE SANJO COLLECTION AND ARCHIVE

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- 4.5 SUMMARY**

Figure 4.1 – Sanjo advertisement.

In: "Figueira da Foz que eu cantei. Portugal é isto"
(Santos, 1959: 6).



4.1 INTRODUCTION TO THE MAIN CASE STUDY

This chapter presents the main case study and explains the construction of the case from a graphic design perspective. It draws on the evidence gathered through deploying the methods described in chapter 2 and the contextual history of the brand presented in chapter 3. It also explains how the evidence was put together. A grid for contextual and visual analysis was constructed to function as a 'board' for constructing a puzzle where pieces are placed, interpretations are made, and gaps become possible to identify. Ultimately, it explains how the overall methodological approach concerning the rescuing and analysis of a brand's visual identity resulted in a replicable system that can be applied to other cases.

The relationship of a brand with its contextual history, as we have seen the previous chapter, shows how it influences historical progression. In the case of Sanjo, the New State shows how it contributed to the popularity of the brand in the past, but it also shows the fall of the regime and opening of the economy as a result of that also contributed to the decline of the brand.

The evidence gathered in the context of this research, as it is happening today with many other Portuguese brands from the same era that are out of production today, was at a point of disappearance. Nevertheless, not only older generations feel nostalgic about them but also younger generations feel curious to know more about these brands and products that look so different from most of those in the market today. However, despite the interest in knowing more about these brands is increasing in Portugal and the fact that some are being revived, very little research has been done for rescuing and exploring primary source materials such as those presented here (Figure 4.1).

As we shall see in chapter 5, the same phenomenon is also happening in other countries. In the Portuguese context, even though there is some controversy about the 'waking up' of the memory of Salazar and that many of his influences can be seen across these brands' imageries, most of the sensibilities caused by the regime have been healed since it ended in 1974. But ultimately, brands are not responsible for what happened, whether it is good or bad, because they were just there and were part of people's lives for decades.

Hence today, either due to the commercial potential or cultural value these brands represent, the interest in reviving them has been often covered by the media because companies, shops and museums start exploring them. For example,

in the tourism and cultural sectors, reviving these brands means a response to bland features of global brands because of the cultural specific and national representativeness they embody.

Sanjo is one of these cases and although the brand today refers explicitly to “memories from the past” it does not necessarily mean that there are any memories to see, feel or experience across the brand’s communications and products. Like Sanjo, most practices rather tend to exploit national representativeness by incorporating superficial references. Neither celebrating the rich variety that is possible, nor the rich heritage that research projects such as this one can help bringing to light and put it into the right historical and cultural context.

Therefore the grid of analysis shows that the brand has been suffering from a degenerative process, which led to the loss of its cultural richness and made it become more bland and similar to global brands in many ways, regardless of the intents in claiming authenticity. With regards to the articulation of the evidence found and its analysis, the research outcomes also show that the loss of historical memory is closely linked to the fact that many design approaches often neglect contextual research. One reason is that evidence is not easily accessible, making this sort of research time consuming and therefore it might not respond to the commercial pressure that most companies face. Another reason is that both designers and companies might not even be aware of the relevance of such historical and contextual evidence to influence their practices as well as the continuing course of brands.

Above all, this case study reinforces the argument that the rescuing of cultural memory is a response to present day commercial exploitation of things in quite a trivial fashion, often superficial allusions to the tradition. Hence it aims to demonstrate that the articulation of design research and design practice, as proposed by this practice-related research approach, contrasts with the way many designers and companies are working. It offers some dimensions to the subject of visual identity in the commercial and cultural settings, as a response, for example, to the interest of the brand and a museum in the outcomes resulting from this research. It is also a response to the field of design history, because Portuguese graphic design from the New State period, particularly the visual identity of brands from this era is an obscure subject that this research aims to uncover.

4.2 CLAIMS ON AUTHENTICITY

The authenticity of a thing is the essence of all that is transmissible from its beginning, ranging from its substantive duration to its testimony to the history which it has experienced (Benjamin, 1999: 215).

The main focus of this PhD is that companies should use their pasts to move forward and sustain their claims on authenticity. This does not mean all companies have to use their pasts, but rather that those making claims on the authenticity of products should. By looking at the case of Sanjo this argument stands out visible quite clearly. It is an example of a brand whose company fails to use its past as a way of addressing authenticity and acknowledge its cultural difference. The company's claims on authenticity throughout communication materials and products are put here very much into question, such as the explicit reference to the "memories from the past" in the website (see Figure 2.11 in chapter 2), or the "certificate of authenticity" displayed across products and shops windows (Figure 4.2).

"A brand is not what you [a company] say it is. It is what they [the audience] say it is" (Neumeier, 2003: 2–3). Considering Neumeier's proposition, companies owning brand names that became cultural icons can claim to be the legal owners of such brands, but that does not necessarily mean they hold evidence of the historical and cultural representativeness of their brands and make any use of it. As the case of Sanjo illustrates, it means the company owns an iconic brand but the way they conveys authenticity shows that historical evidence is not being used to sustain such claims. For claiming authenticity, what does Sanjo do? Regarding for example the basic elements of identity, for example the mark designs, typefaces and colours, what happened to them? How is authenticity conveyed?

Figure 4.2 – Certificate of authenticity.
Print screen of Sanjo shop online, 2012
(<http://www.sanjo.pt>).



According to Benjamin “the presence of the original is the prerequisite to the concept of authenticity” (1999: 214). However, any of Sanjo originals, either product or visual communication designs, were ever present in the various attempts to revive the brand after it was bought in 1996. For example, there was a return to the use of an older version of the mark to re-launch the brand in 2008 (see Figure 2.17 bottom right) but it was as poorly reproduced, and in 2010 that version was replaced by a new mark design (see Figure 2.11 bottom right). Hence this way of dealing with the past can be rather interpreted as ‘forget about it’. This is visible, for example, in the use of typefaces since most of the typefaces and lettering used decades ago remain unacknowledged today (Figure 4.3). Instead, the use of computer standard fonts is the actual choice, impoverishing the overall identity of the brand (Figure 4.4).

Similarly, the misuse of visual elements happens with colours and images too. The ‘rainbow’ of colours in use today does not establish any relationship with those used in the past. This shows the company and the designers might not be aware there is a chronological progression in the use of colour, as we shall see further into the research. Regarding images, as those in the Appendix D show, there is a wealth of visual materials such as photographs of users in their natural contexts of use that have not been investigated before, in addition they have not been explored to address authenticity. Conversely, images used today, as for instance in the website, are either ‘rented’ from international photography stocks or were taken to display the shoes made today. Of course, it is much easier and cheaper getting photographs from the “stock market”, or getting “pictures for rent” as Lupton & Miller define it (1999: 121), than doing extensive research in order to find out whether there are any photographs relating to “memories from the past”, and determine how such visual materials might incorporate the brand’s communications.

The brand’s imagery today is therefore unable to give justice to the cultural significance its past represents, including through photographs and other visual referents. What the brand shows instead it is a superficial allusion to history, which is contributing to the loss of cultural diversity and hide authenticity. This is also visible beyond the basic elements of identity and photographs. It can be seen across other dimensions of the brand too. For example, there was a factory that disappeared and along with it a unique vulcanization process for manufacturing shoes was irreversibly dismantled. Due to the absence of a similar productive system

Figure 4.3 – Typefaces drawn from EIC and Sanjo original printed materials (1933–1986). These are samples of typefaces found across Sanjo advertisements, product catalogues and labels, and

from communication materials produced by the Empresa Industrial de Chapalaria. Collection of typefaces and graphic composition by the author. Digital file: author's collection.

EMPRESA INDUSTRIAL DE CHAPALARIA, L^{DA}
S. JOÃO DA MADEIRA

EMPRESA INDUSTRIAL DE CHAPALARIA, LDA.
EMPRESA INDUSTRIAL DE CHAPALARIA, LDA.

TELEF. 2 20 05/6/7
TELEX 2 55 87 EICHAP.P
3701 S. JOÃO DA MADEIRA CODEX

Empresa Industrial de Chapalaria, L.^{da}

CATÁLOGO N.º 40 VENDEDORES EXCLUSIVOS

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 135 CAVALOS,
UM GERADOR DE ELECTRICIDADE DE 100 KW.
E VINTE E DOIS MOTORES ELECTRICOS.

EMPRESA INDUSTRIAL DE CHAPALARIA, L.^{DA}

S. JOÃO DA MADEIRA
(PORTUGAL)

para
CAMPO PRAIA TENNIS
No seu género
O MELHOR

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

Calçado Cloches de lona e borracha SANJO CALÇADO DESPORTIVO
Diversos para chapéus de senhora **CALÇADO VULCANIZADO**
★ Vigas, pranchas, tábuas, aduelas ★
de eucalipto para pavimentos **FABRICANTES**

REF.

CHAPÉUS E BONÉS
ARTIGOS DE BORRACHA
MADEIRAS

AGÊNCIA NO PORTO
Rua de Sá da Bandeira, 222-1.º
TELEFONE 27692

PORTUGAL
TIPO TÊNIS
ESPONJOSA

POS.	REFERÊNCIA	OBSERVAÇÕES
20	21	22
23	24	Preço
25	26	27

Pedido	Expedição	Entrega	Embalagem
POSTAL / /	C. F. <input type="checkbox"/>	Normal <input type="checkbox"/>	2.545
CARTA / /	Correio <input type="checkbox"/>	Urgente <input type="checkbox"/>	2.546
TELEG. / /	Camio. <input type="checkbox"/>	Data fixa	2.547
TELEF. / /	Próprio <input type="checkbox"/>	/ /	2.548
VERBAL / /	E. I. C. <input type="checkbox"/>		

Figure 4.4 – Example of computer standard typefaces in Sanjo communications.

Print screen of Sanjo website main page, 2012
(<http://www.sanjo.pt>).



in Portugal the production of Sanjos moved to China¹. As a consequence, this led to blending options, processes and materials, so to distorting visual elements and the disappearance of particular features in the shoes, like smell.

Therefore it is a fact that labeling a product as being ‘authentic’ might not say anything about its authenticity but an intention to appear being so and exploit it commercially. But the loss of historical memory can also happen within the cultural sector. Despite a museum was built on the former industrial site in S. João da Madeira, little was done with respect to the shoe department of the company that was as relevant as the hat industry that originated the museum. Documents and records were kept but the vast majority of evidence available at the time was lost. That was due to the closure of the factory was controversial and socially troubled and also because the brand name and some product leftovers were sold off to a commercial company and were kept in the private domain since then.

¹ Personal conversation with Manuel Fernandes, CEO of Fersado, on 19 December 2009.

However, as a result of the work produced during the course of this research, and as a consequence of contacts made too, the same way the new owners of the brand showed interest² in the materials collected to enrich their future developments, so the museum was keen to organize an exhibition about Sanjo based on a great deal of the evidence³ gathered. There is more than enough to produce an exhibition. There are also sufficient museum quality objects for establishing a section of the museum in its own right.

As a contribution towards the recovery of cultural difference and to help sustaining claims on authenticity, the ties between design practice and culture that this research establishes has this double advantage. On the one hand by introducing a design approach that designers and companies fail to address, as well as some cultural institutions, and on the other hand by providing them with evidence they struggle to get and incorporate in their practices and collections.

4.3 (DE)CONSTRUCTING THE CASE

Building up on the chronological tables and visual matrices presented in chapter 2, Figure 4.5 is an overview of the brand that brings together all sorts of evidence found. It is organized according to chronological sequence, showing the various phases that the brand went through. In turn, each phase is constituted by various categories of information, including about the company, trademark, product, audience and the broader Portuguese context.

The fundamental idea behind an identity programme is that in everything the organization does, everything it owns, and everything it produces it should project a clear idea of what it is and what its aims are. The most significant way in which this can be done is by making everything in and around the organization—its products, buildings, communications and behaviour—consistent in purpose and performance, and where this is appropriate, in appearance too (Olins, 1995: 10).

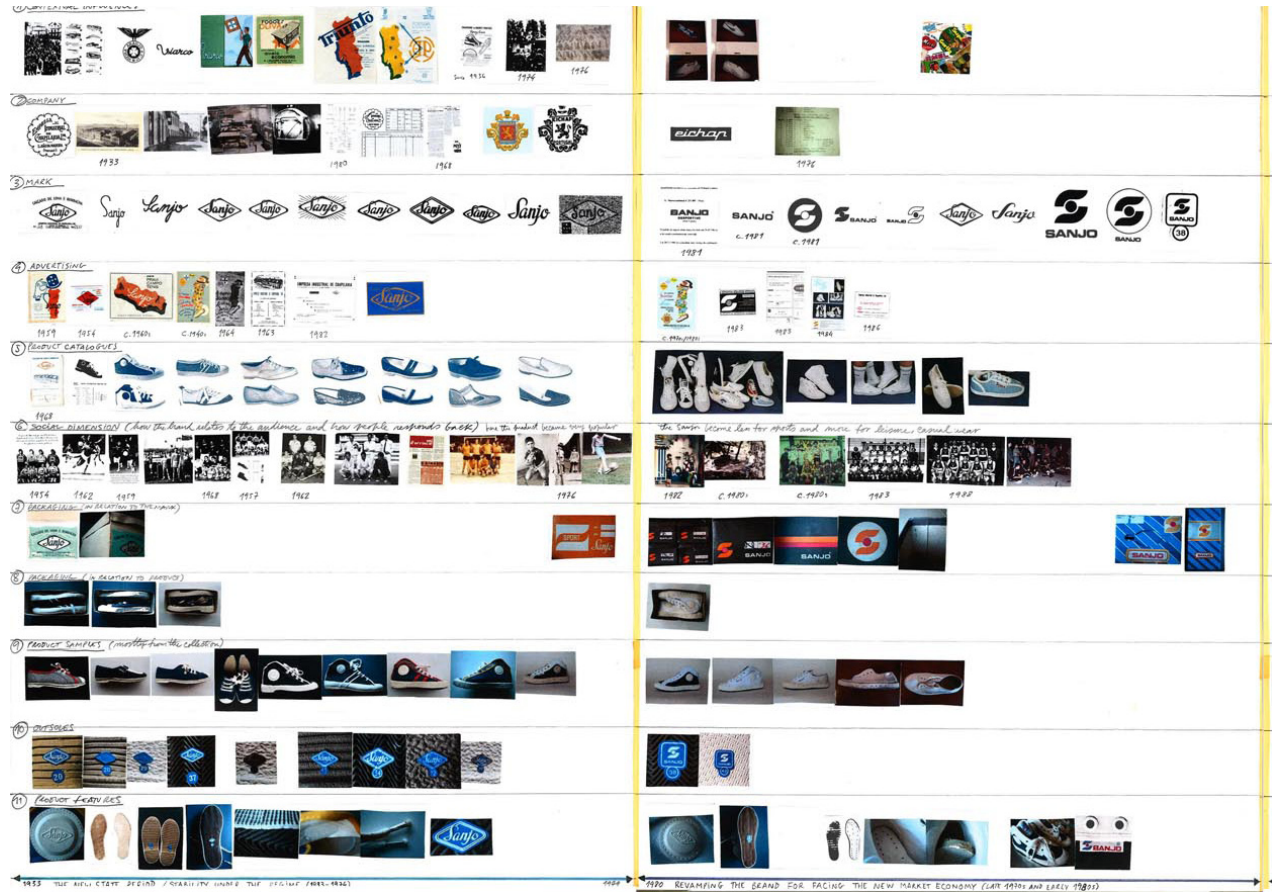
Given that corporate design programmes consist of a process that is all about constructing visual identity systems for companies, products and brands, as Olins explains (1995: 44–67), it must be said that the process he suggests provided this research with a set of guidelines that are a matter of utmost importance to produce

² Interest was shown in various ways, including email messages. See: Fernandes, P., 8 January 2010; and Fernandes, M., 23 April 2010.

³ Interest was made public. See: Costa, A. (2010).

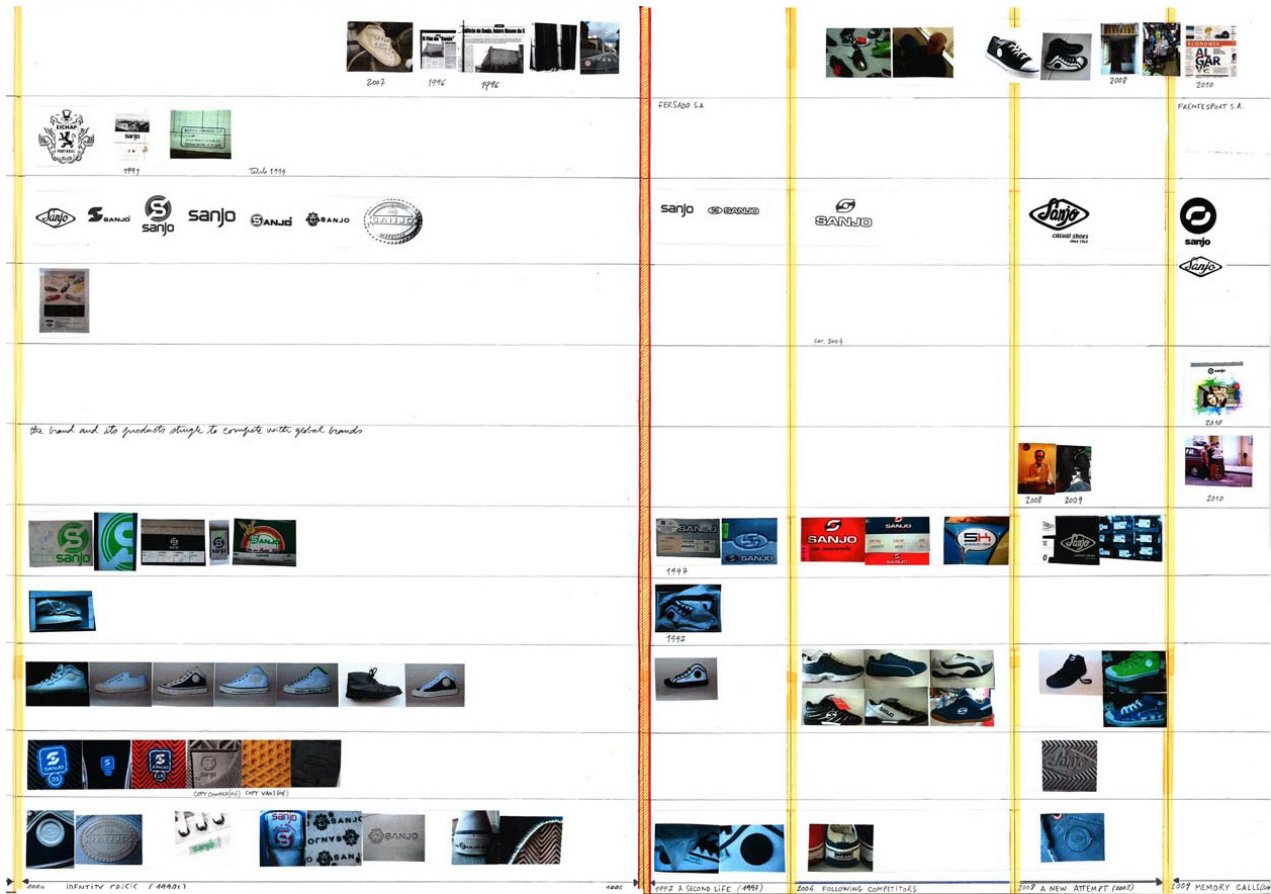
Figure 4.5 – Overview of the brand according to categories of information (vertical axis/rows) and phases (horizontal axis/columns).
For a closer inspection of details, see enlarged scale of this image in the pages ahead.

Preliminary design of the ‘board’ to accommodate the pieces of the ‘puzzle’ and show gaps. This mode of presenting a case facilitates the reading of a brand by reporting a narrative. Collage: author’s collection (original size: 118×42cm).



exactly the opposite. The main aim of this case study is precisely to demonstrate how a brand’s identity can be deconstructed by deploying similar processes, but in a reversal order. This means through collecting, isolating and putting together the pieces suggested are a brand’s main ‘ingredients’, which are visible in everything the organization does, owns and produces. Hence the basic elements of identity described in chapter 2—names, marks, typefaces, colours, and fifth elements, which manifest themselves across products, communication materials, environments (Olins, 1995: 17)—were the starting point for (de)constructing the case, to show how the Sanjo visual identity evolved and how it relates to the loss of cultural memory.

So this section explains how the Sanjo case was constructed. It shows how it progressed from the methods described in chapter 2, drawn from the evidence those



methods enabled retrieving, and from the contextual history of the brand described in the previous chapter. It also shows how such a process of deconstruction led to the design of a larger matrix for visual analysis, or 'analysis grid', to function as the 'board' of a puzzle where pieces were placed together according to groups of information and time. By combining the visual matrices with chronological tables explored in the previous chapter, putting this information together not only made visible the historical progression of the brand but it also brought to light the moments of critical transformation of the brand, showing when transformations occurred and some of the reasons why they happened.

Hence, building up on the analogy of the "puzzle" suggested by Seidel, with the idea of forensic research where evidence are fragments of a bigger picture and

gaps are also shown, a grid for visual and contextual analysis was then constructed. It was designed to accommodate most of the evidence found, which was then grouped into categories of information and placed in chronological sequencing. Overall, it facilitates the reading of a brand, consisting of a basic way of presenting a case study by reporting “a narrative following the logic and chronology of your investigation and reasoning” (Gillham, 2000: 22).

Building up on the matrices for visual analysis in chapter 2 (see Figures 2.21 and 2.27), the grid in Figure 4.5 consists of two axes. The horizontal axis refers to the historical progression of the brand, according to stages of historical development. The vertical axis consists of the various categories of information that form the brand, or its various dimensions. The categories relate to company, graphic and visual communications, products, audiences and the broader context. These include: data about the company and manufacturing; mark designs, printed materials and communications in the media; product catalogues; product samples and detailed views of particular features; packaging; users and the various contexts of use; and further contextual references as for example moments of political and economical transition that happened in the country. A detailed analysis of both axes, stages of the brand and categories of information, will be given later in this chapter.

The analysis grid was designed to be as flexible as possible to allow incorporating new data, expanding the number of categories of information or merging existing ones, and to either expand or condense the chronology so that new events could be added or just to highlight those critical ones. This means the structure presented here was designed to suit the particularities of any case, whether it is about Sanjo or another brand. In this case, it provided a holistic view of how the brand progressed and changed, how it relates to and was influenced by the broader context, and how its various dimensions relate to each other, thus enhancing possibilities for interpretation and overall analysis. This was a way of applying what Yin defines as “chain of evidence”. In his view, chain of evidence is “a principle to be followed, to increase the reliability of the information in a case study. Such a principle is based on a notion similar to that used in forensic investigations. The principle is to allow an external observer (...) to follow the derivation of any evidence from initial research questions to ultimate case study conclusions” (Yin, 2009: 122).

Like the Sanjo case demonstrates, this way of constructing a case made possible to see rather clearly how its visual identity gradually degenerated,

becoming more homogeneous, more global, and how the observation of such transformative process across time is consistently supported by cross-comparisons between different types of evidence from the various categories. For example, the degeneration of the mark in the later stages coincides with the degenerative transformation of the product designs, whose production also deviated from a locally specific manufacturing process to mass production plants in China. The correlation can be seen between facts in different categories occurring in approximate years.

This links to what Yin (2009: 116) and Gillham (2000: 13) define as “triangulation” in case study research. “Triangulation of data” is “aimed at corroborating the same fact or phenomenon” through using information from multiple sources in order to “construct validity” (Yin, 2009: 116). The construction of this grid for visual and contextual analysis hence provides design researchers and practitioners with a rather unusual way of decoding brand identity and making it a case. The analysis of such a case makes possible: (a) understanding a brand’s past by accessing to data in a form of analysis that is likely to be unique; (b) interpreting how a certain brand’s identity developed; (c) drawing conclusions from its broader understanding and knowledge, pointing out to new directions in which the brand can shift and be put into the right context through design.

By using different sources of evidence that go beyond the mere visual aspects of brand identity, the construction of the Sanjo case shows various things: that there are many design practices, including corporate design programmes, that fail to address authenticity by “introducing a kind of bland homogeneity across everything that they touch” (Olins, 1995: 67); that there is a wealth of material culture being lost; but that the rescuing of such material culture can help both sustaining claims on authenticity in future design practices, as to make a contribution to the preservation of cultural diversity. It also shows that this is only possible by rethinking current approaches to brand design, as well as by developing ways for bringing together material culture and contextual history, whether in the context of commercial companies or cultural institutions, and make use of it.

1 CONTEXTUAL INFLUENCES



Varco



1936



1974



1976

2 COMPANY



1933



1980



1968



3 MARK



Sanjo

Sanjo

Sanjo

Sanjo

Sanjo

Sanjo

Sanjo

Sanjo

Sanjo



4 ADVERTISING



1959



1954



c.1960s



c.1940s



1964



1963



1982



5 PRODUCT CATALOGUES



1968



6 SOCIAL DIMENSION (how the brand relates to the audience and how people responds back) here the product became very popular



1954



1962



1959



1968



1957



1962



1976



7 PACKAGING (IN RELATION TO THE MARK)



8 PACKAGING (IN RELATION TO PRODUCT)



9 PRODUCT SAMPLES (mostly from the collection)



10 OUTSOLES



11 PRODUCT FEATURES





eichap



1976

actualmente presentamos a continuación un Portfolio a marca

1) Marca registrada nº 211.887 - México

SANJO
DESPORTIVO
SANTO DOMINGO

2) patentes de registro de marca para los años 1975, 1981 y 1982 en los países latinoamericanos: Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panamá, Paraguay, Perú, Uruguay, Venezuela.

3) en 2011 1980 los derechos de explotación

1981

SANJO

c. 1981



c. 1981



c. 1970s/1980s



1983



1983



1984



1986



the Sanjo become less for sports and more for leisure, casual wear



1982



c. 1980s



c. 1980s



1983



1988



1990 REVAMPING THE BRAND FOR FACING THE NEW MARKET ECONOMY (LATE 1970s AND EARLY 1980s)



2007



1996



1996



1999



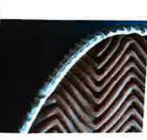
Tabela 1994



the brand and its products struggle to compete with global brands



COPY CONVERSE (ref) COPY VANS (ref)





2008

2010

FERSADO S.A.

FRENTESPORT S.A.

sanjo  SANJO


SANJO


casual shoes
since 1960


sanjo



cat. 2004



2010



2008

2009



2010



1997



1997



1997 A SECOND LIFE (1997)

2004 FOLLOWING COMPETITORS

2008 A NEW ATTEMPT (2008)

2009 MEMORY CALLS (2009)

4.3.1 Categories of information

Every passion borders the chaotic, but the collector's passion borders on the chaos of memories (...) thus there is in the life of a collector a dialectical tension between the poles of disorder and order. Everything remembered and though, everything conscious, becomes the pedestal, the frame, the base, the lock of his property. The period, the region, the craftsmanship, the former ownership—for a true collector the whole background of an item adds up to a magic encyclopedia whose quintessence is the fate of his object (Walter Benjamin, 1999b: 61–62).

Studying the case of Sanjo was a form of collecting evidence of all sorts, relating to products, imagery, and memories of the brand. The main types of evidence uncovered originated from sources of different kinds and include a wide variety of items, including documents, photographs, audio-recorded interviews, observations and notes, and a collection of 160 pairs of shoes. Linking to Benjamin's description, each item unlocks information about time, locations, craftsmanship, and former ownership.

As Edward Tufte (1997: 57) explains, “multiple, layered views exemplify the special power of diagrams [grids], the capacity to show places or activities that we are unable to see directly from one fixed viewpoint in the real world”. So instead of grouping the evidence according sources, but rather according to what each piece of information says about the various dimensions of the brand, a set of categories was identified. In summary, the main categories identified outline the vertical axis of the grid. The categories of information identified (Figure 4.6) include (A) how I relate to the brand, (B) the broader Portuguese context, (C) the audiences, or the social dimension of the brand, (D) the company, (E) mark designs and visual communications, and (F) the product.

In order to visualize evidence in such a multidimensional way, a set of images covering a great deal of the evidence found was printed out in small scale, not exceeding 5 x 5cm, and allocated in the grid. These images are the pieces of a puzzle. In reference to evidence, these include: documents and records of the company such as product catalogues and order sheets, photographs of the former industrial site and machinery, and photographs of the shoes in multiple views. There were also included other tangible manifestations of the brand such as advertisements, packaging, and on news in the media.

Photographs of users in different contexts were also printed in small scale and placed in the grid. These function not only as circumstantial evidence of who wore the

These categories, or dimensions of the brand, include visual and historical data and are grouped according to dates: (A) how I relate to the brand, (B) the broader Portuguese context, (C) the audiences, or the social

Author's collection (original size: 60 x 95cm).



Sanjos, but also as evidence about the contexts of use, time and geographical locations. On the one hand, the relevance of photographs to the analysis, for example, is that they clearly demonstrate that the relationship of the brand with sports was much closer in the early decades than what it is today. On the other hand, they also reveal that during the New State the Sanjos aimed the Portuguese market, either in Portugal mainland or in the former colonies, such as in Mozambique and Angola (Figure 4.7).

Due to the various layers of meaning that many of the images contain and the possibilities for further interpretation they suggest, it was possible to think of unfolding the categories identified into sub-categories. But creating many subcategories would also risk making the grid over complicated.

Although they are specific, the categories were kept as broad as possible so to allow incorporating any information relating to it. However, there are single pieces of evidence that would justify creating a category on their own, but in order to avoid complicating the grid they were kept either 'afloat' in one of these broad categories or outside the grid. For example, interviews with people could not be placed in the grid due to the nature of the medium, although they are of utmost relevance for understanding the history of the brand. This is the case of an interview⁴ with relatives of Valdemar Correia, a key personality in the Sanjo history. Their testimony provided relevant facts, however, only audio-recorded evidence of it was produced. Despite the contribution doesn't fit the grid it informed it in a different way. Some of the clues were tracked down and led to the discovery of further visual materials, as it is the case of a photograph. That photograph depicts the Portuguese roller hockey national team whose players featured a world-class innovation in 1962 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 made at EIC (Figure 4.8). Valdemar Correia was a chemical engineer specialized in polymers who worked at Bayer in Germany and in the UK⁵. Before his developments, wheels were either made of wood or steel. The patent, however, was never registered neither under his name nor of Sanjo or EIC.

Regarding the creation of sub-categories, photographs of users, for example, fall into the category of audiences, the social dimension of the brand, but they also might fall into different sub-categories such as sports, education, military, leisure

4 Audio-recorded interview on 18 February 2010.

5 Ibid.

Figure 4.7 – The Sanjos in Lourenço Marques, Mozambique, and Moçâmedes, Angola.

Top: Basketball teams of the 'Ferroviário de Lourenço Marques' and 'N.Y. Harlem Globetrotters' (1967) [Online image] Available from: <<http://delagoabay.wordpress.com/category/basquet/harlem-globetrotters-1967>> [Accessed 1 April 2012].

Bottom: 'Mocidade Portuguesa' (Portuguese Youth) female basketball team, Moçâmedes (present day Namibe), Angola (1960s) [Online image] Available from: <<http://memoriasdesportivas.blogspot.pt/2008/12/blog-post.html>> [Accessed 12 April 2012].

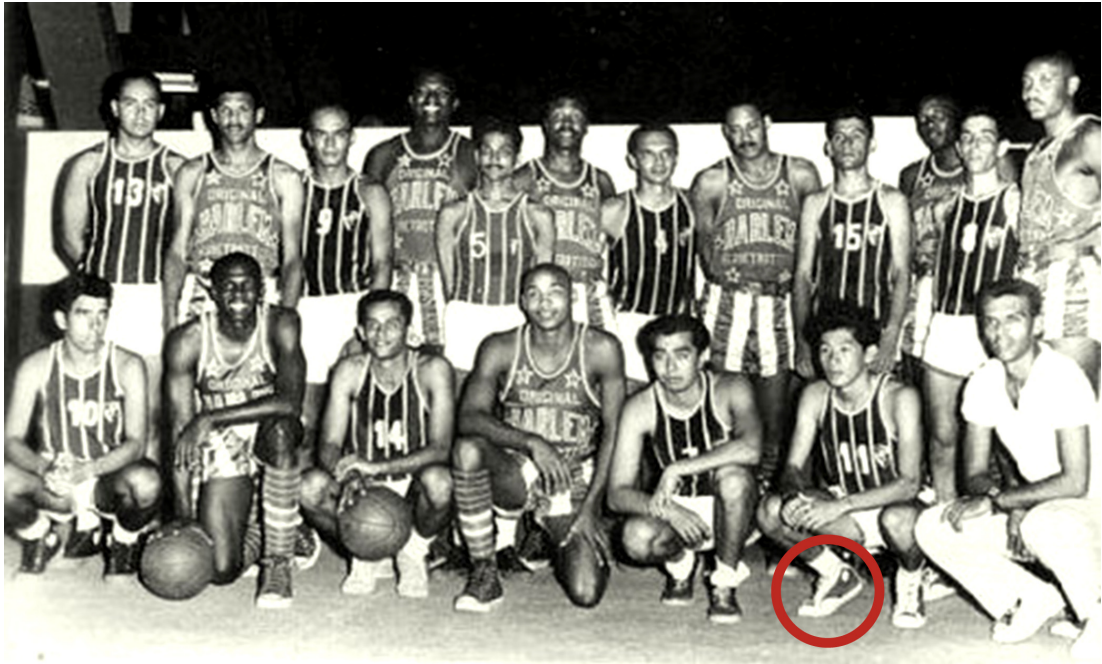


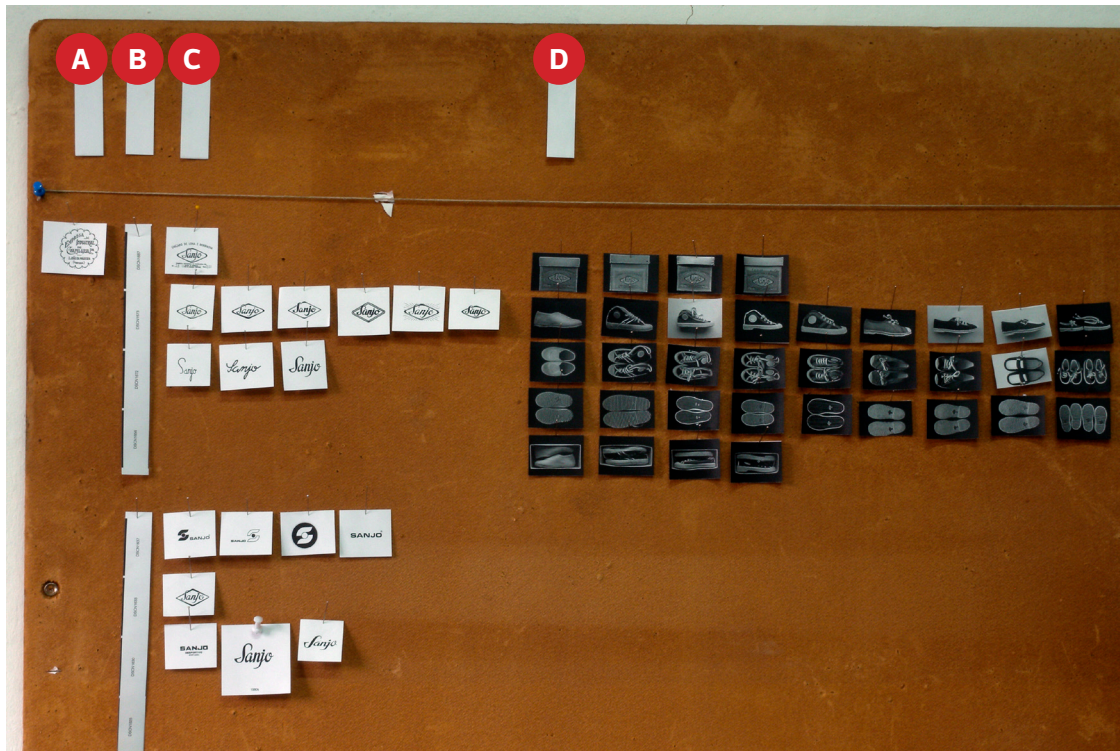
Figure 4.8 – Portuguese roller-hockey national team, world champions in Santiago do Chile, 1962. World Premiere of the rubber wheels for roller hockey shoes. This world-class innovation was developed by Valdemar Correia for Sanjo and made at EIC.

[Online image, courtesy of Francisco Parreira Lavado]. Available from: < <http://antonio-parreira-livramento.blogspot.com> > and < <http://antonio-parreira-livramento.blogspot.com/2009/08/em-1962-antonio-livramento-foi.html> >.



Figure 4.9 – Identification of sub-categories.
 Sub-categories in this image were designed to make a distinction between evidence found: (A) marks and subsidiary marks of EIC; (C) main marks and subsidiary marks of Sanjo; and (D) multiple views of the

shoes designs in the collection. Evidence was organized according to (B) the various stages of development of the brand's identity. Most of the evidence in this image refers to stage 1. B&W laser prints, montage: Author's collection (original size: 90×50cm).



and so on. On another example, visual analysis led to think of creating a number of sub-categories under the product dimension, for example, by dividing the shoes into parts, such as upper and outsole, or applications of the mark. One single branded shoe embeds a complex system of codes and meaning, relevant to consider in in-depth analysis (Figure 4.9).

As described in chapter 2, the applications of the mark on the outsole of shoes offered rich opportunities not only to investigate formal aspects of the product designs but it also enabled drawing some conclusions about production and the overall transformation of the brand over time. This means the deeper one goes into the analysis by unfolding categories, the more one gets in terms of richer contextualization. Despite each piece of evidence was placed in just one category, there are cases where it could be possible to place them under different ones. That is for example the case of a photograph from 1968 showing some intriguing Sanjos

worn by an athlete of the 'Associação Desportiva Sanjoanense' (ADS), whose design only became perceptible when a product catalogue from the same year was found, and both images were put side by side (Figure 4.10). This observation sparked a series of similar findings. The discovery of links between photographs and the catalogue made possible to see some of other Sanjos designs in detail, associating them with the context of use and time. In those cases it was even also possible to identify the product reference accurately (see Figure 4.10, bottom).

Initially, the identification of a main set of categories served the purpose of sorting information to find some order among chaos. However, this led to a form of analysis that enables zooming-in and out into details and a broader perspective, and more importantly, into contextual and historical understanding from a design point of view.

As Tufte (1997: 82) further explains, "parallelism connects visual elements. Connections are built among images by position, orientation, overlap, synchronization, and similarities in content. Parallelism grows from a common view point that relates like to like". By making the various dimensions of the brand visible at the same time, like one does with a painting, made the brand as visible from a broader perspective as it made it possible to look at its different components separately. For example, in 'Ways of seeing', Berger et al. (2005: 30–1) explains a form of visual analysis by framing out different parts of the same painting. By doing so with Pieter Brueghel's 'Procession to Calvary' he aims to show the same scenario contains different scenes that are part of the same story. The difference here, however, is that in a painting it is less common to use grids for addressing a visual narrative, nor to establish this sort of parallelism between elements. Going back to the categories, those identified in the Sanjo case are likely to be similar to those of any brand. This is what makes the system replicable. The evidence of Sanjo can then be replaced in a similar way with evidence from other cases, whether it is a Portuguese brand or not, since there is substantial evidence for analysis and a period of time to cover.

In the case of Sanjo, each category is complementary to the others and all incorporate evidence and layers of meaning that contribute to a clear picture of the brand either in a given period of time or in its life span. And this is where the horizontal axis of the grid comes into play. As briefly explained earlier in this chapter, it refers to the historical progression of the brand by dividing it into relevant stages of development.

Figure 4.10 – Photographs of Sanjos side-by-side with similar designs in a product catalogue.
Top: ADS basketball team under18s. In: Neto, D. & Silva, P. (2007) Associação Desportiva Sanjoanense: 75 anos de História (1924–1999). S. João da Madeira:

Laborpress, p. 108, illus.

Bottom: Sanjo shoes (Ref. 2540). In: Empresa Industrial de Chapelaria (1968) Calçado de lona e borracha Sanjo, catálogo n.º 40. Product catalogue: private collection, p. 5, illus.



REF. BOTA TIPO TÊNIS COM PAL ESPONJOSA VENTILAD.

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

34 - 39
40 - 45

4.3.2 Stages of the brand

The stages of the brand are considered here in the horizontal axis, as parallel instances of time containing the various categories of information in columns, aiming to assess the variation of similar evidence across time.

According to Tufte (1997: 82), “congruity of structure across multiple images gives the eye a context for assessing data variation”. So the term “parallelism” is critical to understand the way in which evidence was put together, and, particularly by addressing chronological change in similar instances, to demonstrate how the loss of historical memory in the brand’s identity happened. Tufte continues, “parallelism is not simply a matter of design arrangements, for the perceiving mind itself actively works to detect and indeed to generate links, clusters, and matches among assorted visual elements”.

By giving order to evidence, both by creating categories of information and by displaying them in chronological sequencing, the ‘linking mechanism’ behind the grid emerges as a source for establishing connections between the elements themselves, and between those elements and time.

The stages of the brand are then on the basis of the overall construction of the grid, as explained in chapter 2 in a subtle manner. More than by grouping evidence according to categories, it was by observing the historical development of the Sanjo mark that the idea of establishing parallels with other sorts of data in the form of a grid first emerged. The mark designs were then the first set of evidence that originated looking at the brand from a broader perspective, and doing so by making sense of most of the evidence accumulated. And in case study research, to start with, “you accumulate” evidence (Gillham, 2000: 20) regardless the apparent significance or the way of making sense of it at a later stage.

As shown earlier (see Figure 2.27), the chronological display of the various marks helped identifying critical moments of transformation in the brand’s history, to which the visual aspects are just one of its multiple consequences.

Like the example of the collector through which Benjamin illustrates the “dialectical tension between the poles of disorder and order”, so the evidence gathered through this research was affected by a similar tension while it was being collected. As it progressed, the discovery of an historical development in the mark designs helped making further sense of the other materials.

Despite organizing findings according to categories is in itself a form of sense

making, considering the questions raised in chapter 1 regarding the loss of historical memory and the way in which many designers and companies are contributing to it, how could those categories help to explain the progressive degeneration of authenticity in heritage brands? How such degenerative process could be explained in visual terms? How could the brand's imagery provide the means for the visualization of such phenomena? And how could time be seen considering it is a dimension on its own that is crucial to consider in any form of transformative explanations?

One might think of Seidel's analogy of the "puzzle", or Berger's framing parts of a painting to explain a bigger picture, or even Rose's descriptions of content analysis and the process of coding images for doing rigorous analysis, but all these refer to a sort of 'flat' mode of analysis where time does not necessarily play a role of significant importance, either for drawing conclusions about the loss of cultural memory in heritage brands or to assess their transformative processes. One could also think of Olins' process for assessing corporate identity, but again, it is only worth considering from a sort of reverse engineering perspective.

Regarding that there are dates in many of the materials collected and that further dates were obtained in interviews, it was then possible to sort them out according to a timeline, thus to make visible how the brand's identity progressed historically. Timelines have long proven to be powerful tools for analysis and reasoning. Of course there are flaws in the evidence, gaps, and data with no dates. That is part of the challenge. But there were there enough materials and referents for consistent "triangulation", as there were enough dates for thinking of time as the missing dimension for objectively unlocking evidence in a chronological manner.

There are extensive examples and studies focusing on Portuguese history, but any serious timeline of Portuguese brands was ever constructed before, including that of Sanjo (set aside two different attempts in length and depth: Almeida, 2005: 119–136; Cardoso, 2010: 29). Thus drawing from the chronological tables described in chapter 2 (see Figures 2.21, 2.22 and 2.27) and from historical events explained in chapter 3, a series of timelines were produced (Figure 4.11). These include the dates referring to the brand and relevant dates from the 20th century Portuguese history.

By doing so the aim was to find out whether there were any connections between Sanjo and its context, and what it could say about the way the brand changed. Not only the history of the brand became visible this way, but it also

became visible in relation to the contextual history of the country.

I included my own timeline as part of the study to explore connections between how I experienced the brand and what was happening both with Sanjo and in the country at the time. There I found to have experienced the heyday of the brand in childhood and since then accompanied its various stages of development until today. This could mean bringing into the research a rather personal subjective dimension. However, it also meant being in a privileged position, aware of the various stages of the brand, sensitive to the types of evidence to uncover, knowing where it possibly could be found, and why it would matter.

Figure 4.11 – Chronologies of Portuguese history, of Sanjo, and Pedro. (1891–2010).

This comparative table shows the trajectory of the brand over one century, and how it relates to Portuguese history. There was also included how I assisted to development of the brand across the various periods of transformation of its visual identity. Unfolding pages (original size 84×21cm).

"Estado Novo"

TIMELINE
(1933-1974)



Sanjo

TIMELINE
(1933-2010)



According to an institutional document (CENTENÁRIO) dated from 1971 the former company OLIVEIRA PAIMARIS started producing hats in 1891.

1891

foundation of former company

company changes name to: OLIVEIRA, CAMARÃO, ARAÚJO & C.A.

1904

Pedro

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

1890

1895

1900

1905

4.4 DECLINE OF BEING INTO MERELY APPEARING

This section explains how it is possible to demonstrate through visual and contextual analysis how Sanjo start becoming global, losing the richness of the culturally specific and historical contextualization.

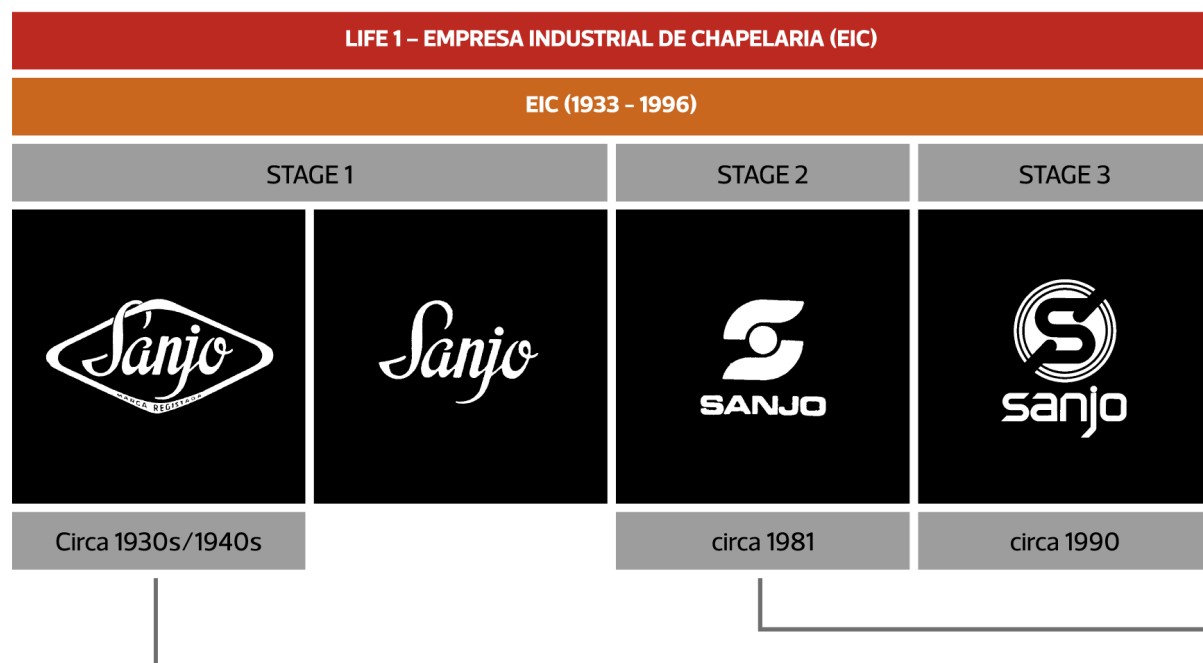
It was possible to identify the main stages that Sanjo went through and to find out what do they show both separately and as a whole. Six different stages corresponding to major changes in the mark designs were found, but it was also found those changes were closely linked to significant moments of transformation in the company. Olins argues (1995: 31), changes in visual identity often occur as a consequence of organizational restructuring such as acquisitions, mergers and takeovers. It is by no coincidence that within the six stages there were found three periods corresponding to three different owners of the brand. Every time owners changed there were significant changes, but within each period there were also changes in management that influenced the way the brand presented itself to audiences. The first period is by far the longest one and it refers to the former Empresa Industrial de Chapelaria (1933–1996). The second and third periods refer to the subsequent legal owners, respectively Fersado (1997–2009) and Frentesport/Son (since 2009). Therefore there is a particular story within each of these periods that bring clarity about the brand's overall history.

The other stages refer to transformations inside the companies. They either refer to changes in administration or to different approaches to the business due to external pressures such from the economic environment or competitors. Altogether, the six stages explicate how the brand shifted from a culturally specific context to a commercially biased exploitation of a cultural icon, leading to the loss of its own historical and contextual references along the process, and this shift is explicitly visible through all categories of information across time. What comes next is a resume of what each stage says about itself and how it contributed to shaping of the brand.

The main periods and stages identified were defined as follows (Figure 4.12).

Figure 4.12 – Historical development of the brand.

This table results from the research findings and the methods developed in chapter 2 for constructing chronological tables.



Life 1 EMPRESA INDUSTRIAL DE CHAPELARIA

Period 1 EMPRESA INDUSTRIAL DE CHAPELARIA (1933–1996)

Stage 1: Longevity and stability under the regime (1933–1974)

Stage 2: Facing the new market economy (late 1970s–mid 1980s)

Stage 3: Identity crisis (mid 1980s–1996)

Life 2 AFTER THE EMPRESA INDUSTRIAL DE CHAPELARIA

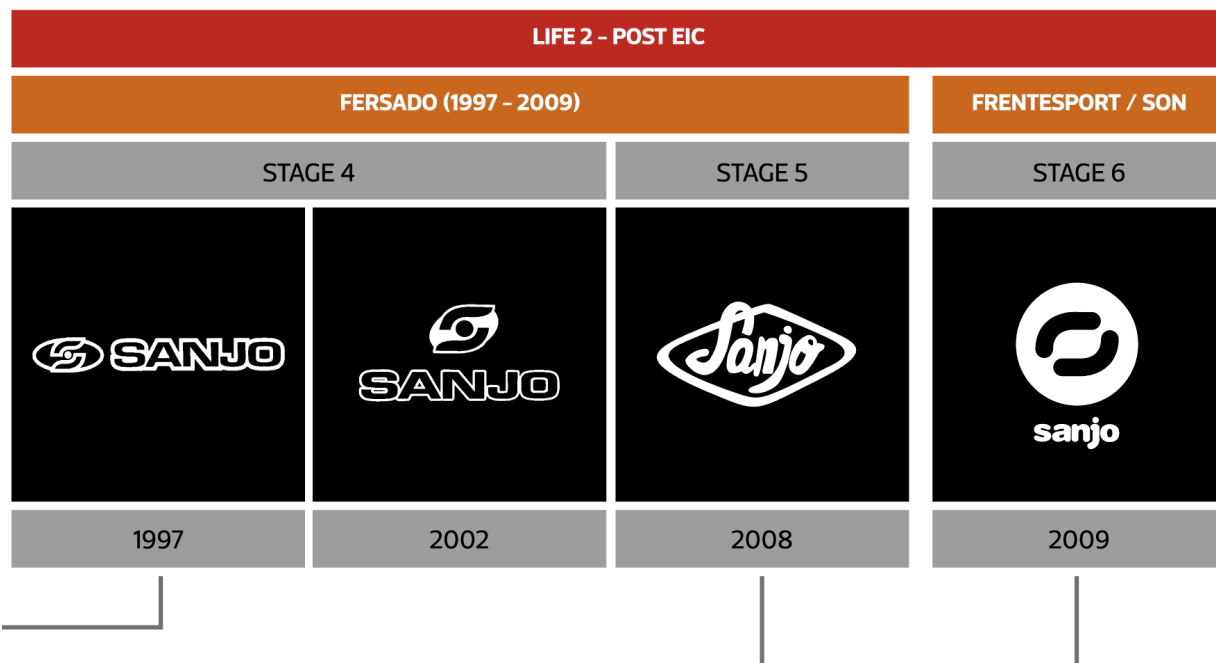
Period 2 FERSADO (1997–2009)

Stage 4: A second life (1997–2008)

Stage 5: New attempt (2008–2009)

Period 3 FRENTESPORT/SON (since 2009)

Stage 6: “Memories from the past” (since 2009)



4.4.1 Stage 1: Longevity and stability under the regime (1993–1974)

The New State explains a great deal about the popularity and longevity of Sanjo, as well as it explains why image barely changed over forty years. Whether intentionally or not, there was a conservative approach to the brand that concurs with Salazar's nationalistic conservative ideologies, also present in other Portuguese brands from that time. The company specialized in hat manufacturing and later footwear. The process for producing the shoes was by hand and through vulcanization, to harden rubber by treating it with sulfur at high temperature. So this typology of hand made canvas and rubber vulcanized shoes was the main feature of the Sanjos, which gave them a certain *organic* feel. That can be seen in the shoes from the collection (Figure 4.13).



Figure 4.13 – Vulcanized canvas and rubber Sanjos.
Original Sanjos made in Portugal by the Empresa Industrial de Chapelaria, 2011. Photographs: author's collection. Shoe on the left, courtesy of Vitor Amorim.



As with the mark, the evolution of the product designs was slow and steady, and both contributed to the coherence and consistency of the overall image for 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 (see, for example, Figure 4.9 D).

Another feature the Sanjos from this period show 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 (see also Figure 4.9 D). All was kept to a minimum. Although details show great care in manual production, the use of materials also reflects the economical limitations at the time. But it also shows the little significance of the term 'brand' as an asset for competing in the market compared to what is seen nowadays, as 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.

In pictures from that period found in newspapers and weblogs referring to the practice of sports back in the 1950s, 60s and 70s show the Sanjos were mainly used for sports. In those pictures, 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 many photographs in which the context of use, the shape of the shoes and the dates they were taken sustain the suspicion of being Sanjos but can not be proved (Figure 4.14). Nevertheless, a closer inspection into a monograph celebrating the 75 years of ADS (Neto & Silva, 1999), the main sports club in S. João da Madeira, reveals there was a close link between the brand and the club. An example of this is a photograph showing female basketball teams from ADS and Boavista FC. The latter became better known nationally and internationally, but at that time the ADS players were wearing the latest and finest Sanjos (Figure 4.15). Many other photographs of ADS teams also show the Sanjos were worn for different sports from

Figure 4.14 – Inauguration of the ‘Estádio do Restelo’ (Restelo Stadium) in Belém, Lisbon, 1956. Although probability is high, this image is representative of the cases where it is not possible to prove whether the shoes are Sanjo or not.

Interestingly however in this photograph, is also the distinction between women and men’s colour of the shoes. In: Vieira, J. (2000) *Portugal Século XX: Crónica em Imagens 1950–1960*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, p. 63, illus.



Figure 4.15 – Boavista FC and ADS female basketball teams in 1966.

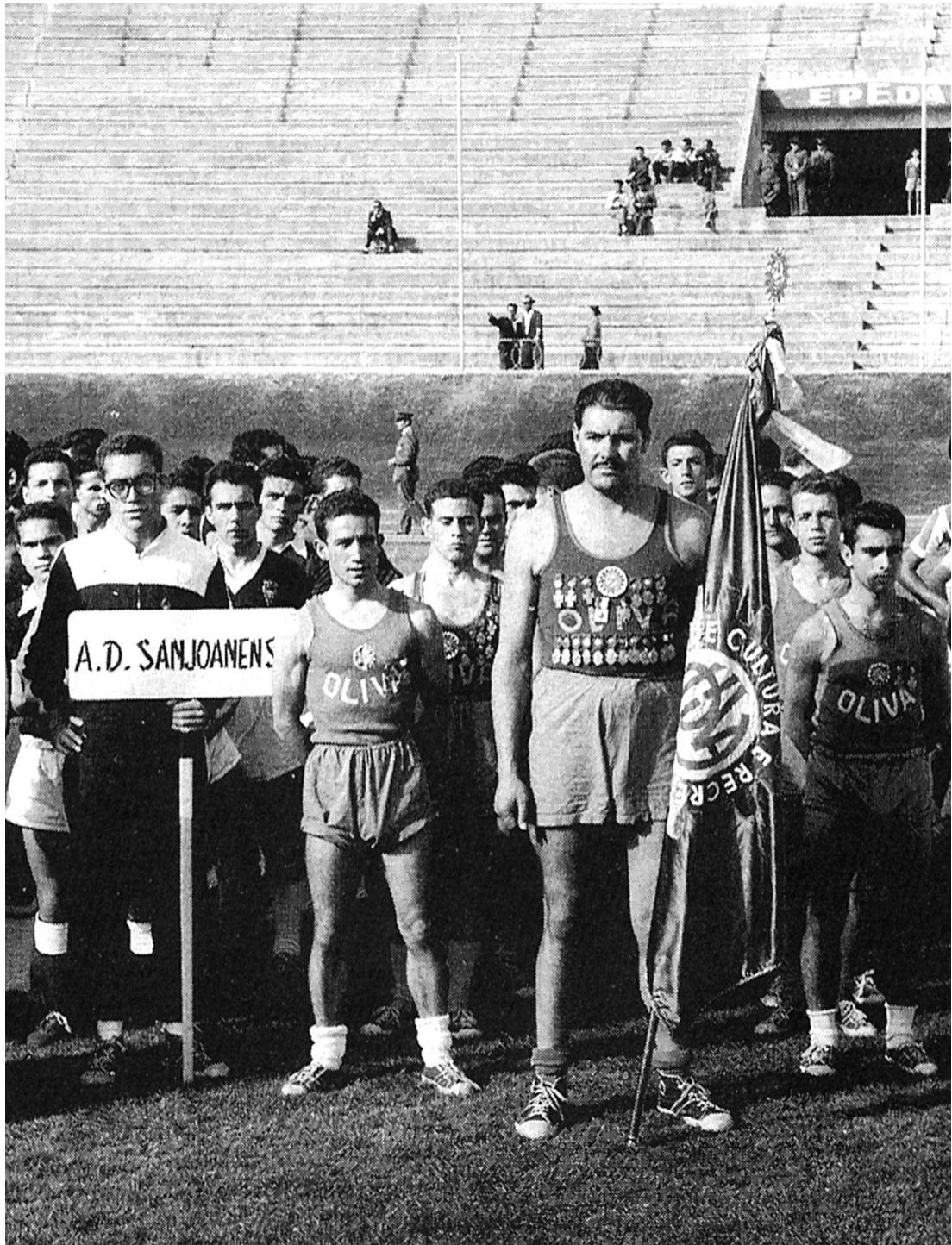
ADS players, on the right, wearing the latest Sanjos.
In: Neto, D., & Silva, P. (1999) *Associação Desportiva Sanjoanense: 75 anos de História (1924–1999)*.
S. João da Madeira: Laborpress, p. 135, illus.



the 1940s until the 1980s, and were present in important sports events at national level (Figure 4.16).

In contrast, pictures of people wearing the Sanjos today show the brand became a sort of fashion statement among younger generations who barely know the brand's history, apart from what they hear from their parents or in the media. To older generations, the brand functions as a sort of device for awakening nostalgic feelings, but it hardly relates to its history or to sports, instead, it rather relates to what Guy Debord (1967) calls the "society of the spectacle". Debord traces the development of a modern society in which authentic social life has been replaced by its representation: "all that was once directly lived has become mere representations". The present age, he argues, "prefers the sign to the signified, the copy to the original, representation to reality, and the appearance to the essence". The forms of advertising the brand shows today are representations of the past with absent referents. Despite the exposure of the brand in the media, just a few superficial historical referents are included. However, relationships between the brand and public figures are forged to say the Sanjos are their (sponsored) choice.

Figure 4.16 – ADS athletes at the Luso-Brazilian games at FC Porto's 'Estádio das Antas' in 1960.
In: Neto, D., & Silva, P. (1999) *Associação Desportiva Sanjoanense: 75 anos de História (1924–1999)*.
S. João da Madeira: Laborpress, p. 108, illus.



4.4.2 Stage 2: Facing the new market economy (late 1970s–mid 1980s)

As mentioned in chapter 3, the end of the regime dictated to some extent the end of popularity of many brands from that period. Barriers to imports were lifted and more sophisticated products coming from abroad became easier to find in Portugal since then. In market terms, the stagnant Sanjos were facing serious threat from international competitors for the first time.

Political and economical transformations in the country led to changes in the approach to Sanjo so it could respond to the new market economy. This was a troubled period. In 1976 the administration of the company changed and a new CEO was appointed to run the company. In the early 1980s he decided to launch a new visual identity for the brand to replace the “old fashioned lettering⁶” with a more contemporary look. The process included the registration of the brand name, the introduction of a new mark design and new typefaces, and the use of orange and red were added to the light blue. Following on the tradition of the company and the vulcanization process, there were also designed new products and advertisements designed (Figure 4.17). Some key elements of the previous identity were consciously kept. Former CEO Carlos Santos explained⁷, “the aim was bringing modernity to an old structure, but keeping the spirit of Sanjo alive”. For example, the shoe design that made the Sanjos popular was improved and the white lateral round label with the old lettering in a lozenge maintained. But despite the efforts for giving the brand a new breadth and making it more appealing to a wave of new consumers, it slowly became less used for sports as photographs from this period show⁸. Conversely, the previously very expensive Sanjos became more accessible to the wider public and progressively used as casual footwear.

During this period in Portugal, similar approaches to visual identity occurred in other brands. Computer typefaces were novelties and soon replaced old lettering. In illustration, other motifs than the ‘geo-ethnographic’ representations and other nation centered referents start appearing as a sign of an alternative, more liberal approach to commercial brands.

6 In audio recorded interview with former CEO Carlos Santos on the 8 September 2009.

7 Ibid.

8 In the monograph of ADS it is visible that teams started replacing the Sanjos by other brands such as Adidas. In this monograph, 1984 is the last year when a pair of Sanjos were used by ADS athletes’ for competition. However, some veteran players kept wearing them until the 1990s.

Figure 4.17 – Sanjo advertisement, 1984.

In: Terras da nossa terra (1984) December, vol.21, p.43, illus.



SANJO

SANJO






SANJO – EMPRESA INDUSTRIAL DE CHAPELARIA, LDA.

Endereço / Address - R. OLIVEIRA JÚNIOR, 501 - P.O. BOX 2 - 3701 S. JOÃO DA MADEIRA CODEX
 Telefone / Telephone - 22005/6/7
 Telex - 25587 EICHAP P
 Director Comercial e outros / Commercial Directors - DR. HERMANO SERRANO, FREITAS MOTA
 Produtos - DESPORTIVO, HOMEM, SENHORA, CRIANÇA, VULCANIZADO, ALTA, COMPONENTES PARA CALÇADO E CHAPELARIA
 Products - SPORT SHOES, MEN'S, LADIES', CHILDREN'S, VULCANIZED, HIGH, SHOE COMPONENTS, HATTER'S
 Produção diária - 1.500 / 2.000 PARES
 Daily production - 1,500 / 2,000 PAIRS
 Produção diária (moldado) - 12.000 PARES (SBR MOLDADO)
 Daily production - 12,000 PAIRS (SBR MOULDED)
 Número de operários / Number of employees - 100
 Percentagem da produção com destino à exportação / Percentage of production for export - 40%
 Bancos / Banks - BBI, BESCL, UBP, BPA, BNU
 Marcas / Trade Marks - SANJO

SANJO

4.4.3 Stage 3: Identity crisis (mid 1980s–1996)

It is well known the liberalization of the market, including in former totalitarian regimes (Andreff, 1995), and computerization of graphic languages increased radically throughout the 1980s and the 1990s (Poynor, 2003). 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 premises⁹—became heavy, out dated, and very difficult to manage.

As Carlos Santos stated, “stakeholders were as many as it became unbearable to take any decisions in the overcrowded board meetings”. 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 and orange, as well as new typefaces start being used. New product designs were also introduced and this time many designs incorporated moulded soles, complementary to the vulcanized ones, and different materials such as leather start being used too. A wider variety of shoe typologies turned the brand into a generalist footwear maker. As with graphic design, so the approach to shoe designs became a pastiche of visual references (Figure 4.18).

Figure 4.18 – Sanjos from stage 3.

*Original Sanjos and packaging from the 1990s, 2011.
Author’s collection.*



⁹ According to personal conversation held in 2004 with former EIC employee Méssio Trindade.

As mentioned earlier in chapter 2, the various mark designs both from this stage 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 is 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 the corporate and the 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 decreased¹⁰. Regarding this stage, 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. The commercial setting for selling the Sanjos also changed since they could be easily found in cheap street markets. In the 1970s, for example, "even commercial agents had to wait months until they could get their orders, since production was as limited clients were carefully selected"¹¹.

All this means the company was struggling in: (re)linking the brand to sports or producing the shoes for specific audiences; 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, this can be seen across the mixture of the basic elements of identity. It also means the brand inherited a number of design solutions that were being used at the same time whether referring to EIC or Sanjo. Such visual mess was already an anticipation of what would come rather sooner than later, the collapse of Sanjo.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ In video-recorded interview with Álvaro Santos Chaves, former agent of Sanjo in Coimbra (Casa Bambi) on 8 August 2008.

4.4.4 Stage 4: A second life (1997–2007)

The controversial process for closing the Empresa Industrial de Chapalaria in 1996 came to an end after a year-long series of auctions in which machinery, tools, furniture, artifacts, products, raw materials, and most of the historical memory of the brand held by EIC was sold off. But 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. However, any chance to retrieve the unique productive system and know-how upon which Sanjo developed, aiming at its reconstitution, was really out of the question. That was irreversibly lost.

Nevertheless, 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. According to Luís Quintino¹², the deal included buying the brand name along with the remaining stock of shoes. The main design that made the Sanjos famous, 'K100' as it was informally known among some sellers¹³, inspired Fersado to produce replicas in cheap labour countries. Since the 'K100', more correctly the 1660 series¹⁴ (see Figure 3.7), were quite well known among amateur indoor football practitioners in the 1990s, its design and reputation represented an opportunity for exploring such a niche market.

As mentioned earlier in chapter 2, copy is a common practice among footwear producers. So complementary to the revival of the 1660 series, Fersado also start producing other designs for indoor football. But the new Sanjos turn out to become cheaper copies of well succeeded designs from global brands, aimed at competing with them in the Portuguese market, but rather displaying the Sanjo name or the mark on the side of shoes. There, new materials were also adopted, as for example synthetic leather (Figure 4.19).

This stage represented however a return to marks originally from stage 1 (on the white round labels of the 1660 replicas), from stage 2 (the mark originally designed in the early 1980s was redrawn to be used as the main mark of stage 4),

¹² Interview in S. João da Madeira with former CEO of EIC, Luís Quintino, on 27 May 2009. He was appointed by the court of law to manage the dismantlement of the company.

¹³ Personal conversation with Manuel Fernandes, CEO of Fersado, on 19 December 2009.

¹⁴ According to references in original Sanjo shoes boxes, in a product catalogue from 1968, and in original EIC order sheets. See images in Appendix D.

and from stage 3 (on the small textile labels on the side of the first 1660 replicas). This was made quite explicit. There was a cumulative use of the mark designs from stage to stage, meaning that previous marks were coexisting simultaneously with redesigns and new designs.

In general terms, stage 4 corresponds to the first Fersado's attempt for reviving the brand in Portugal by making use of some previous visual references, but also by incorporating them into shoes designs resembling those from global brands. Despite original mark designs were either redrawn or redesigned, as with some product designs (the 1660 series in particular), most of the influences were rather from other sources than from the brand's previous achievements in terms of product and communication designs. According to Manuel Fernandes, "no product or graphic designers were ever employed by Fersado, only advertising agencies are commissioned to do the job, preferably those whose responses are cheaper and faster"¹⁵. If historical accounts and referents are difficult to get due to the closure of the brand, its almost accidental¹⁶ acquisition, and lack of research, it is no less true that the approach of Fersado to Sanjo has been rather superficial and neglects that it is possible to rescue a great deal of historical evidence to feed the brand's development and sustain its cultural significance.

Figure 4.19 – Sanjos from stage 4.
Sanjos made in China, 2011.
Shoes courtesy of Vitor Amorim.



¹⁵ Personal conversation with Manuel Fernandes,
CEO of Fersado, on 19 December 2009.

¹⁶ Ibid.

4.4.5 Stage 5: A new attempt (2008–2009)

According to Manuel Fernandes¹⁷, there was a certain degree of awareness of the issues of authenticity despite in practice the opposite is shown. Being as faithful as possible to what the brand had been in the past was a goal to achieve but the efforts made left Fersado only halfway to this intention. In 2008 the ‘1660’ series was redesigned under the ‘K100’ name. However, considering during stages 3 and 4 (from the late 1980s to 2007) very little attention was paid to the brand by most of the audiences, this time the re-launch was noticed by the media (Figure 4.20).

Again, both the product and the mark designs were just an impoverished resemblance of the original Sanjos. Along with a distorted version of the mark from stage 1, as we have seen in chapter 2 (see Figure 2.17), many other details don’t do justice to what the brand used to be or to its history. Among others, for example: the reference to a date in shoe boxes is inaccurate (there it reads “Since 1960”); the soles are moulded instead of the originally mounted by hand and vulcanized; the quality of the materials such as the rubber of outsole and insoles were softer in the earlier stages; and the characteristic smell¹⁸ of the original Sanjos contrasts with the smell of petrol. There were lost many production details.

The overall approach of stages 4 and 5 link to Baudrillard’s argument that “history has retreated, leaving behind an indifferent nebula, traversed by currents, but emptied of references” (1994: 43), or to what Jameson defined as “stylistic empty gestures” (Guffey, 2006: 22). For example, since stage 4 the shoes boxes come overloaded with stuff, such as barcodes and indecipherable information, labels, wrapping paper and silica gel bags, which today are a default in many mass-produced objects. With respect to social responsibility and environmental sustainability, by observing how the brand deals with packaging one can deduct that the previous concerns with the economy of resources are far from current practices. With the term “spectacle” Debord (1967) refers to a system where there is a confluence of advanced capitalism, the mass media, and the types of governments who favour those phenomena. By moving productions to China, there was not only a contribution to the loss of historical memory, but it also impoverished the local economy. Hence

¹⁷ Personal conversation with Manuel Fernandes, CEO of Fersado, on 19 December 2009.

¹⁸ Smell is a dimension of the product, which this thesis struggles to deal with. However, the practice component, namely the design of the exhibition, incorporates a section to demonstrate this.

the designers' activities are immersed in such profound notions of contemporary industrial and economical pressure. But if designers and companies tend to engage in the "spectacle" through mainstream approaches to reach their audiences, research on design provides however an invaluable opportunity for designers to stand back from their practices and rethink their contributions towards an ecology of the profession.

Figure 4.20 – The relaunch of Sanjo covered by the media.

In: Oliveira, S. (2009) *Sanjo regressa ao mercado*. Público, *Economia*, 22 May, p.1, illus.



4.4.6 Stage 6: “Memories from the past”

Baudrillard’s conception of simulacra and simulacrum where all is composed of references with no referents is worth considering here in relation to the “memories from the past” (Sanjo 2010a) mentioned by Sanjo in the website announcing the re-launch of the brand in 2010.

During stage 5 the brand gained visibility in the Portuguese media due to an emerging interest in extinguished brands. Many of those had flourished during the New State and therefore could be linked to the regime. But regardless of political and ideological considerations, many of the products from that era became object of curiosity for younger generations. Many are keen¹⁹ to know more about their own cultural roots and about the brands and products their parents grew up with and know more about their stories, to whom the Sanjos are just one of its representatives. In the recent years, Portuguese newspapers, magazines, television programmes and cultural institutions have paid some attention to this phenomenon.

Like Fersado, there are companies eager to take advantage of this emerging interest in uncovering the past, not only because such products are representative of an era and therefore are part of the collective memory, but mostly because they represent business opportunities too.

By showing production techniques and materials that became almost obsolete, and visual elements such as lettering and illustrations unusually seen today due to the computerization of things, these products originals stand out as different. But most companies and even cultural institutions barely have an idea on how to deal with it in terms of how ethnographic research and design can help exploring them in new and deeper ways. On the contrary, as the Sanjo case illustrates, such historical and cultural representativeness is just an opportunity for commercial exploitation of what is claimed to be authentic, but in the end it turns out to be a mere and superficial representation of it, although many seem to be happy with it (Figure 4.21).

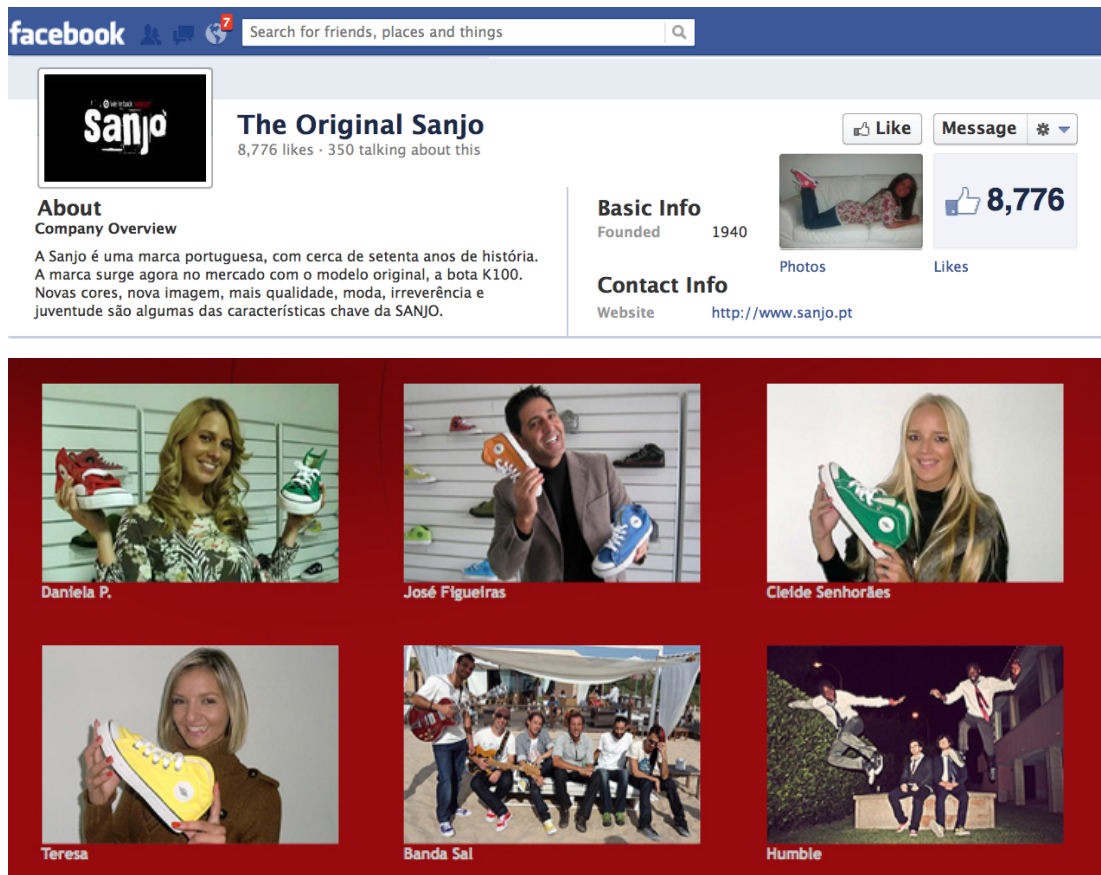
The Sanjo brand is still under transformation today but it shows it is composed of a set of references with no referents. It neither includes any referents regarding previous design solutions (set aside a distorted version of the mark design from stage 1), historical facts, manufacturing, audiences and their memories, nor

¹⁹ As an example, nearly 150 design students showed genuine interest in discovering such products and brands in a design project I conducted at the University of Aveiro between 2005 and 2007. See Appendix A.

Figure 4.21 – Sponsored choices.

Top: “The Original Sanjo” on Facebook, screen-print. Available from: <<http://www.facebook.com/SanjoOriginal>> [Accessed 1 April 2012].

Bottom: “Who puts on Sanjo”, screen-print. Available from: <http://sanjo.pt/epages/2546-120308.sf/en_GB/?ObjectPath=/Shops/2546-120308/Categories/A_Sanjo_calca_8230> [Accessed 1 April 2012].



from the broader context in which the brand developed. A look into the broader context shows the specificities of the country and the brands therein dissolved, becoming more global, more homogeneous. By putting evidence side by side in the grid according to categories and time, what stands out clearly visible is a progressive degenerative process and therefore a discrepancy between what the Sanjos were in the past and what they come to be today. And such discrepancy is visible across all the categories of information in the grid. It is visible in the relationship between the brand and sports, the locality of manufacturing and uniqueness of the processes it involved, and the relationship with the audiences.

With respect to graphic design, it is clear that present day solutions rely on a bland computerization of graphic elements and use of meaningless imagery. Whether we like it or not, there was a closer relationship between the Sanjo identity and the local culture, which is gradually disappearing.

4.5 SUMMARY

In an attempt to summarize the main findings of this chapter, what follows is a synthesis of how the Sanjo imagery was influenced by global brand developments:

- a) A locally relevant industry was replaced by a commercial company;
- b) The original mark design was distorted and a profusion of other designs starting to inundate the brand;
- c) Product designs, originally resulting from the specificities of a unique production system were replaced by cheap copies of global brands' best-sellers;
- d) Local manufacturing was replaced by productions outsourced in Asian countries where labour costs are cheaper;
- e) Quasi-natural materials, such as rubber and cotton canvas, were replaced by synthetic materials;
- f) A sense of national identity in communications was replaced by non-specific visual standards.
- g) Finally, although the brand is being exploited today by a commercial company and by the media its long-standing tradition was lost.

Considering that there are commercial and cultural interests in the outcomes of this research, it is then necessary to position them in relation to the purposes and roles they can play in these settings.

Firstly, the commercial interest in the materials for further exploiting the brand in the market and the interest of the Museu da Chapelaria in these materials to enrich their collection, show two different ways in which the research outcomes can be explored in the future. But it shows something else: it shows that both the company and the museum need something that is absent or inaccessible to them. Hence not only the materials are of significant value to them but also the system developed for rescuing such material culture was crucial so it could be brought to light.

Secondly, because the fall of the regime was almost four decades ago and it is less problematic today to talk about it, whether through brand imagery or not, there is a rise of interest in uncovering material culture from that era and making it visible, whether in a commercial or cultural setting. By making visible a certain 'Portugality' that the last decades helped forgetting, the significance of such material

culture also relates to the broader context because the rescuing system that resulted from this approach also applies to other cases. As the Appendix A shows, there is a wealth of cultural memory to be investigated and a wide range of brands to be explored in similar ways.

And thirdly, one may ask about the ‘so what’ of this approach to graphic design and to the brands it relates to. There are no simple answers but some indications have already been given. One is about a contribution to the Portuguese graphic design history in the 20th century. The articulation of contextual history of brands and graphic design contributes to an understanding of how graphic design evolved in Portugal and how it affected brand design. This is a territory that only a very few ventured exploring. Another indication relates directly to uncovering cultural difference by drawing from design heritage. Graphic design practices can benefit from such a way of exploring and contextualising the subject of their practices. For example, by uncovering difference and meaning that previous design solutions might offer is opposed to neglect their existence in favor of adopting visually globalized stereotypes. Cross-referencing dates, historical facts, physical evidence and memories of the brand altogether contribute to understand the brand’s trajectory of historical development. It also enables to identify critical moments of identity transformation and see how such an iconic brand start becoming homogenized. Combining timelines and grids for analysis is then a methodological approach to assess visual identity from a graphic design perspective that is replicable, hence other brands can be studied in similar ways.

Bringing design heritage to light through historical contextualization instead of burying it implies in itself a contribution to cultural difference rather than to cultural homogenization. And this is already another indication of the study as an act of resistance and a response to the globalization of visual identity. It is not about design for its own sake, nor for the sake of the brands it might relate to, but an act of cultural sustainability to avoid the superficiality of thoughtless design approaches to what is locally specific.

What is true for many Portuguese brands in terms of a tendency to visual uniformity might be also true for other brands that developed in similar circumstances as the Sanjo did, and today also lack in historical contextualization. The following chapter attempts to map out how designers and companies are dealing with brands that became cultural icons under authoritarian regimes, and

whether those brands are also becoming homogeneous. There a series of parallel examples are presented to find contrasts and similarities between the Portuguese case and other brands of sports shoes from other countries. The main questions are whether design approaches are contributing to the acknowledgment of historical memory and cultural diversity? to what extent are the brands' roots being investigated and whether evidence is being either collected or explored? and what is the role designers play in present day developments of such brands?

CHAPTER 5:

PARALLEL EXAMPLES, A COMPARATIVE STUDY



Figure 5.1 – The Roman brother and sister wearing Botas ice-skating shoes.

“Eva and Pavel Roman, two-fold European and four-fold World champions in ice dancing in years 1962–1965”

Available from: <<http://www.botas.cz/picture/foto/Romanovib.jpg>> [Accessed 15 March 2011].

Chapter 5 PARALLEL EXAMPLES, A COMPARATIVE STUDY

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Preparation of materials drawn from the Internet,
aiming to analyse brand identities visually.
Author's collection (original size 21×29,7cm).



5.1 INTRODUCTION TO THE PARALLEL EXAMPLES

The primary purpose of this chapter is to investigate the phenomenon of brand revivals similar to the Sanjo case, from a broader perspective. First and foremost, brand revivals tend to be small acts of resistance either against the state of culturally specific products that fell into oblivion, or against the dominance of global brands.

So the study presents a series of parallel examples to illustrate some of the patterns that can be identified through delving into the visual identity and historical account of sports shoes brands. Within this framework, three major ideas are presented throughout the chapter. One refers to brand revivals in relation to cultural memory, a sense of place in brands, and national consciousness. The second concerns the design approaches to the visual identity aspects of the brands revived, with regards to a historical account and cultural reference. And a third idea draws attention to the significance of the role that contextual research and archival practices play, as a necessary effort to inform and sustain the cultural representativeness that such brands tend to claim.

A few examples were found, enabling the establishment of comparisons between the Portuguese brand Sanjo and other brands (also of sports shoes) that have emerged in the uneven, post-war development of capitalism in Europe and China. What was found in common about these brands was that they became dominant under authoritarian regimes in their respective countries, they could not resist to the threat of global brands after the fall of those regimes, and that in the recent years these brands have been subject to revival under contemporary design approaches, becoming visible in international markets. It was also found that despite revivals they have lost many aspects of their own histories. The comparative study was made by looking at elements of brand identity for interpreting visual data through contextual analysis. This was made by deploying the methods described in chapters 2 and 4, namely graphic surgery, timelines, and grids. Iconic shoe designs from these brands and their related imagery was drawn from the Internet, photographed from originals or digitized and digitally restored (Figure 5.2), and then assembled together in the form of a larger chronological table and separate grids for visual and contextual analysis. This shows how the methods developed can be applied to other cases, so to assess matters of visual identity.

Hence this chapter makes some claims about the loss of history since there is a pattern in other brands as in Sanjo, as well as about the research methods developed.

5.2 NOSTALGIA: A LANDSCAPE OF REVIVALS

Nostalgia is a positive sentimental longing for the past often related to desirable aspects that are out of reach. Emotions associated to a dear past such as to childhood memories, people, objects, moments, sights, smells and tastes also connect to consumption experiences. Nostalgia links to peoples' identity constructions through objects and to popular cultural history (Fournier, 1998; Guffey, 2006; Wildschut et al., 2006).

The phenomenon of nostalgia has received attention from various disciplines such as history, sociology and psychology, but it also started receiving a great deal of attention from the area of consumer behaviour and marketing research, which in turn relate to brands (Holbrook, 1991, 1993; Havlena & Holak, 1992, 1996). Deeply rooted in industry and commerce, brands play an important role in the phenomenon of nostalgia since they are vehicles through which emotional relationships between people and objects develop (Fournier, 1998: 344).

The fashion of brand revivals can be seen across different categories of products, including sports shoes. "Research in this tradition has demonstrated how product styles (e.g., of music, motion pictures, and automobiles) that were popular during an individual's youth influence the individual's lifelong preferences" (Wildschut et al., 2006: 976). Such revived products can either function as emotional triggers to reconnect with former audiences or as an alternative choice for new consumers. Either way, revived brands can gain different meanings by linking to symbolic values and historical reference (Müller, 2007). However, nostalgic references and their exploitation has its critics. Contemporary culture was defined as "irredeemably historicist, in the bad sense of an omnipresent and indiscriminate appetite for dead styles and fashions" (Jameson, 1991 cited in Guffey, 2006: 21–22). Those are "recycled as empty stylistic gestures" in a "world transformed by mediated imagery and temporal rupture, suggesting stylistic forms that point to a kind of cultural amnesia" (Guffey, 2006: 22).

If nostalgia "can be collective, providing a source for identity, agency and community" (Davis, 1979, cited in Guffey, 2006: 19), the examples presented in this chapter, as with the case of Sanjo, reveal that there is a tendency for companies and designers to neglect historical contextualization in brand revivals. Nevertheless this criticism does not necessarily mean that all brand revivals can be empty gestures, but it rather points out that business interests tend to override historical and cultural reference. As we shall see in chapter 6, there are a number of ways through which approaches to brands can convey historical memory, namely through brand archives.

5.3 SPORTS SHOES BRANDS FROM AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES

As we have seen in chapters 3 and 4 Sanjos have been a social phenomenon in Portugal but after decades of popularity the brand started falling into oblivion. Considering the course of the country during the 20th century through historical analysis, it became clear that the histories of many brands were shaped by a series of contextual influences that are of a political, economical and cultural nature. Sanjos flourished during an authoritarian regime, fell when the market economy became open; they couldn't compete with global brands; and the brand was re-launched in recent years.

However, moving from the Portuguese to the international context, are there any similar examples? Such a possibility led to questions about what similarities and contrasts could be found in terms of how contextual history had also influenced other brands' developments, including:

Which other brands in similar circumstances would it be possible to identify? In which countries did they originate? When were such brands founded and their main product designs created? How did contextual history influence their development? Which of these brands are still in operation, fell into oblivion, were revived and when? How do such brands relate to cultural memory, and what happened in terms of their visual identity?

I then started a study into sports shoes brands, from authoritarian regimes, that became popular in their respective countries. The examples identified were established in similar closed economies as the Portuguese Sanjos were. It was also possible to find particular shoe designs associated with these brands, which have become a sort of cultural icon in the countries of origin, likely because they used to be one of the few options available in those markets. The identified examples originated in East-Central European countries: in former Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and East-Germany, and Hungary. I also found that those brands fell into oblivion during the 1990s due to the proliferation of global sports brands such as Nike and Adidas, and that since the early 2000s they started being revived and brought into the market again. Noticing that there was a wave of revivals relating to culturally specific sports brands, suggested that it was possible that further examples could be found. In fact, two Chinese brands were also identified and included in the study because they meet similar criteria. The main differences are that these brands are not originally

from Europe as initially intended, and that the Socialist Market Economy initiated in 1992 by Deng Xiaoping did not mark the end of an authoritarian regime but rather a “call for faster economic reform” (Hongxing & Parker, 2008: 13).

It will be noticed that all these examples are originally from East Central European countries and from China, hence the context is Communist regimes that differ from the right-wing nationalistic New State imposed in Portugal by Salazar. But the circumstance of being brands that flourished in closed economies contributed somehow to keep them protected from foreign competitors, thus enabling them to establish longer relationships between products and users in those countries because other options were limited. As we shall see, the way both Sanjo and these brands progressed was quite similar, showing that there is a pattern in their life cycle regardless the political nature of the regime, its geographical location, and the founding dates of the brands.

In this chapter, the brands identified and considered for analysis belong to the same category as Sanjo since they existed in similar political constraints and market opportunities. These are, in order of approximate dates of their original foundation: Zeha¹ (1897, Thuringia, German Empire); Warrior² (circa 1927/1935, China); FeiYue³ (circa 1958, China); Botas⁴ (1963, former Czechoslovakia); Tisza⁵ (1971, Hungary); and Startas⁶ (1976, former Yugoslavia) (Figure 5.3). This links to the graphic surgery approach described in chapter 2 (see Figure 2.16).

Although different in some details, each one of these examples is simultaneously representative of a specific context in which it developed, as well as their re-emergence in the market is due to present day globalized culture, including the time when it happened. Identifying such examples was aided by the fact that in the recent years they started being noticed in the context of the arts, design and research (Plotki & Anthropolis, 2007; Croatian Designers Society 2008; European Design Awards, 2010), in the media (Burgoyne, 2008; BBC News, 2009; Telegraph Media Group, 2010), and in global niche markets (Jing Daily, 2010; Labbrand, 2011). New product designs from these revamped brands started appearing for sale on

1 <http://www.zeha-berlin.de/en>.

2 <http://www.warriorshoes.com/en/aboutus/introduction.aspx>; <http://huili-shoes.com/>

3 <http://goodchineseclothes.com/archives/86>.

4 <http://www.botas.cz/en/about-us/about-the-company>.

5 <http://www.tiszacipo.hu>.

6 <http://www.longlivestartas.com>.

Figure 5.3 – Brands included in the study.

Left to right, bottom to top: Zeha (1897, Thuringia, German Empire), Warrior (circa 1927/1935,

China), FeiYue (circa 1958, China), Botas (1963, Czechoslovakia), Tisza (1971, Hungary) and Startas (1976, Yugoslavia).



international markets in recent years, made with new materials and in different colours, incorporating some references to their contextual specificity. This raised a set of subsidiary questions:

- Which were the former companies associated with each brand and what happened to them?
- When did revivals start, by whom, why and how?
- What sort of relationships had been established between contemporary designers and the former companies?
- Who presently owns the commercial rights of the brands?
- How do these brands further relate to Sanjo?

In order to respond to these questions I started investigating the brands' histories. It is worth noting however that careful historical research regarding these brands is fairly limited, either because it is not easily accessible or has not been written yet. The data retrieved for this study consists of information predominantly found on the Internet, provided by the companies that own the brands, and from

the increasing media coverage exploring the phenomenon, including by market and consumer research corporations (Labbrand, 2011). In most cases information is often informal, speculative, commercially biased or contradictory.

One case it is possible to think of as formal research concerns the study of the Hungarian Tisza brand in relation to “Retro fashion, nostalgia and national consciousness” (Müller, 2007). This work was incorporated as part of larger project “nostalgia” comprising the work of “young artists, photographers, scholars and writers from both sides of the ‘Iron Curtain’ who jointly investigated and critically questioned the wave of nostalgia in different (South and Central) Eastern European countries from a comparative and interdisciplinary perspective” (Plotki & Anthropolis, 2007).

It is my interpretation that precise information about the companies and of the former designs is less easy to find because a commercial emphasis overrides historical reference. Despite the fact that culturally specifics and a strong sense of place was essential for these brands to become noticed in the media and in the market—Western companies and entrepreneurs are aware of this factor as competitive advantage for business—as with Sanjo, a great deal of attention was given by the media because they were being re-launch with a contemporary look. The fact such brands were mostly unknown outside their countries of origin also contributed to them being noticed both as a novelty and as part of a landscape of brand revivals.

Nevertheless, it was very challenging to cross-correlate information for tracing back the chronological evolution of these brands and of the companies that produce them. Although it was not necessary or practical to reproduce the level and extent of rescuing for each of these brands that was completed for Sanjo, as described in chapter 2, it was also possible to draw parallels with what was found with Sanjo. There are cases where factories were destroyed by war, like Startas by Yugoslav wars in 1991 (Borovo, n.d. a; n.d. b; Sheriff&Cherry Zagreb, n.d.), companies were state-owned and then partially privatized (Botas, 1996), closed down after almost one century of production activity (Zeha Berlin AG, n.d. b), or decided to stop producing sports shoes and focus on traditional footwear instead due to the competitiveness of global brands (Tisza, 2010). In other cases, such as with the Chinese Warrior and Feiyue brands, either missing or contradictory information makes it difficult to trace back their histories (Feiyue, n.d. a; Feiyue KungFu Shoes, 2010; Jing Daily, 2010; Shanghai Warrior Shoes, 2010; Sina, 2010; Warrior-shoes, 2010; Warrior Sneaker, 2010; Labbrand, 2011).

5.4 DESIGNING REVIVALS: MARKS, ICONIC DESIGNS AND “FIFTH ELEMENTS”

Across the gathered brands, it is possible to identify from a graphic design perspective some occurrences that define patterns and contrasts in the way they are being revived. Similarly to what was done in relation to Sanjo, the visual elements collected for this analysis include brand marks in use, marks of the companies that own the brands, iconic shoe designs that are representative of these brands that also function as visual communication vehicles, and the “fifth elements” often incorporated in products to reinforce visual identification. According to Mollerup (1997: 122) “the fifth element is a graphic mark” that is complementary in brand identity for immediate identification, “such as the Adidas stripes and the Coca-Cola Dynamic Ribbon”. Findings indicate that despite the fact that current approaches to these brands differ in scope and intent, the most poignant visual elements are drawn from former identities as part of revivals. What differs is the degree of cultural continuity they enact with past identities, or conversely, the disruption that the exploration of such visual elements establish. What follows is an overview of the approaches taken by each brand.

Zeha – According to the actual owners of the brand (Zeha Berlin AG, n.d. a), the rights of Zeha were acquired by two Berlin designers, Alexander Barré and Torsten Heine in 2002, nearly ten years after the former company closed down in East Germany. Zeha shoes are inspired from the brand’s original football boots from the 1950s. Compared to the other brands, a broader spectrum of models and variations occurs today, since the brand was revived in 2003. While preserving some of the details of the original models, such as the oblique stripes in the side of shoes, the current designs were adapted for streetwear instead of exclusively for sports. The manufacture is now hand-made in Italy and Portugal, with “the finest Italian” leather and specialized production (Zeha Berlin AG, n.d. a) (Figure 5.4).

Warrior – The Chinese Warriors WB-1 (Figure 5.5), also known as Hui Li (see footnote 2), are a white canvas and rubber shoes with red lists on the sides, rooted in 1950s basketball shoe designs. The WB-1 remained unaltered for decades, including in its colours, and today it is still produced in the original form. The rediscovery of the Warriors is a good example of product contextualization. Both the brand and product were presented in 2008 to Western countries in a rather unusual perspective, from

Figure 5.4 – Former and contemporary Zeha Berlin.
Top: Zeha Berlin. Carl Häßner and Zeha originals, (n.d.) [Online image]. Available from: <<http://www.zeha-berlin.de/en/brand/history>> [Accessed 19 March 2011].

Bottom: Contemporary Zehas “Carl Häßner Liga” (2011) [Online image]. Available from: <http://www.zeha-shop.de/index.php/cat/c8_Liga.html> [Accessed 19 March 2011].



Figure 5.5 – Chinese Warriors WB-1.

Top: Original Chinese Warrior WB-1 (Hui Li) and packaging, 2009. Author's collection.

Bottom: "Book of Warriors" by Shumeng Ye features a pair of Warrior WB-1 originals in a limited

edition packaging, 2008 [Online image]. Available from: <http://www.creativereview.co.uk/images/uploads/2008/12/blogbookofwarriors_product.jpg> [Accessed 19 March 2011].



those adopted by most design and branding strategies. It consisted in dislocating the shoes and from their natural social and cultural setting (Burgoyne, 2008).

Feiyue – Feiyue is the shoe that became a reference for the martial arts in China in past decades. But the opportunity for exploring the brand outside China was taken in 2006 by French entrepreneur Patrice Bastian, leading to a possible duplication of the brand. The original Feiyues remain unaltered in China but a new approach operating from France started being marketed in Western markets (Feiyue, n.d. a) (Figure 5.6).

The Feiyues, traditionally connoted with martial arts practitioners and Shaolin monks, started being promoted in the West as a fashion statement. The Chinese and the French versions are very similar, but according to specialist practitioners the French version is not suitable for martial arts since materials are heavier and less flexible (Feiyue KungFu Shoes, 2010). The European side was created for adapting the brand to new markets and new contexts of use, aligning with well established marketing strategies among global brands: advertising in fashion magazines, association of products with famous people such as Hollywood stars, limited series are produced collaboratively with artists and luxury brands (Feiyue, n.d. b).

It can be said that the development of Feiyue in the West is a good example of a successful brand strategy in terms of business potential and market visibility, but it is much less interesting in terms of how culturally specific brands are appropriated and historical memory is conveyed.

Botas – The Botas 66 is a redesign project concerning a 1966 shoe designed in Czechoslovakia for football tennis (*nohejbal*). A project undertaken by undergraduate students in a design college in Prague originated the reappearance in 2008 of the Botas brand that was popular in the 1960s (Figure 5.7). Subsequent to the academic work there was a rapprochement between the newly formed designers and the company. The design strategy went through adapting the former shoe designs to the company's current production system, aiming to turn a design classic into a contemporary product (Borufka, 2009). This led to the creation of a specific branch of the brand, Botas 66, and of a new visual identity for the overall project comprising of new mark designs, colour system for the identification of the series, and a new selection of typefaces. The project received an award from the Czech Republic Design Academy in 2010 (Botas & Artport, 2009). Despite that there are direct links, the rupture between

Figure 5.6 – Chinese and French Feiyues.

Top: Chinese Top One Feiyue originals, 2009.

Author's collection.

Bottom: “Feiyue Lo white red blue” (n.d.) [Online image]. Available from: <http://www.feiyue-shoes.com/shop_en/modele.cfm?id_model=15a15c6c-d432-efdb-2af0cf2e2d6de56f> [Accessed 14 January 2012].



Figure 5.7 – Former and contemporary Botas.

Top: 1966 Botas originals (2009) [Online image]. Available from: <http://www.botas66.cz/img/library/blog_800_600/3e53997433ae3c103edd57bdb6a2d930_7152766b.jpg> [Accessed 21 March 2011].

Bottom: Contemporary Botas66 Classic “31C rising sun” (2011) [Online image]. Available from: <<http://www.botas66.cz/page/homepage/default?tag=catalogs>> [Accessed 13 January 2012].



the past and present is significant and the cultural specificities of the brand dissolved amongst a plethora of globalized graphic design references, spanning from the non-specific design of the new mark to the typefaces used in the new brand identity.

Tisza – During the Hungarian communist era, the Tisza sports shoes were the most popular option available in the market. The actual Tisza shoes are based on the designs that became popular in Hungary (Figure 5.8). The idea for reviving the Tisza sports shoes first came to entrepreneur László Vidák's mind in 2002 when "he saw a pair of old Tisza shoes in the street, which evoked memories of his own shoes, the ones he liked very much in his childhood" (Müller, 2007). Vidák "wanted to create a Hungarian product with a Hungarian name, because (...) not only the goods from abroad are good". According to Müller, the revival of Tisza "was an initiative for the amplification of national pride. And apparently most of the buyers appreciate that the shoes are manufactured in Hungary". They are now available in various colours and leather combinations, either with laces or velcro. The brand is today associated with Hungarian youth culture and "cool-seeking foreign tourists" (Tisza Cipő, 2010).

Startas – The design approach behind the revival of former Yugoslavian brand Startas relies on the recovery of a production system and creative exploration of an iconic design by designer Mauro Massaroto. According to the company, the Startas were "originally designed for table-tennis players in 1976, in white, navy and black, and soon became an iconic object of desire in the communist Yugoslavia (...) it was an ideal socialist piece of footwear for the masses" Borovo (n.d. b). "When I first arrived in the Borovo factory, my heart was pumping with fear and excitement, I was standing in front of a dead giant" (Massaroto, 2011 cited in Husic, 2011). According to Husic, "although, a ruined place, only few factory halls survived, (...) several years ago the production in Borovo started, but this time with only 300 workers; and two years ago designer Mauro Massaroto came back from abroad with an idea of Startas revival (...)" This can look like a movie set on a sunny day, rays of sun are shining through the branches, smoke and dust are filling the air, all those old machines are running, ladies are still wearing their blue uniforms. Once you enter the factory, it is like passing through the dimensions of time and ending up 20 years back, in the old Yugoslavia of the 1980's, back in your childhood" (Husic, 2011). Today the same structural design is available in numerous colours, materials and finishing. The revival of Startas also recovered the former manufacturing process and machinery (Figure 5.9).

Figure 5.8 – Former and contemporary Tiszás.
Top: Still from Tisza Cipő commercial from the 1980s.
 Tisza Cipő (Circa 1980s) [Online video]. Available
 from: <[http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x-
 nr8OIR3k4&feature=youtube_gdata_player](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x-nr8OIR3k4&feature=youtube_gdata_player)>

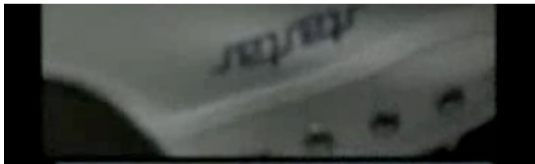
[Accessed 2 May 2011]. **Bottom:** Contemporary Tisza
 “Comfort deluxe orange white brown” (2011) [Online
 image]. Available from: <[http://www.tiszacipo.hu/
 details/comfort-delux-feher-narancsbarna-934](http://www.tiszacipo.hu/details/comfort-delux-feher-narancsbarna-934)>
 [Accessed 14 January 2012].



Figure 5.9 – Former and contemporary Startas.

Top rows: Stills from former Startas commercial video. Startas Tenisice Sneakers (n.d.) [Online video]. Available from: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ykBVgjW1GjU&feature=youtube_gdata_player> [Accessed 2 May 2011]. **Middle row:** Stills from opening ceremony of the XIV Summer Universiade held in Zagreb,

Yugoslavia, 1987. Zagreb 1987 Universiade Opening Ceremony (1987) [Online video]. Available from: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rCI2aDF3UIA&feature=youtube_gdata_player> [Accessed 2 May 2011]. **Bottom:** Contemporary Startas (2009) [Online image]. Available from: <<http://www.flickr.com/photos/lomodeedee/3333832574/>> [Accessed 2 May 2011].



5.4.1 Brand marks

Versions of the brand marks used were collected for the study to understand the various degrees and depth of the graphic design interventions. Theoretically, at a fundamental level, the function of marks and the way in which they are used can also tell us about companies and how they relate to graphic design. According to Mollerup (1997: 62), supported by Margolin (1998), “graphic excellence functions as a synecdochical sign of managerial competence. It explains the whole by showing a part. Graphic design is read as circumstantial evidence of the quality of the company”. As we have seen with the detailed rescuing of the Sanjos to develop an archive, by analysing the marks in use, it is possible to identify consistencies, coherence and deviations in its applications, and also ruptures in visual identity. The following situations were found across the brands considered for the study: former marks, original versions; adaptations and recreated versions based on former marks; new designs; and coexisting versions. A similar approach to the tables described in chapters 2 and 4 is further developed here.

Despite the apparent simplicity of the possibilities, the analysis of the marks may not be that simple due to the questions that can be raised (Figure 5.10). This approach refers to the tables described in chapter 2 (see Figure 2.27). In this case, it remains unclear whether some of the marks currently in use correspond to original designs (Startas), or that have been recreated upon them (Zeha, Startas), or even have been newly designed (Zeha). In other cases (Feiyue, Botas) marks currently in use are easier to understand in relation to the former versions. In such cases, different marks are used to differentiate companies, as for instance the former Chinese Feiyue and its French counterpart. But they can also be used to differentiate products between series, for example, Botas has created a new visual identity for the “Botas 66” series (Figure 5.10–4B), whereas the “Botas Classic 66 Premium” series incorporate a mark originally designed in the 1960s (Figure 5.10–4A).

5.4.2 Company marks

Some marks associated to the companies claiming these brands were also identified: Shanghai Warrior Shoes Co., Ltd (Warrior), Shanghai Rubber Shoes Limited Company (Feiyue, China)⁷, Botas (Botas), and Borovo (Startas) (Figure 5.11). In terms

⁷ Shanghai Rubber Shoes Limited Company is the original owner of Feiyue.

Figure 5.10 – Table of brand marks in use.
Columns 1 to 6: Zeha, Warrior, Feiyue, Botas, Tisza and Startas. Rows A and B indicate that more than one version is currently in use.

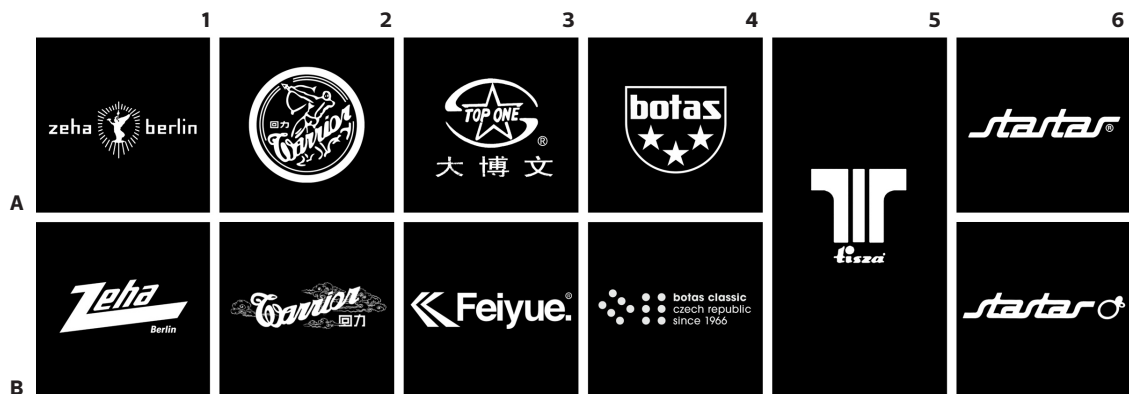


Figure 5.11 – Identified marks of the companies owning the original brands.

Left to right: Shanghai Warrior Shoes Co. Ltd,

Shanghai Rubber Shoes Limited Company, Botas, and Borovo. Respectively, producers of Warrior, Feiyue, Botas and Startas.



of organisational identity, some companies use for themselves a different mark from the brands they represent, although the company and brand names can be the same. That is the case of companies that produce their own brands, as with Botas for example. Conversely, there are cases where marks associated both to the company and their products are quite similar, as it happens with Warrior. In other cases, the same brand name stands out with totally different marks associated to them. This happens with Chinese and French sides of Feiyue where it remains unclear whether they are part of the same company, business partners or competitors, however, both sides dispute the brand (Sina, 2010).

5.4.3 Iconic shoe designs

All brands identified have in common one main reference in terms of product design. Like Sanjo, these brands are also best known for one particular model. As is

clear from the overviews of approaches, sports shoes brand revivals are often based on the most representative product designs. In such cases, prominent features from the former designs are explored first as triggers for the awakening of collective memory, and second to foster developments. The same parts of shoes are produced in different colour and materials not only to optimise production, but also to amplify the range of possible combinations for developing product collections. Along with the uniqueness of a name and sign, unique shoe designs can feed an entire brand.

5.4.4 Fifth elements

According to Mollerup (1997: 216), many brands have a “fifth element” which reinforces the visual association of a product with a brand, and that also applies to sports shoes. In the cases presented here, whether it is a list, a series of lists or another visual form that commonly appears positioned in the side of the shoes, all brands under analysis have an explicit “fifth element”. Drawing from the grids for analysis discussed in chapter 2, what follows is a brief description of the most prominent visual elements used by these brands to identify their shoes (Figures 5.12). This table also links to those designed for the Sanjo case:

Zeha – two double oblique stripes;

Warrior (Hui Li) – red horizontal stripe;

Feiyue – blue and red arrows;

Botas – one large oblique stripe;

Tiszas – a large ‘T’.

If some of these visual forms are more explicit than others, there are cases where structural design aspects of the shoe may also function as such. For example, 17 years after the Startas brand fell into oblivion the structural design of the former shoes was revived and remains unaltered to a great extent. In the case of Startas, the basic configuration of the shoe can be understood as a “fifth element” on its own, where all sorts of graphic decoration take place and various materials are used.

So companies are aware of the relevance of a “fifth element” to brand identity, whether they get it right or not, as is shown by the way in which such visual forms become integral of the shoes. This also includes when the explicit use of such visual elements is misleading. For example, the iconic Warrior basketball shoes have

Figure 5.12 – Table of fifth elements.
“Fifth elements” used by Zeha, Warrior, Feiyue, Botas and Tisza for faster product identification.

	ZEHA	WARRIOR	FEIYUE	BOTAS	TISZA	STARTAS
EARLIER VERSIONS						
MAIN VERSIONS IN PRODUCT REVIVALS						
OTHER VERSIONS ALSO CURRENTLY IN USE						

a distinct “fifth element”, but the company also uses a wide variety of these sort of visual forms to differentiate product categories (e.g. martial arts, tennis, volleyball, and table tennis). At the same time, the various forms resemble those used by other brands, including Japanese Onitsuka Tiger, Italian Superga, and even Feiyue.

Though there are inconsistencies in the exploration of the “fifth element”, we also see cases of consistency. Both the former and newly designed Tizas share quite the same large “T”. In the case of Botas, the brand and the product range have been entirely redesigned, but the designers have adopted one large oblique stripe from the various versions used in the 1960s. In the case of Feiyue, the French version of the brand founded in 2006 adopted the blue and red arrows from the traditional Chinese Feiyues for martial arts as its main visual reference. Since then, these arrows have been the main visual element of the brand and are consistently explored across all products launched by the French.

5.5 CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

To further inform the study I constructed separate timelines for each brand (Appendix C). Then I put them all together on a main chronological table so as to establish comparisons, analogies and contrasts between the brands with regards to their historical development. So that further relationships could be established between brands relevant historical events of the 20th century were also incorporated on the main table, including wars, moments of economical and political transition, and sports events (e.g. Olympics). From there it was possible to identify connections between brands in this historical context, so as to better understand how the course of the various brands had been influenced in a wider context.

Despite the case that a certain margin for error has to be taken into account due to the informal nature of most sources, as discussed before in section 5.3, cross-referencing the information available made it possible to inform the study so that an overall vivid picture is revealed. This highlights points of reference that allow interpretations in terms of the brands’ historical presence in time, disruptions and continuities in organisational and visual identity terms, heydays and periods of oblivion, and geographical locations. Graphic and product designs were also included in the chronological table as complementary data to enhance the reading of timelines and to illustrate cases.

The table incorporates dates spanning from the foundation of the

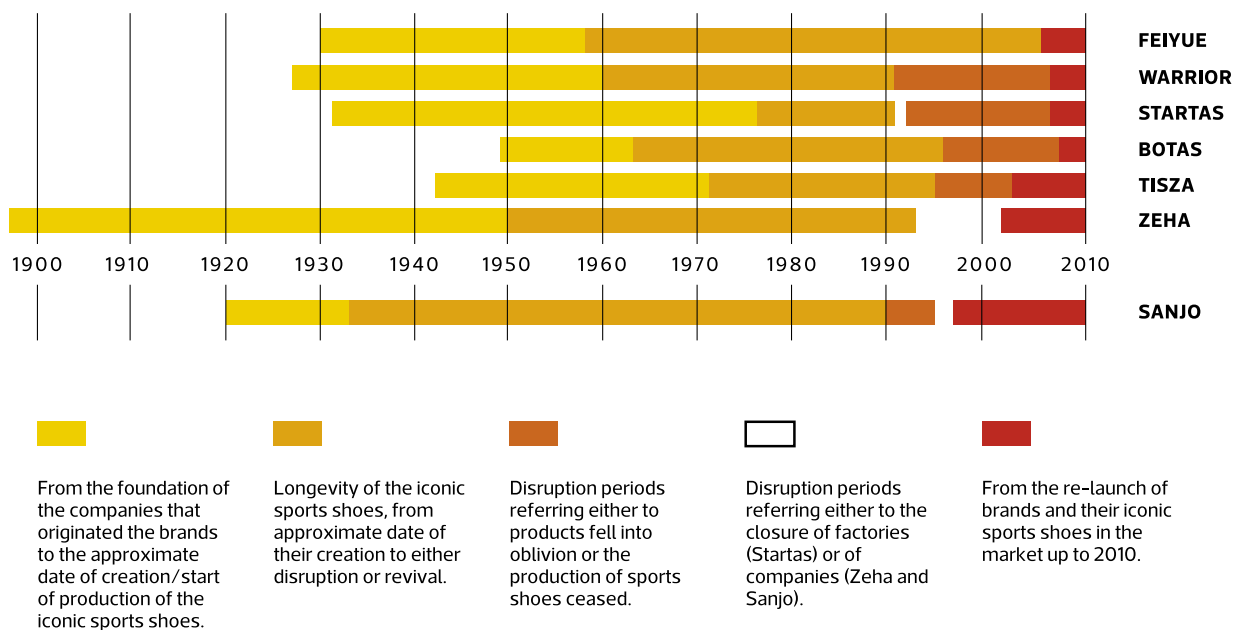
companies from which the brands originated until 2010. Older dates are more difficult to corroborate (they go back as early as 1897) and credible information is often very limited. So the table covers a long period of time indeed, but the risk of misinterpretation is minimized by dividing each brand into smaller periods of time, each period corresponding to different stages of company and brand developments, including:







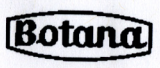




- From the approximate date of the companies' foundation to the approximate date when sports shoes production started, or brands established;
- Period of time during which the former brand and the production of sports shoes were in full operation;
- Disruption period due to products and/or brands falling into oblivion, or because the production of sports shoes ceased (when this was possible to determine);
- Time distance from when the former brand closed down or deactivated (where applicable), to the date of its rebirth;
- From the date when the brand was first revived until 2010.

Broader interpretations were possible to make once timelines were brought together in one table and further data started being introduced there. It became possible to notice commonalities in the brands histories, otherwise unlikely to be visible. A smaller table was also produced to enhance reading the brands trajectories over one century, according to the sub-periods. The trajectory of Sanjo was included so to make comparisons more explicit. Building up on the chronological tables described in chapter 2 and those designed for the Sanjo case in chapter 4, the following tables function as a way of “zooming in” (Figure 5.13, for details) and “zooming out” (Figure 5.14, overview).

Figure 5.13 – Chronological table of the brands informing the study (1897–2010).
This comparative table shows the brands' trajectories over one century, according to sub-periods. The trajectory of Sanjo was also included so to make comparisons more explicit. Unfolding pages (original size 84×29,7cm).

Figure 5.14 – Chronological table (zoom out).
Zooming out of the chronological table shown in Figure 5.13.



MARK OF COMPANY		MARK OF PRODUCT			
				A	
				N	
				I	
 			YUGOSLAVIA	I	
				H	
				C	
			CZECHOSLOVAKIA	E	
				P	
				O	
			HUNGARY	R	
				U	
				E	
			EAST GERMANY (GDR)		
<div> <div></div> <div>foundation of brand</div> </div>	<div> <div></div> <div>disruption in production activities</div> </div>	<div> <div></div> <div>relevant historical events that affected companies</div> </div>			1890
					1895
					1897
					1900
					19
<div> <div></div> <div>factories production activity focus on casual footwear and other products</div> </div>	<div> <div></div> <div>iconic shoes production activity</div> </div>	<div> <div></div> <div>revival of iconic shoes</div> </div>			

5.6 HISTORICAL MOMENTS OF TRANSITION

History affected the successes and failures of these brands and of the companies behind them. Wars, change of political regimes and the turn from closed markets to open economies strongly influenced the way such brands evolved. As Olins stated (1995: 11) “when the communist regimes collapsed all over Central and Eastern Europe the symbols of oppression were overthrown with them”. By cross-referencing to dates of major historical events across the 20th century, such as WWI, WWII, the Planned Economy in China, the fall of the Berlin Wall, and the Yugoslav wars, it emerges that these events correlate to the rise and closure of factories, and of production and to brands connoted with authoritarian regimes falling into oblivion.

I have chosen to include WWI and WWII in the timeline because they were crucial moments of historical transition. The overall context, especially in Europe, changed dramatically: economies were affected, industries suffered profound transformations, new political scenarios were established. Just as the New State period influenced the way in which Sanjo evolved, these brands were also influenced by similar historical events. For instance, indicating the dates of wars in the timeline helped to notice clearly that the European brands selected for the study were created in the context of the Iron Curtain after WWII, being later discarded due to the similarity to what happened with the “symbols of oppression” in communist regimes.

Dates of wars and historical moments of economical transition, like the economical reforms in China, were included in the timeline to find whether other influences could relate to the brands histories. If wars help better situating brand developments in time, including periods of economical transition also points to further indications. For example, the first five years of the planned economy in China (1953–1958) helped understanding how the Chinese brands progressed. The Feiyue name was registered around 1958 and the Warriors started becoming popular in the 1960s. But the rising supremacy of global brands in China such as Nike that became available there from 1991 as an object of desire, a symbol of status (Parker, 2008: 98), contributed as to when the Chinese brands almost fell into oblivion.

5.6.1 Golden Cold War

Most companies studied were founded after WWI but it is not a surprise that most sports shoes brands only appeared in post-war developments between the 1950s and

the 1970s. By then, the Iron Curtain was erected. Regimes consolidated, companies nationalized, productions included boots for military (e.g. Tisza) and served domestic demands. After WWII there was little production of equipment for sports but it increased during the 1960s and 1970s. In 1958 in China, the fifth year of the Planned Economy outlined by Mao Zedong (1953–1958), the Feiyue name was registered and 1.6 million shoes were produced. During the 1960s, the Olympics set perfect scenarios for staging athletic performances and to measure forces between countries during the Cold War, and the sports brands also played their part. Olympic athletes and national teams from GDR, USSR, Czechoslovakia and China used brands made both on the East side of the Iron Curtain and in China (Zeha, Botas and Warrior).

Until the end of Cold War and the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, all brands included in this study were in full operation. The 1980s saw the rise of international sports brands from Western countries, but most Eastern brands performed very well until the liberalization of markets. Success, peaks of production and recognition took place during the 1970s and the 1980s. Evidence of the companies' responses and the different strategies by which things happened includes noticing their industrial development and positive reactions from the market. In the Eastern Bloc companies became specialist (Zeha, Botas), were modernized and the product portfolio increased (Botas), and were recognized through awards for their industrial performance (Zeha, Tisza and Botas).

Successful people in sports used these brands, contributing to their recognition and popularity, in addition local sports events constituted opportunities for wider visibility, such as winter games and the international 'Univerzijada' student games held in Zagreb where 3900 athletes were equipped with Startas. In China, the Feiyues became a standard for Shaolin and Kung Fu masters, whereas the Warriors, also from China, were used both by politicians and basketball players, achieving great popularity. In the 1970s, young people "daydreamed about having a pair of Warriors" (Ye, 2008, cited in Burgoyne, 2008).

5.6.2 The 1990s: one decade of decay

Alongside the rise of market economies, like in Portugal and with Sanjo, the 1990s brought the fall of all these brands. Previous achievements fell flat in less than one decade. One of the main reasons includes competition from Western brands which was difficult to beat due to the new economical scenarios. But the previous settings

collapsed with political change: the fall of brands followed the fall of regimes. Wars happened, new countries were formed, new political systems were introduced, and new market economies were established. The stability of the former regimes also contributed to product developments being slower, whereas in Western brands such as Nike it was developing at a fast pace. Consequently, some companies were privatized (Botas) or closed-down (Zeha), productions of the owned brands either ceased to focus on traditional footwear (Tisza) or on niche markets. For instance, the brand Botas specialized in winter sports equipment. In other cases, companies saw their industrial sites being destroyed (Startas) or the status of their brands decreasing dramatically (Warrior). Just Feiyue resisted relatively well since the company quickly specialized in shoes for martial arts, which was a territory fairly unoccupied by Western brands.

5.6.3 Branding places

Geographical locations must be also considered since there is a sense of place in heritage brands. Most are rooted in regions where footwear production is an activity with historical significance. They emerged from major companies in their respective countries, all dating back to the first half of the 20th century. Companies established in regions of long tradition in shoemaking (Botas, Zeha, Startas, Tisza), or in regions where rubber industries were settled for many decades (Warrior, Feiyue, Bata). Thomas Bata for example, played an important role regarding footwear production in Central Europe: he founded Bata in 1894 back then at the Austro-Hungarian Empire, today the Czech Republic. Borovo and Cikta Rt., the companies where Startas and Tisza were created, respectively, originated from factories built by Thomas Bata in the 1930s. Presently, the former influence of Bata on Borovo still remains present in the similarities between each company's lettering (Figure 5.15).

Figure 5.15 – Bata and Borovo lettering. Similarities between Bata (circa 1930s) and Borovo (circa 1940s) lettering is indicative of the influence that one company had on the other in terms of visual identity.

Top: Borovo (n.d.) [Online image] Available from: <<http://www.borovo.hr/robne-marke.html>> [Accessed 13 January 2011];

Bottom: Bata (2011) [Online image] Available from: <<http://www.bata.com/our-brands.php>> [Accessed 13 January 2011].



In the case of Tisza, according to Müller (2007), neither design or nostalgia are the only selling factors: “Made in Hungary”, instead of “Made in China”, raises a sense of national identity among buyers across different generations. The time distance between today and the past dictatorial regime in Hungary allows people to make different assessments of products from that era. Younger people who presently buy Tizas now, like the younger generations who buy the Sanjos, cannot feel nostalgic about these brands because they didn’t experience them in its heyday. What they feel about Tisza is a symptom of collective nostalgia and belonging. People expect these brands to be an alternative option to globalized brands and mainstream shoes and designers can contribute to (re)discover their symbolic meaning.

Forgotten in China, some Chinese brands of shoes, which glory dates back to the Mao’s years, experience a second birth in the trendy European circles (sic)
(Feiyue KungFu Shoes, 2010).

In China, brands tend to “remain without any innovation or to resemble Western” (Ye, 2008, cited in Burgoyne, 2008). Since the opening up of the Chinese economy in the 1990s, Chinese brands have seen their status decreasing greatly due to the significant impact of global brands. In contrast, since 2006 the Feiyue and Warrior brands have seen the rise of their status following a phenomenon of popularity in Western countries. When the Warriors WB-1 (Hui Li) had become the shoes of labourers and old people in China after being popular in the 1970s and the 1980s among basketball players, a Chinese-Finnish graphic design student, Shumeng Ye, presented the Warrior brand to the West. In a self-directed design project initiated in 2006, Ye published her photographs of Warrior shoes worn by Chinese people in ‘The Book of Warriors’, aiming to show “the daily life of a country through its own distinctive sneaker culture” (Burgoyne, 2008). The project was for sale at shop of urban culture Collete in Paris and other selective shops in northern European countries (see Figure 5.5, bottom image). Soon it became widely visible on the Internet and a cult icon among urban culture and sports shoes aficionados.

Regarding the other Chinese example, traditional customers of Feiyue shoes were Shaolin masters and martial arts practitioners. For decades, the brand sold millions of shoes to Chinese people. Externally, it became a reference among martial arts practitioners Worldwide. It was a niche market. However, photographs of Hollywood celebrities wearing the Feiyues published in the media contributed to

Figure 5.16 – Chinese Feiyues at the Olympics in Beijing.
Martial arts dancers perform during the Opening Ceremony for the 2008 Beijing Summer Olympics at the National Stadium on August 8, 2008 in Beijing, wearing the Feiyues.
(www.boston.com/bigpicture/2008/08/2008_olympics_opening_ceremony.html).



a change in the perception of Feiyue in China (Telegraph Media Group, 2010). Since 2006 such photographs appeared in the media regularly as a form of advertising in tabloids and fashion magazines (Feiyue, n.d. b). However, it is unclear whether there are any links between the brand and celebrities in terms of a planned strategy.

In turn, the 2008 Beijing Olympics also marked the resurgence of the Feiyue brand from a Chinese perspective. Martial arts performers wore Feiyues at the opening ceremony, reinforcing the roots of the brand in the martial arts tradition and its significance as a Chinese asset (Figure 5.16).

If in Europe revived brands tend to develop first within their countries of origin, evolving next in terms of internationalization, the Chinese awakening for their brands emerged after they gained international recognition. In all

cases, a sense of place is intrinsic to any of the brands histories and it is explored commercially as a differentiation factor. So the absence of a specific locality for production that helped global brands becoming competitive, turning them into agencies of undifferentiated mass-production, is now contrary to the locally specific representativeness that revived brands claim today.

5.6.4 Domestic demands and international affairs

As with the case of Sanjo, the companies behind the brands under analysis also operated primarily in contexts of economic restriction. National productions were protected so that people had limited access to products from abroad, especially compared with people in liberal democracy, capitalist countries. This caused local brands to become popular in their countries of origin. Some were exported to countries sharing similar political ideology between which there was trade. That was the case of Zeha, Tisza and Botas brands. For instance, in the 1960s Zeha became supplier to the GDR and USSR Olympic teams. In another example, Tisza Cipőgyár Nemzeti Vállalat (Tisza Shoe National Company), the former owner of the Tisza brand, was not confined just to serving domestic demands: it also made millions of pairs of shoes for other socialist countries. In the 1970s the company produced 10.2 million pairs of shoes annually, of which 3 million were gym shoes and 2 million were for the socialist market (Tisza Cipő, 2010). Similarly, in 1974 USSR was the biggest customer of Botanas, the former owner of Botas.

Exports to capitalist countries were also appreciated. At the same time, home brands aside, a substantial part of production was directed to customers in Western countries. During the 1970s the French branch of Adidas manufactured its football shoes called 'La Paz' at the Tisza's site, including a multi-year contract and exports to the English and American markets (Tisza Cipő, 2010). For Botanas, customers from western countries were welcome too. In 1984 their production peaked at 2.6 million pairs of shoes and in 1988 sports shoes represented 82% of the total production of footwear (Botas, 2006). The USSR was not the only client, Botanas also produced for reputed international brands and specialist winter sports equipment for many clients in Western countries (e.g. Germany, England, France, Norway, Canada, Sweden, Finland, USA, Australia, New Zealand). Until 1996, the company produced for Adidas, Puma, Salomon, and Karhu, among others (Botas, 2006).

5.6.5 The Olympics: generalist or specialist brand games?

A study about sports brands would be expected to relate to sports events to find connections with the brands' histories. For instance, the Olympic games cover a wide variety of sports, which open up the spectrum of possibilities for finding correlations. It is known from their own histories that specialist products from Botas (ice skating and ski) (see Figure 5.1) and Zeha (football boots) were at the Olympics in the 1960s, and that the Warriors (volleyball) were also present in 1984.

But surprisingly, cross-comparison of the dates of the Olympics with the history of the brands does not reveal the amount of information one might expect. This is possibly due to the dominance of global brands like Adidas and Puma, which feud between their respective families started in the first half of the 20th century and "shaped the modern sports business" (Smit, 2008: xii), including the Olympics (2008: 164). Nevertheless, cross referencing dates of the Games with other brand's histories provided some clues. For example, the Moscow Olympics in 1980 coincide with the heyday of Eastern brands, making it possible that shoes at the Olympics branded by Adidas and Puma had been manufactured by Botas and Tisza. The rise of Nike at the 1984 Olympics in Los Angeles anticipated what would happen next. Western brands not only dominated sports but would dominate other territories too when industrial productions started moving to Asia: "the athletic shoe industry's impact spreads far beyond the economic realm (...) shoe companies are viewed as agents of social change" (Vanderbilt, 1998: 5), where brands serve marketing companies "and the product is our [Nike] most important marketing tool" (Knight, 1994, cited in Vanderbilt, 1998: 131).

More recently, in 2008, the presence of Feiyue at the opening ceremony of the Beijing Olympics in China is indicative of a possible paradigm shift, showing that culturally specific brands are of strategic interest to their countries of origin.

5.7 DESIGN, HISTORICAL MEMORY AND BRAND ARCHIVES

Considering that commercial interests tend to override historical and cultural reference, it is no surprise that present day approaches towards reviving brands make use of well established marketing, branding and design strategies. But it is no less true that the differentiation every brand aims to achieve tends to dissolve in the absence of such references. Although little is given in terms of accurate historical and cultural contextualization, the phenomenon of revival in market terms is

enough to spark the consumers interest in knowing about brands they have never heard before. However, historical and cultural accuracy seems to be less relevant for consumers than speculation, fashion trends or knowing about Hollywood stars wearing such brands. At the opposite end, there is an immense territory for designers, entrepreneurs and companies to work with regards to difference, provenance and authenticity if careful contextual research is produced and explored. Lying buried in the remains of brands' histories there is a wealth of 'un-archived' historical memory containing not only their 'DNA' but also information about the context in which they developed.

Researchers, designers and companies can find there invaluable contextual information to unlock these brands histories so to better inform their practices. As we have seen in the previous chapter on the Sanjo case, this might help sustaining brand developments while it functions as a source to feed differentiation and to acknowledge authenticity, in opposition to common practices whose concerns are more about the creation of fictitious scenarios, which in turn create historical distortions and contribute to "cultural amnesia".

As happened with the relaunch of the Sanjo brand in recent years, although it is confined to the Portuguese market, this sort of 'un-archived' information has been also rather less explored in other brand revivals on a global scale. By deploying graphic design methods such as the corporate identity programmes commonly used for creating commercial brand identities we discussed in chapter 2, both companies and graphic designers tend to focus on 'constructing' new visual identity systems rather than 'deconstructing' what there is already in terms of visual culture. Hence, there is a wealth of cultural memory within the territory of heritage brands to be rescued and conceptualized. This happens because practitioners are too focussed in addressing their clients needs, as well as the visibility of their practice, and because researchers may find the context of brand identity too commercially driven by private interests, superficial in terms of content, and rather ephemeral because of the fast pace that markets demand.

5.8 SUMMARY

It can be seen in the timeline (Figures 5.13 and 5.14), both the European and Chinese brands have in common the fact that they emerged and flourished under authoritarian regimes, albeit narrowly in terms of the amount of brands available in those markets. In effect, brands became popular due to lack of competition just like the Sanjos did in Portugal during the New State.

Particularly since the fall of the Berlin Wall, as with the end of the Portuguese regime, changes in political regimes and the opening of markets to the entry of large Western multinational brands in previously restricted economies, constituted an ultimatum about the survival of local brands. These, like Sanjo were increasingly deprecated and gradually fell into oblivion.

The dominance of global brands that occurred from 1990s in these countries extended beyond the turn of the new millennium until today, but a wave of brand revivals has contributed to the resurgence of forgotten national products. Strengthened by identity and cultural values that today are perceived in the market as an alternative choice to the proliferation of globalized goods, the historical significance and symbolic meaning behind small local brands has contributed to its rediscovery.

However, despite the above, all the examples presented in this chapter reinforce the idea that companies and designers tend to neglect historical contextualization, namely by acknowledging the relevance of archives to brand revivals, especially with regards to graphic design and visual communication.

Cultural memory, a sense of place and national consciousness through brand imagery is a small act of resistance towards the preservation of the culturally specific in the context of globalized identities. Approaches often overlook such historical and cultural reference. There are valuable intents and progress made towards the awareness of the culturally specific as a response to globalized identities, as Shumeng Ye's ethnographic approach to the Warriors illustrates, the contextualization of such brands is often insufficient and inconsequent. The Warriors case spurred a commercial phenomenon whereas the ethnographic aspects of it didn't progressed beyond a single self directed project. Although Ye established a commercial link with the brand, neither Ye nor the brand have comprehensive archives of brand, and this is also true to all the examples shown.

Some approaches can be said to be contradictory and inaccurate as the French

side of Feiyue illustrates. The appropriation of the brand name and its 'flying forward' exploitation in Western markets can be commercially successful but in the end it blurred up the boundaries of the brand, becoming homogenized in the one hand, and on the other hand by creating a cultural tension with its Chinese counterpart.

In terms of fidelity to historical contextualization, all approaches end being stylistic gestures in the sense that the values identified in chapter 2 regarding industrial archaeology and ethnographic research were of little importance. For example, it is a fact that industrial archaeology is behind the revival of Startas. The designer successfully rescued an entire production system but the product history and its cultural memory remain substantially uncovered. On the example of Botas, its revival was sparked by a genuine interest in recovering an iconic shoe design through an extensive design programme, combining the efforts of both designers and an industrial company, but in the end it is seemingly a way of saying 'we are capable of creating a fashionable brand based on our heritage and to position it in a global context side by side with highly regarded Apple products'. With respect to Botas, it must be emphasized that the creation of an art gallery to display the work of local artists and promote other Czech iconic products, by bringing to light museum quality materials, is in itself a valuable act of cultural resistance. However, little was done in terms of rescuing the original Botas historical memory, so to acknowledge its cultural significance to that particular context. On the one hand the former brand designs served as a trigger to feed a design intervention genuinely concerned with the local specific, but on the other hand this intent was undermined by a whim to become global which ultimately led the rebranding of Botas to fall into cliché.

It is easy to understand that all the brands presented in this chapter aim to increase their visibility in a global context and that all wish to become different of what were in the past. However, it is fairly easy to notice that the design approaches behind these revivals are based on present day identity constructions. In general terms, all have adopted the model of visual identity construction suggested by Olins and Mollerup, rather than on the deconstruction of original designs and decoding of meaning.

The approaches described in chapters 2 and 4 to deconstruct a brand's identity, namely through brand archaeology and visual analysis for case study research, show that there are alternative ways for dealing with heritage brands so to

address issues of authenticity and cultural difference. The basic procedures behind of those approaches were applied to this comparative study, albeit differently in scope and extent of the analysis. However, not only each one of the cases presented here could be thoroughly investigated through further deploying those methods, as their study also enabled to identify patterns. Some positive aspects in brand revivals were identified, such as a sense of place in heritage brands, the resurgence of archival materials, approaches to ethnographic research, and the fostering of local productions. However, some issues were also brought to light, such as commercial interest over historical value, forged identities, lack in substantial visual and contextual analysis, methodological limitations to address cultural difference, and a gap between design and archival practices.

It seems rather clear here that the ‘authenticity’ of such iconic brands can not be forged and can hardly be found elsewhere than on their own contextual histories and cultural meaning. Unless the primary aim in reviving this sort of brands is commercial gain, it is necessary to incorporate further systematic and in depth contextual research into design practices, so that cultural diversity can be preserved and historical significance sustained. Designers can rely on future scenarios to address the issue of differentiation, but in the present day globalized culture what could be more ‘different’ and ‘authentic’ than one’s unique roots and trajectory of historical progression, which therefore can not be copied?

The following chapter delves further into these questions around uniqueness, as well as into the relevance of archives to culturally specific brands and their future developments. In this framework, what can the exploration of archives through design bring up to light in terms of cultural difference, and what can designers and organizations benefit from it?

CHAPTER 6:

FROM DUST TO

BLOOMING

Chapter 6 FROM DUST TO BLOOMING

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Memory as resistance to death

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6.5 SUMMARY

*Archives do not record experience so much as its absence.
They mark the point where an experience is missing from its
proper place and what is returned to us in an archive may well be
something we never possessed in the first place.*
(Sven Spieker, 2008: xiv–172)

*However There is something there
we can discover Reality, meaning,
norms, and the other
What I did and can do with the archive
is what this chapter claims
Everything is or can be about Memory
as resistance to death Embracing reality
and new possibilities Tangible objects
back to symbolic values Turning dust
into blooming*

6.1 ON THE ROLE OF BRAND ARCHIVES:

Memory as resistance to death

The previous chapter examined various cases of brand revivals in terms of how designers and companies are dealing with heritage brands and are using the past to sell the future. The conclusion is that whether they hold archived materials or not, and they often don't, the tendency is either to distort history or to forge identities by implementing branding strategies which derive from corporate identity methods. As the visual identity of Sanjo shows today, deploying those methods for heritage brands without rethinking their adequacy in terms of claims to authenticity, ultimately is contributing to the homogenization of visual identity and to further blurring the boundaries between cultures. In the absence of archived materials relating to the history of such locally specific heritage brands, the methods and examples described throughout chapters 2, 3 and 4 show how it is possible to retrieve and analyse such cultural memory from a design perspective.

Following up on what was discussed in the previous chapters and on what was found, this is the concluding chapter. The main findings of the research, including the methods developed, emphasize the relevance of archives to visual identity in relation to brand developments and cultural diversity. Thinking of 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 it can be acknowledged and displayed.

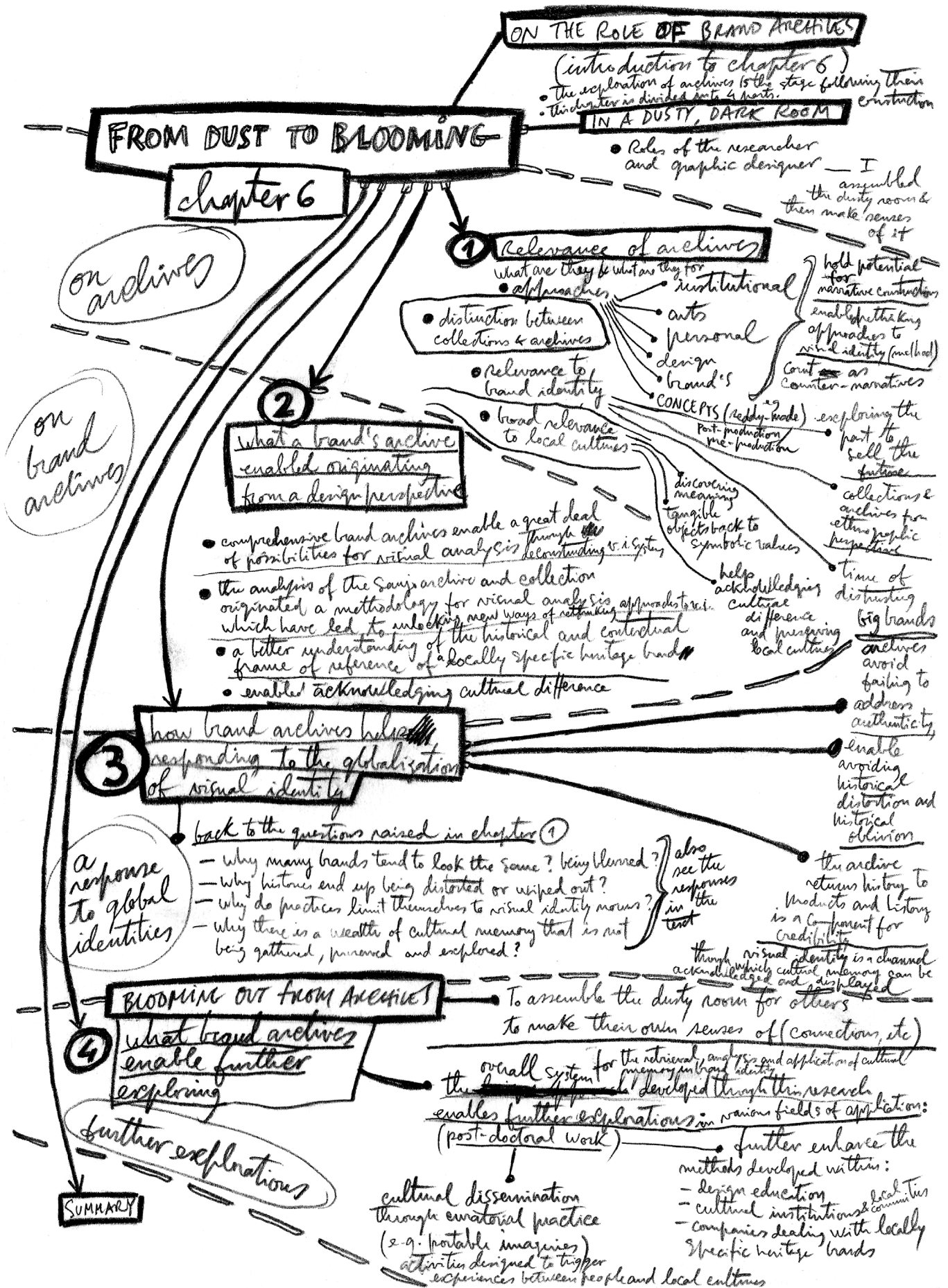
There are three fundamental aspects to be considered here. First and foremost, brand archives are more than just containers of historical memory. They allow us to produce multiple interpretations at various levels, including about a country, its culture and its people. Secondly, in design terms, brand archives are rich sources of information for companies and designers to feed developments, where the designer, as a mediator of cultural transformation, plays a critical role. And thirdly, there are a number of ways in which archived materials can be further explored, including in various fields of application, which reinforce the relevance of brand archives in the broadest sense. But such explorative considerations only becomes possible if substantial historical memory has been collected in the first place, and the materials are available and accessible.

This thesis reinforces the relevance of archives to locally specific heritage

brands in terms of the potential they hold as generative tools, and claims that the exploration of the materials collected make various approaches possible. One is to project a brand's future through design practice, by exploring pieces of its own history, personal stories, childhood memories and the social life of objects, in relation to the specificities of the culture in which they emerged. Another is to further explore the significance of archives in terms of educational purposes and curatorial practices.

As Figure 6.1 illustrates, this chapter is divided into four main sections. The first section covers the relevance of archives in broad cultural terms. It starts by setting the scene from which my approach to the construction of a brand's archive emerged. The second section explains what my approach to the Sanjo case enabled me to understand and what it originated. Linking to the questions raised in the beginning of this thesis, the third section aims at responding to the critique on how current design practices are dealing with heritage brands and are contributing to the globalization of visual identity. Towards the end of the chapter, there are suggested future possibilities for exploring brand archives from design and curatorial perspectives.

Figure 6.1 – The four main sections of Chapter 6.
Diagrammatic view.



The entire room, from floor to ceiling, was filled with heaps of different types of garbage. This wasn't a disgusting, stinking junkyard [...] but rather a gigantic warehouse of the most varied things, arranged in a special, one might say carefully maintained, order (...) This whole dump is full of twinkling stars, reflections and fragments of culture (...) One might say it also continually generates something: this is where some kinds of shoots come from new projects, ideas, a certain enthusiasm arises, hopes for the rebirth of something, though it is well-known that all of this will be covered with new layers of garbage.

(Kabakov, c. 1977: 32–37)

6.1.1 In a dusty, dark room

Drawing from Kabakov's (1997) example of a closed apartment where different types of things are carefully kept and stored, as an analogy with the present research, one can imagine the researcher and graphic designer in a similar situation: in a room full of fragmented but rather interrelated things. Firstly, within the fragmented nature of things, the challenge that the researcher and designer faced was in organizing and making sense of the materials by discovering relationships between objects and images, places, histories and time. In that room, one could breathe memory and discovery (Figure 6.2), and there were the seeds for starting to think about creating a brand archive.

All those things in the room relate to the unity of the Sanjo brand because they were collected with that motivation. They have something to say about how people used to relate to the brand, and how the brand's imagery reflects its overall contextual history. By merging the roles of the researcher and designer, there I cleaned, dusted, sorted and arranged those things according to groups to create 'boxes' of relational information. These activities led to finding gaps and to the collection of more material as I posed questions that the archive could and could not answer. The subsequent challenge was constructing narratives upon facts, both in written and visual form. But instead of proposing a fixed narrative, keeping open

Figure 6.2 – View of the dusty, black room.

Early developments in Porto.

Photograph by the author: author's collection.



the possibility of discovering relationships between things continually generates something. Hence a multitude of narratives were produced, referring back to the specific contexts that they originated from, and their dissemination became possible through various channels.

In that room, the boundaries between the roles of the researcher and graphic designer were hard to define because they interchanged ideas about ways of sorting and exploring the materials. Their common aim, however, was to return life to those objects by making sense of them and making them bloom. Mediated both through the investigative nature of the researcher and the visual acuity of the graphic designer, a multitude of narratives bloomed out from this container of memories as the result of explorative and creative interventions. Some examples that illustrate the sort of narratives produced have already been described throughout chapters 2, 3 and 4.

In addition to the physicality of the objects in the room, their digital representations also hold potential. The digitisation of most of the materials originated the beginnings of a digital archive. Such immaterial, hence portable version, allows further exploration while expanding narrative potentials. For example, the dissemination possibilities of images, objects and documents in digital format allow them to be manipulated and displayed in various ways, so to enable sharing their richness with fewer limitations of space, physical instalment, and geographical location.

The exploration of a brand's archive is an opportunity for acknowledging the culturally specific. In design terms, it is also an opportunity to discuss the tensions between what design critics call "homogenizing identity" (Bell, 2004: 27) and the cultural diversity that locally specific heritage brand identities can also reveal. To some extent, this responds to Nick Bell's suggestion: "why don't graphic designers, as part of their armoury of approaches, have something called 'cultural identity'? Whereas corporate identity [to which brands relate] is a made-up thing, it can be re-invented, cultural identity is the way you are whether you like it or not" (2004: 27).

Cultural identity cannot be invented but rather it can be examined objectively. By examining heritage brands one can immerse oneself into such cultural identities and look at the role designers' play as mediators of the cultural transformations that occur between those tensions. Brand archives are then proposed here as a medium through which a designer can create transformative experiences, from the rescuing and analysis of cultural and historical memory to its re-contextualization through cultural objects.

With regards to design and cultural diversity, the exploration of a brand's archive either in its physical or digital form, as discussed in chapter 2, allows the building up of a rich source of materials that becomes available for feeding developments. As this research is able to demonstrate, such explorative intervention is particularly evident with respect to a brand's visual identity, but it can influence product design as well as the future development of a brand as a whole. Therefore a brand's archive can be of utmost relevance to companies and designers looking towards their futures.

Exploring such an archive allows [not only the researcher and designer but also a company or a cultural institution] to observe different realities from different perspectives, by making sense of things and discovering what they mean. Indeed, this allows one to understand better a given historical and cultural context, and the realities and norms underlying it.

Resulting from the different types and amount of evidence gathered through extensive field research it made sense thinking both about creating an archive of the Sanjo brand and of a collection of shoes. Neither such an archive nor such a collection existed prior to this research, aside from what is kept by the 'Museu da Chapelaria' and held fragmented privately by other individuals, anonymously and not accessibly. This means the archived materials and the collection of shoes enabled retrieve through this research are unique. However, they started emerging slowly and at the outset there was no preconceived idea about what the research might generate. Initially there was just an empty room and things start being accumulated and sorted into groups of interrelated data, as for example was the case with the shoes boxes (Figure 6.3).

6.1.2 Roles of the researcher and graphic designer

There was also no preconceived idea of how to organize the materials and a great deal of chaos was experienced along the journey. The materials found and what was being discovered about them dictated how they should be put together, often suggesting various possibilities. Although some of those possibilities have already been discussed in the previous chapters, there are other ways to organize the materials differently. I assembled them, for example, in the form of a collection of shoes according to chronological sequencing by cross-referencing data both from the shoes themselves and from data among other materials (Figure 6.4).

Figure 6.3 – Sorting out the Sanjo collection.
 (A) Collection of boxes. (B) Classification of boxes.
 Organization and separation of the different models and respective boxes according to the various phases of the brand (C–F).

(C) Phase 1 — 1933 to 1974. Shoes in the bottom row: courtesy of Vitor Amorim.
 (D) Phase 2 — Late 1970s to mid 1980s.
 (E) Phase 3 — Mid 1980s to 1996.
 (F) Phases 4 and 5 — 1997 to 2009.
 Photographs by the author: author's collection.



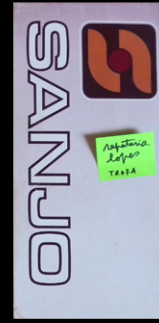




Figure 6.4 – Part of the Sanjo collection.
Here are displayed 38 pairs of different Sanjos and 11 different boxes. Here are represented all the various product designs gathered for the collection. Photographs of the shoes and boxes were juxtaposed digitally into one single image.

From top left to bottom right: The shoes and boxes are organized according to the various stages of the brand. Both product designs and packaging suggest a linear narrative about how the brand developed. Photographs and digital editing by the author: author's collection.





However, other possibilities to make sense of the materials can be further uncovered depending on how questions are formed, what is found as new about the data, and who make senses of it.

Although the roles of the researcher and the designer interchanged and were complementary to each other along the journey, as discussed in chapter 2, whereas the concerns of the researcher were more about finding new evidence and making sense of it, for example, in methodological terms for retrieval and analysis, the designer's concerns were related to further exploring the materials visually. Being in the position of both the researcher and the designer enabled me to find further connections between the collection and the archive's constituents, identifying patterns and gaps, photographing and taking notes, drawing tables and diagrams, and sorting out the materials according to dates, designs, and categories of information. In addition to the investigative nature of the researcher, the graphic designer's skills and techniques for dealing with visual materials were crucial to the observation of formal representations, as well as for designing the visualization of the connections made.

By merging the roles of the researcher and graphic designer together I assembled the dusty room and made senses of it. With regards to the archive and the collection, if one contribution relates to the senses I made, another contribution in the future might be assembling the materials to allow others to make their own sense of it.

6.1.3 Distinction between archives and collections

According to Cummings & Lewandowska (2005: 150) "archives, like collections, are built with the property of multiple authors and previous owners. But unlike the collection, an archive designates a territory and not a particular narrative (...) Interpretations are invited and not already determined".

As mentioned above, both these ideas of an archive and a collection were explored with regards to the Sanjo case as being complementary to each other. Despite archives and collections mean different things, what I have done with Sanjo is a combination of these ideas. Whereas the collection of shoes suggested the construction of a linear chronological narrative about how the product and brand developed, the analysis of other materials led to various interpretations being made, thus originating multiple narratives. Recalling some of the examples described in

the previous chapters, one may think of the connections made between the brand and the New State regime, the relationship between the mark designs and how they reflect moments of historical transformation in the former company and in the Portuguese context, the photographs of users and what they say about the various contexts of use, or the comparisons made between outsole designs in relation to the shoes originally made in Portugal and those made in China today.

Regarding the Sanjo case, pulling images and objects together out from both the archive and the collection continually generated something. Hence, despite their difference, both the archive and the collection consist of territories with rich potential for generating meaning, as well as to foster future cultural developments through design and curatorial practice. Poynor argues “recombination’s of the old can still become the building blocks of an authentic cultural movement” (2003: 76).

6.1.4 Approaches to archives

Just as historians and philosophers began to question the representation of history and cultural identities, art and design began to reflect these changes
(Guffey, 2006: 21).

Approaches to archives are among art’s most significant developments worldwide and they can also influence design. Some of these approaches tend to embrace tradition in a contemporary manner with regards to cultural and social concerns, such as in many curatorial projects relating to archives (Merewether, 2006; Spieker, 2008).

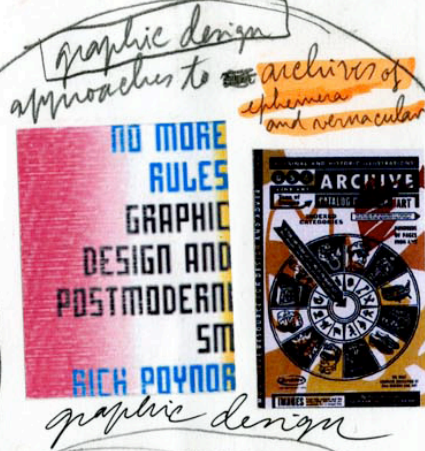
The primary function of an archive is to keep different types of documents, records and objects stored and of easy access. But archives are not just containers of historical memory from the past, they also hold potential for narrative constructions for the future. An archive “designates a territory, (...) a discursive terrain” (Cumplings & Lewandowska, 2005: 150) with rich creative and curatorial potential, which is maybe why there are many artists responding to them.

There are particular examples where archives have been explored both for displaying and generating meaning, that go far beyond their traditional conception as mere repositories of memory for holding the past. One could list numerous examples of approaches to archives, for this thesis they have been categorized as follows (Figure 6.5).

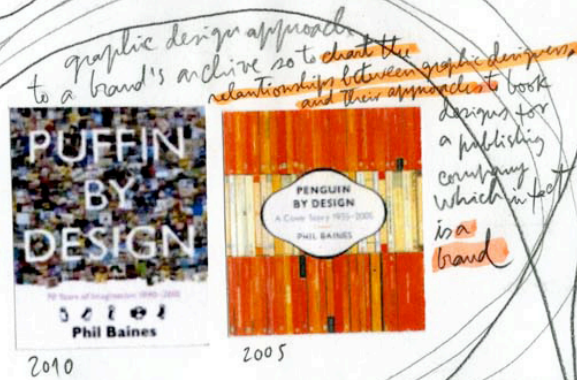
"COLLECTING IS A PRIMAL PHENOMENON OF STUDY:
THE STUDENT COLLECTS
KNOWLEDGE."

(Benjamin, *arcades*
p. 210)

DESIGN APPROACHES
TO ARCHIVES



graphic design history - reading history through archival documents (Heller)



Brand
Brand/Product design

PRODUCT DESIGN



brands' approaches to archives (OR)
companies' approaches to a brand's archived materials

sports brands draw on their archives to feed products development, create sub-brands and reinforce positions in the market

Approach to archives to celebrate long-standing product and brand in the context of popular culture
Coca-Cola museum/archive of collectibles, stories and memorabilia
In product design, such as of furniture Herman Miller to the Eameses designs, use archival materials, are also intemporal designs

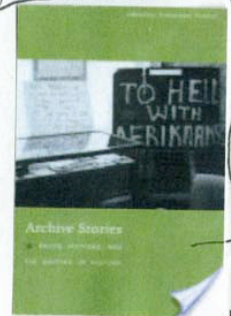
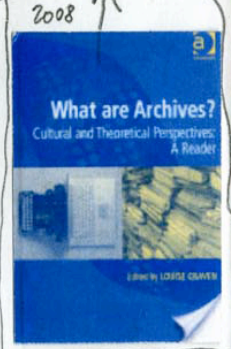
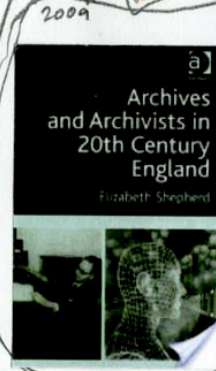
of the "theater"
Benjamin locates the decisive shift to the modernist
A comprehensive reading of the Parisian arcades that were the early centers of consumerism.
An extensive work of montage of quotes and reflections that describe and see the reality within the arcades according to categories. It reveals the true history that underlies

Benjamin through this book marks the moment transition to the modern age and to the commodification of the city. To which brands today are central



business universities, local governments, museums, libraries and archives

standard guidelines for archival practice and management of archives in institutions (E.V. & M. S. 2008)

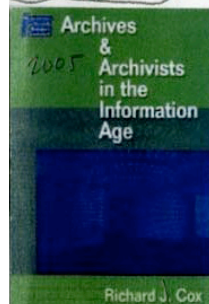
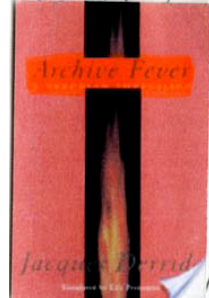


modern age through the commodification of things

tations
place
dig
my the ideological mark.

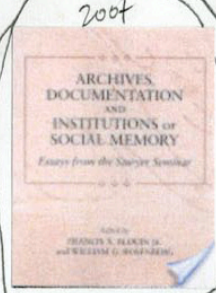
2007
personal archives - everyday life and ~~personal~~ archiving practices representing experiences, ideas and hopes

rethinking "the archive is more about the future rather than the past" 1996 (remember and forgetting)

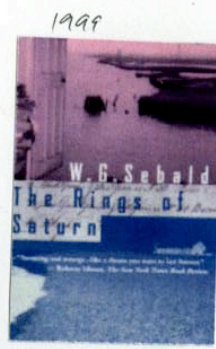


Encounters with archives (side stories)
WHAT COUNTS AS AN ARCHIVE? (a celebration)

2011
the New Renaissance Approaches to the digitization of the physical archive within the E.C.



2002
Thinking about archives to embracing new realities and new possibilities
Archives have been seen traditionally as preserving memory as holding the past. But if archives are about the future rather than the past, then



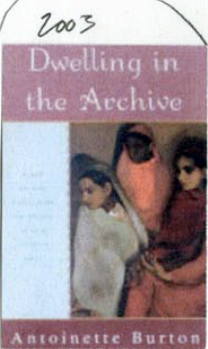
wide-ranging approaches to archival documents (photographic and fabric archiving) to rethink the meaning of identity, history, memory and loss.

READYMADE
ARCHIVAL IMPULSE
COLLECTIVE AMNESIA (COUNTER-MEMORY)
PRE-PRODUCTION → collecting
POST-PRODUCTION → exploring
STRUCTURAL & SEMANTIC APPROACHES
INFORMAL ARCHIVES

arts approaches to archives

Susan Hiller to the Freud Museum, Kabakov and Mikheev to in relation to former Soviet Union where the official archives was not at the service of memory, rather it served as a tool for widespread repression and collective amnesia. Cummings and Lewandowska in making available an archive of polish amateur films they retrieved literally from people's beds. This contribution was a response to original official archives that charge for access and reproduction rights, even in educational contexts.

- Archives are the idea of the Ready-made as still vital to the practice of artists that "changes from that of struggling to acquire, to struggling to choose."
- Hal Foster agrees with Cummings on the Ready-made idea
- Hal Foster's idea of an "archival impulse" at work internationally in contemporary art. According to Foster, "archival artists seek to make historical information, often lost or displaced, physically present."



WHAT COUNTS AS AN ARCHIVE?
Context narratives in post-colonial history

Figure 6.5 – Approaches to archives.

Bringing together in visual form relevant ideas, authors and books around the subject of archives led to originating a method for establishing a 'visual conversation' for mapping a given subject. Collage and notes by the author: author's collection, (original size A3).

The institutional approach — There are standard tools and guidelines for archival practices and management of archives, which are particularly relevant to institutional and private organizations, including governments, museums, libraries, universities and businesses (Cox, 2005; Blouin & Rosenberg, 2007; Craven, 2008; Shepherd, 2009; Niggemann, Decker & Lévy, 2011). Here archives are considered to consist of containers of historical and cultural memory, or are for keeping records of organisational activity. These often exist in both physical and digital format, either accessible to people working for those organizations or to the public in general.

The personal, or unofficial archives — Archival practices go beyond the institutional and organisational domain and these are also relevant within the private sphere. Personal archiving practices represent experiences, ideas and hopes, which might challenge what is officially established. This happens, for example, with post-colonial history of Africa and India (Burton, 2003; 2005) and with governmental photographic archives in the former Soviet Union, against which personal archives responded as counter-memory. In those cases, “the official archive was not at the service of memory. Rather it served as a tool for widespread repression and collective amnesia” (Spieker, 2008). Personal archives also consist of free interpretations of the everyday life, like the work of Walter Benjamin on the Parisian arcades illustrates. Through his literary approach to archival documentation, Benjamin marked a moment of transition to the modern age, to which brands became central (Tiedemann, 1999).

Approaches within the arts — These include photographic and filming archives, through which artists use archival documents to rethink the meaning of identity, history, memory and loss (Zaatari, 2006). Here archives are instrumental means for creating meaning, “which is maybe why there is a creative space that many artists are responding too” (Cummings & Lewandowska, 2005: 150). Approaches to archives within the arts are as rich as some of the practices involved, prompting in turn to discussions about the meaning of archives (Merewether, 2006, Enwezor, 2008; Spieker, 2008). Some of the ideas emerging from philosophical and theoretical debates on the exploration of archives within artistic practices include the “ready-made” (Foster, 2004; Cummings & Lewandowska, 2005), “pre-production”, “post-production” (Foster, 2004), and “counter-memory” (Spieker, 2008). These ideas are expanded in section 6.1.5.

Design approaches to collections and archives — These not only relate to the writing of graphic design history (Aynsley, 2004; Heller & Fili, 2004; Meggs & Purvis, 2006; Eskilson, 2007; Heller, 2008), but also might deal, for example, with the exploration of vernacular designs (Charles S. Anderson cit. in Poynor, 2003), the classification of typeforms in collections (Dixon, 2001) or the recording of lettering and typeforms in the public space (Baines & Dixon, 2004), as well as to brand identity and product design developments. These range from charting relationships between designers and companies (Baines, 2005, 2010; Murphy, 2011), to the exploration of iconic designs in the marketplace (Adidas, 2010; Puma, 2010; Herman Miller, 2011).

Brand approaches (to lost archives) — Drawing from a brand's archive to feed product and brand developments can either help reinforcing tradition in the marketplace or enable the exploration of niche markets. That is the case of Adidas and Puma in relation to their sub-brands 'Adidas Originals' and 'Rudolf Dassler Schuhfabrik'. However, "due to the contentious family history behind the two companies, [Adidas and Puma] neither of them has comprehensive archives" (Smit, 2008: 370). In any case, brand approaches to archives are often aimed at spurring consumerism rather than to celebrate cultural diversity.

6.1.5 Key ideas on approaches to archives

The following particular terms were drawn from current debates on the meaning of archives within artistic practices because they resonate with the idea of a brand's archive that the present research explores.

The notion of ready-made is still vital to the practice of artists because of "changes from that of struggling to originate, to struggling to choose" (Cummings & Lewandowska, 2005: 151). Similar to what was done with the Sanjo archive and the collection during this research, designers dealing with a brand's archive might also change from replacing historical designs to drawing on what there is available. Like archival artists, designers might "seek to make historical information, often lost or displaced, physically present" (Foster, 2004: 143).

Complementary to the ready-made are the notions of pre-production and post-production. Foster (2004: 144) describes these linked to, respectively, the acts of collecting materials and exploring them. Recalling the roles of the researcher and graphic designer described earlier, the researcher can be thought of as the

developer of pre-production work, which enables the designer's further exploring it as post-production work.

The idea of counter-memory also finds its place within this research. On the level of brands, personal archives might well function as counter-memory, or counter-narrative, for challenging what is officially known. In the case of a brand like Sanjo, for example, either by presenting different facts or filling gaps (e.g. about its history), unofficial archives can either challenge or add to the brand's official communications.

6.1.6 Bridging a gap between archival practices and locally specific heritage brands

All the categories and ideas described above are worth considering in relation to a locally specific brand's archive, due to the various ways they suggest approaching and expose meaning at various levels. Resonating with aspects from the plethora of approaches mentioned above, the one presented in this research is a rather unusual practice because it aims at bringing together each of those ideas to better deal with historical and cultural memory in heritage brands. The approach brings together the possibility to explore the plasticity of the archive with respect to historical view.

As shown in chapters 4 and 5, not only are archives often neglected in brands being revived, but also when such materials are accessible the broad significance and creative potential therein is often overlooked. Their place in history and cultural difference ends up being blurred or wiped out if little contextualization is given. Recalling Jameson (cited in Guffey, 2006: 21–22), in a “world transformed by mediated imagery and temporal rupture” many practices consist of “empty stylistic gestures”, lacking in the sort of historical and cultural contextualization that the present approach to a brand's visual identity aims to offer.

The approach proposed here aims at bridging a gap between archival practices and locally specific heritage brands. Due to the many possibilities that the archive allows us to explore with regards to cultural difference, this approach is a response to the way many designers are dealing with historical memory, as well as it is a challenge to the companies neglecting brand archives. What the research presented here is able to show is that one can avoid failing to address authenticity if, firstly, a collection or an archive or both are constructed, secondly, if there is substantial visual and contextual analysis, and thirdly, if the visual elements and histories uncovered are put together to contextualize the brand's history.

6.2 BRAND ARCHIVES:

Embracing reality and new possibilities

Building towards a conclusion, particularly regarding the methods developed, this section summarizes what the approach to the Sanjo case enabled discovering and what it originated from a design perspective. This brings together subjects discussed in the previous chapters: in chapter 2 on the methods developed for collecting data, in chapter 3 on the understanding of the contextual history of a particular heritage brand, in chapter 4 on the application of the methods and the historical context to study that case in greater depth, and in chapter 5 on the identification and analysis of parallel examples.

Altogether, the methods, the study of the case, and the parallel examples combine to demonstrate two fundamental considerations. First, that this design-practice related research led to the development of a system for the rescuing, analysis and exploration of historical and cultural memory of heritage brands. It not only enabled the rescuing of a great deal of a brand imagery on the brink of disappearing, which in itself is a great achievement, but also the methods developed within the system led to making further sense of the gathered materials in design terms. The second idea is that the problem of historical distortion and homogenization of the visual identity of heritage brands is not particular to the main case analysed, but also applies to other brands claiming their authenticity in other contexts.

Considering a brand's archive allows the embracing of reality and new possibilities in terms of visual identity. The approach to the Sanjo identity enabled understanding of the broad significance of a brand's archives to designers and companies at various levels. Firstly, it led to the discovery that comprehensive brand archives include a great deal of possibilities for analysis. Secondly, the approach to Sanjo originated a methodology for visual and contextual analysis, that is unique and replicable, because it enables understanding the contextual frame of reference of a given brand through which it can further develop. And thirdly, that the globalization of visual identity in heritage brands also relates to the lack of archived materials and the consequent loss of historical memory.

What follows is a synthesis of the main (concluding) ideas behind both the system and the methodology of analysis that this research originated.

6.2.1 Retrieval of historical information

This relates to the methods described in chapter 2. The approach to the Sanjo case originated a 'designerly' way for collecting data about a brand, consisting of retrieving historical information and rescuing archival materials. When the research began, very little was known about the history of this brand, additionally the information available was very limited. However, the gathering of substantial physical and historical evidence became possible as a result of the methods developed. This shows that there is a number of ways to rescue scattered histories and fragments of a brand's identity, including those at a point of disappearance. The evidence was then brought together to form a body of archival material, that is also unique, for analysis.

6.2.2 A great deal of possibilities for analysis

Merging the roles of the researcher and the designer broadened the possibilities of discovery within the realm of a brand. The deconstruction of Sanjo's visual identity through the examination of the gathered materials allowed observing contextual reality beyond formal representations and identification of the various dimensions with which brands relate. It enabled discovering the meaning of the brand to the local culture and the finding of its place in Portuguese history. This allows local people to better understand their own culture in design terms, as well as providing other people with the opportunity to know new aspects about that culture too. The analysis brought to light some understanding about the norms within the complexities of that context, how those norms have changed, and how that context is now being influenced by other norms, such as those being imposed by global brands. Observing reality through a brand's imagery led to a set of discoveries that helped the mapping out a territory with rich potential for further analysis.

6.2.3 A methodology for contextual and visual analysis

This relates to the sort of contextual and visual analysis made in chapters 3 and 4. Gathering the Sanjo materials helped to understand that brand archives incorporate a great deal of possibilities for analysis. This reinforces the relevance of archives to locally specific brands both to design and to the broader culture. That was only possible to attain through delving into the materials and finding connections between them. Sorting them according to various categories of information, like the pieces of a larger puzzle, enabled the understanding that the brand's imagery

not only relates to the brand itself but have also something to say about the broader context, including about the country, its history, its people and its culture.

The analysis of the Sanjo archive and of the collection of shoes originated a methodology for the visual analysis of a brand, that is replicable, because it allows other brands to be examined and understood in a similar way. The methodological approach that this research originated consists of using the materials collected to construct timelines or chronological tables for contextual and historical analysis, and matrices or grids for detailed visual analysis. The timeline of Sanjo helped to understand its trajectory of historical development, through the cross-referencing of various types of evidence, across different categories of information (historical events, data about the company, brand designs, products and visual communications). Complementary to the timeline, the construction of separate matrices and grids for comparing elements within the various categories of information, reinforced the potential quality and depth of the analysis.

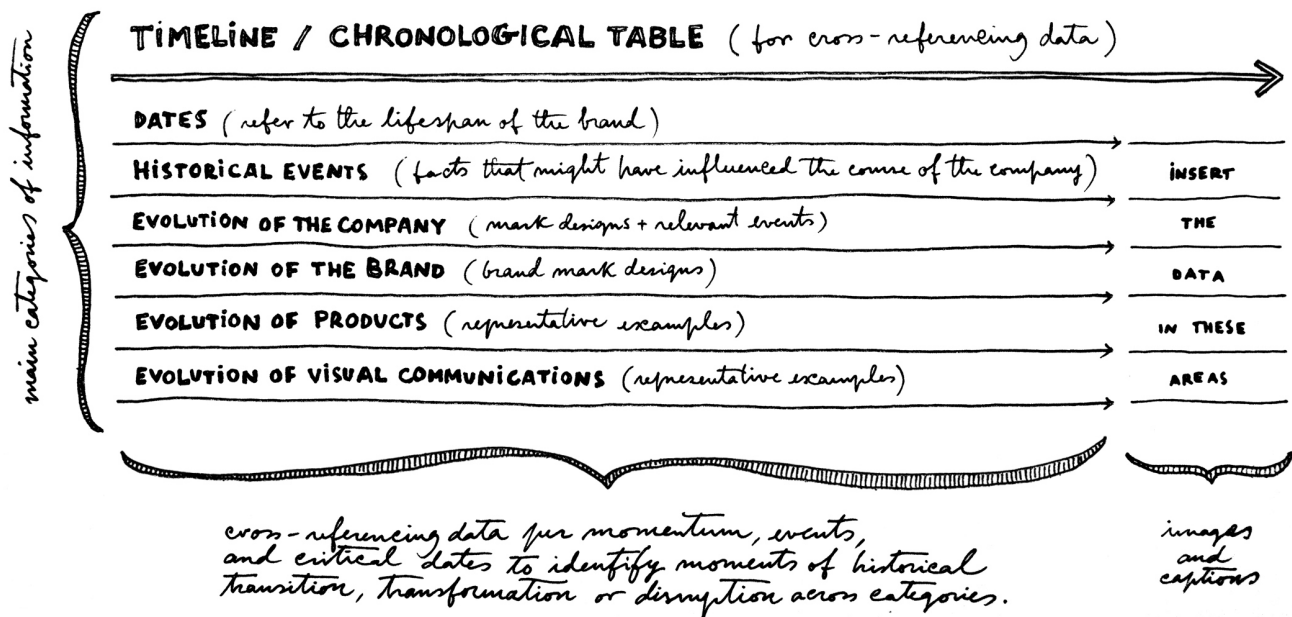
6.2.4 Timelines/chronological tables and grids/matrices

Analysing a brand's identity the same way as I did with Sanjo enables a better understanding of the broad historical and contextual frame of reference of a locally specific brand. Knowing the trajectory of a brand not only means knowing about its past but also helps knowing to where its future is being projected. Two of the most important moments that occurred during the exploration of the Sanjo archive were precisely the discovery of how timelines and grids work to make visible the transformations of a brand across time and within categories. The construction of a timeline of Sanjo was a key milestone for the research progress because it enabled the bringing together of historical events and images for the visualization of the brand as a whole. This enabled the identifying of the most significant moments in the brand's history and understanding why are they relevant. It also helped identify gaps, and discover how the broader context had influenced the brand's designs and its visual identity. This made the key elements of its identity clearer, which led to identifying which were the most significant across time and why. The significance of the timeline to assess a brand's identity was emphasized as a powerful tool for contextual analysis and for assessing visual elements when it became clear that it was possible to apply this and adapt it to any brand (Figure 6.6). The main categories of information—common to most brands—and the relationships they

Figure 6.6 – Rationale of the timeline/chronological table.

A tool for the visual and contextual analysis of brand identity that is unique and replicable. Placing data according to categories of information enables visualization of the trajectory of historical development of any brand by identifying significant moments of historical transformation, patterns, and gaps.

Drawing by the author: author's collection.



establish between them, such as patterns, gaps, consistencies and inconsistencies, all became visible and clearly decipherable on chronological tables.

Another milestone was the discovery of matrices and grids. In addition to the timelines, these enabled further expansion of the capabilities of visual analysis because they allowed us to look separately at particular instances in greater detail, like those described earlier for Sanjo, whether in relation to a given period of time or between visual elements. Therefore timelines and grids combined enable the identifying of the historical trajectory of a brand and the assessment of its visual identity.

Timelines and grids comprised of a means for understanding a brand identity, by enabling discovering its past in design and visual identity terms through making it visible. In the case of Sanjo, this led to clearly identify what was specific and unique about the brand, what changed, why, and how as well as when.

6.3 A RESPONSE TO GLOBAL IDENTITIES:

Tangible objects back to symbolic values

We must by necessity retrieve from the past to re-invent the future
(Garrett cit. in Poynor, 2003: 76).

Linking questions outlined in the beginning of this thesis and in the end of chapters 4 and 5, summarized below, this section is a response to the critique of how current design practices are dealing with locally specific heritage brands and how that is contributing to the globalization of visual identity. Building up towards a general conclusion, it presents the main findings of the research as well as it describes a set of general guidelines to address the issues identified.

Recalling those questions: Why do many brands tend to look the same? Why is this also happening with locally specific heritage brands? Why are their histories not told, are being distorted, or simply wiped out? Why do designers limit themselves to act according to corporate identity standard practices? Why is that there is a wealth of cultural memory not being gathered, preserved and explored through visual identity?

The analysis of the Sanjo case and of the parallel examples in similar contexts of transformation led to the discovery that archives might serve a broad spectrum of interests, including design, businesses and local organizations. However, many companies and designers are unaware of the relevance of archives to their practices and fail to sustain their claims on authenticity due to lacking in historical evidence.

6.3.1 Main findings

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 case study described in chapter 4 and of the parallel examples analysed in chapter 5, a summary of the main findings identified is outlined:

Homogenized identity — 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 uniformity 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.

6.3.2 Recommendations

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 — In the same way that “trained ethnographers derive deeper insights from observational and immersive research” (Solomon cit. in AIGA & Cheskin, 2006: 6) in the real world, 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 (Hamilton, 2002). 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. In turn, 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. In addition, reflecting more on the impact of those 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 a chronological table, displays its historical trajectory and position in historical and cultural 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, that is often overlooked.

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. For example by constructing chronological tables, timelines, and analysis grids. Analysing materials in such a way 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. As described in the previous chapter, the phenomenon of nostalgia triggered by brand revivals started the resurgence of historical memory, including of quality museum objects and archival materials such as original products, photographs, ephemera, personal experiences and other types of evidence relating to those brands. Taking advantage of the opportunities arising, for example on the Internet through social networks, might help incorporate new materials and histories into existing archives, expanding them, or even provoke constructing them.

Returning history to products — As discussed in chapter 5, design approaches to brand archives are often occasional and isolated acts, lacking

in contextualization and continuity. Brand archives are then an opportunity for the companies dealing with such brands to acknowledge their past. 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 — Placing a locally specific brand and its products in relation to their contextual frame of reference enables discovering what they mean historically and culturally. Acknowledging 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” (Csikszentmihályi & Rochberg-Halton, 1981: 231).

To summarize the previous ideas in one single proposition: the system developed here for the rescuing and construction of brand archives can contribute to the recovery and preservation of historical and cultural memory. Considering archived materials are relevant sources for designers and companies to sustain cultural difference through visual identity.

6.4 BEYOND BRAND ARCHIVES:

Turning dust into blooming

The overall system developed through this research for the retrieval, analysis and exploration of cultural memory in brand identity might evolve in various directions, as for example, through design and curatorial practices in post-doctoral work. One possibility is to further develop the methods through design, including within design education and with companies dealing with locally specific heritage brands. Another possibility is to further explore the cultural dimension of brand archives in terms of their potential for the dissemination of local cultures through curatorial practice. For example, the exhibition and the catalogue that are integral to this thesis are an example on its own to demonstrate this. Another example is to continue the study on the visual identity of trademarks and brands from the New State period¹, to which the application of the methods is found to be appropriate.

¹ The examples presented in Appendix A, which contemporary of Sanjo, illustrate the potential of this field of enquiry from a graphic design perspective.

Whatever it is, it will be about memory as resistance to death, embracing reality and new possibilities, tangible objects back to symbolic values, and turning dust into blooming.

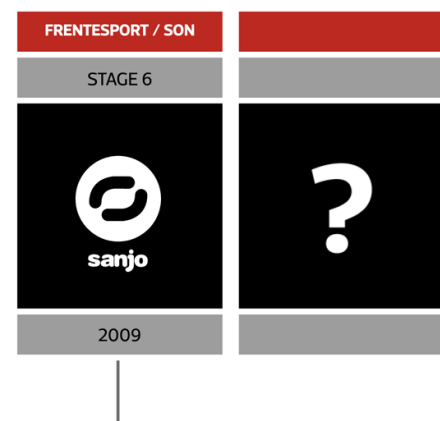
6.4.1 Feeding local productions and sustaining local cultures

Regarding the body of work produced through this research with respect to the Sanjo case, one obvious possibility would be to approach the company to establish a collaborative project. There are a number of reasons why a collaboration is worth considering in this case either through post-doctoral work or professional practice. One may question whether the brand's cultural specificities will continue dissolving in the next few years or they will utilize design as a critique to "the corporate, market-driven relations of object culture" (Clarke, 2011:11) (Figure 6.7).

However, any attempt to predict the future at this stage would be mere speculation and therefore any consideration about it is beyond this thesis. Nevertheless, the archive assembled relating to Sanjo during the course of this research has the potential as a significant resource for the brand. A natural step would be fostering the expertise produced on the subject of visual identity, on the methods developed for dealing with heritage brands and about the Sanjo brand itself, so to feed future developments for the cultural sustainment of this Portuguese iconic brand.

Alternatively, as this research is able to demonstrate, other possibilities can be also outlined with regards to other brands in a similar circumstance waiting to be rescued, and these do not have necessarily to be Portuguese or related to sports shoes. In the present day, there are various examples of heritage brands being revived, whose lack of archive materials and methods for using archives effectively for brand differentiation.

Figure 6.7 – The future Sanjo.
Posing the question of what the visual identity of Sanjo will look like in the future.



6.4.2 Further enhancing the methods

During the research it was possible to do some preliminary work to testing the methods developed beyond application to the cases described here. Two examples involving design students both at undergraduate and Masters levels developed at two different design colleges in Portugal, are used to illustrate the ways in which the methods can further develop within design education in the future. These examples outlined illustrate this. They refer to one workshop and one design project I coordinated, respectively, at ESAD and at the Communication and Arts Department, University of Aveiro. Based on the work produced in these two experiences, briefly described, it is possible to argue that the methods developed through this thesis also have potential to expand beyond design education, hence to assist the development of future projects within design research and in professional design practices.

Broadening the scope of possibilities for research through visual analysis

A three-day workshop conducted with MA communication design students was designed test the visual methodology that I developed to map clusters of information. The work that produced the methodology is shown in Figure 6.5. Bringing together in visual form relevant ideas, authors and books around the subject of archives, the juxtaposition of those images originated this method for establishing a 'visual conversation' around the mapping of a given subject.

This visual method for organizing information was further explored in the form of a workshop and implemented within design education to help MA design students to enhance their projects. It enabled broadening the scope of possibilities of research and analysis within the various subjects of inquiry that students were developing individually (Figure 6.8).

The workshop aimed at exploring the idea of a research project as a journey of inquiry, where images play a major role for finding connections between data. Taking on the idea of establishing a conversation between images, this method helped students in finding out new things about the visual materials they were handling. Each student was asked to bring a broad set of images related to their individual projects. Sets of printed images were the starting point for establishing the visual conversation. A number of students were already dealing with locally specific brand imageries and archival materials, however the workshop gave them have a much better idea of the amount and quality of information they had. Through

Figure 6.8 – 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. [Online images] Available from: <<http://esadmacommunication.wordpress.com/2012/02/20/pedro-carvalho-de-almeida-workshop/>>.



handling images, the workshop explored how images can be used as triggers for (a) broadening the possibilities for the analysis of their materials, (b) for mapping out categories of information and finding how these unfold through detailed observation and note taking, and (c) for discovering how diagrammatic representation could enable them to structure the written component of their projects.

That “thought-provoking workshop on research methodologies helped Year 2 students push their final project ideas in new and deeper ways” (ESAD, 2012).

Historical and contextual analysis through chronological tables

Based on the application of the timeline/chronological table methodology for analysing brand identity (see Figure 6.6 — Rationale of the timeline/chronological table), a six week design project involved Year 2 undergraduate design students at the University of Aveiro. Students worked in groups. Through selecting brands of their own choice and drawing from the various sources of data collected about those brands, students followed the methodological steps and their work made visible the trajectories of historical development of those brands (Figure 6.9).

The process consisted of (1) collection of substantial visual and historical data about a brand, (2) developing a timeline/matrix for cross-referencing data, (3) construction of diagrams for representing visually the various dimensions of the brand, including the company, its product range and brand mark designs, and (4) produce separate analysis of the basic elements of visual identity.

This provided the students with a methodology for understanding brand identity in several ways: it helped them during the process of data collection; in establishing connections between historical evidence and images; in making sense of the materials gathered; and discovering how brands relate to context and why they develop in particular ways.

6.4.3 Rescuing memory and cultural dissemination

The possibilities in which brand archives can be explored through curatorial practice is what the practice component of this thesis aims to demonstrate. Displaying the materials according to the senses I made is one possibility for approaching the idea of cultural dissemination, in a way that goes beyond the traditional conception of brands. It is in itself an exploratory demonstration of the sort of evidence that this research was able to gather, and how the construction of a series of narratives is a way

Figure 6.9 – 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. Views of the room and completion of the work. Photographs by the author: author's collection.



of putting the methods at the service of creative practice for generating meaning.

There are other possibilities to explore. One possibility, for example, is the idea of ‘portable imageries’ [my term] that emerges from the portability of objects and dematerialization of the physical archive. If the physical archive is in itself a curatorial instrument that enables the re-contextualization of cultural objects, it is also a source for feeding digital content production to expand curatorial capabilities. The portable nature of the immaterial archive enables further disseminating of culture that also might challenge space and time, as well as current notions of material culture. For example, how could one record smell in a physical or digital archive? Following up on the methods developed through this research and of materials collected which couldn’t find their place in this thesis, another possibility to explore relates to the wealth of cultural memory of other brands from the New State that are contemporary of Sanjo. Many are waiting to be rescued and placed in the context of Portuguese design history.

Cultural dissemination through curatorial practice also might engage cultural institutions and local communities in activities designed to produce meaning. “Archives do not record experience as much as its absence” (Spieker 2008: 0, 16), but memory in the archive might enable trigger experiences between people and cultural objects. This relates to the idea suggested in the beginning of this chapter about assembling the materials from a brand’s archive to allow others to make their own sense of objects and find connections between them. Objects in the archive might function as mnemonic tools for memory retrieval among people who are familiar with those objects, so to discover reality, meaning, norms, and the other (Figure 6.10). This makes particular sense in the context of participatory methods for engaging local communities into narrative constructions, through developing “cultural probes” (Gaver, Dunne & Pacenti, 1999) and “triggers” (Loi, 2007) for data collection, which might also originate reflective tools for design practice, amid the debate on cultural sustainability and consumption.

Complementary to the idea of archives as containers of historical memory and as tools for generating meaning, the notion of archives as a means for constructing and disseminating cultural capital through ‘portable imageries’ could then expand in future work, so to feed content developments for exhibitions and publications.

Figure 6.10 – Objects as mnemonic tools for memory retrieval.
Shoes from the Sanjo collection used to trigger memories among older people, so as to record oral histories about the brand.
Mr. Álvaro Santos Chaves, Casa Bambi, Coimbra, Portugal.
Photograph by the author: author's collection.



6.5 SUMMARY

The methods developed through this research make a contribution to the field of qualitative research methods. Altogether, they form a system for the recovery and analysis of materials relating to brand identity.

Firstly, the system offers a rescuing process through a 'designerly' way of collecting data, and secondly, it offers a process for analysis that is unique. The articulation of visual methods and historical analysis is proposed here as a new way for dealing with cultural memory in locally specific heritage brands, aimed at the thorough understanding of such brands and examining their broad significance to design and the present culture.

Drawing on (1) materials rescued through field research, and (2) recovered through graphic design methods for processing visual data, (3) timelines and grids in combination forms as a powerful research tool to enhance case-study research methodology, which is replicable in design contexts and might serve other fields of application.

The rationale behind this system includes bringing together various types of evidence so to understand trajectories of historical development in brand identity and identify critical moments of transformation. The thorough understanding of a brand's identity aims at responding to the issue of whether locally specific brands are contributing to cultural homogenization or, conversely, to the sustainment of cultural diversity.

In depth analysis of a particular case study was presented to demonstrate how visual and contextual analysis supports showing how brand identity changes across time and how it is affected by contextual influence. In that particular case, it shows a brand start to relinquish the richness of its own historical and cultural specificities in favour of a more globalized influence.

Complementary to that case, parallel examples of brands from different contexts were also examined similarly, to assess matters of cultural difference and homogenization in visual identity. By cross-comparing examples it was possible to verify how and why the visual identity of those brands is also becoming global. By examining the relevance of archives for addressing identity issues, what the research presented here is able to show is that one can avoid failing to address authenticity. Firstly, if a great deal of historical and cultural memory is collected. Secondly, if there is substantial visual and contextual analysis. And thirdly, if the visual elements

and histories uncovered are put together in the right historical and cultural context.

Although centred in brand visual identity, this research 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 and 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 heritage 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.

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BRAND ARCHIVES:

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

Pedro Alexandre Santos Carvalho de Almeida

VOLUME II OF II – APPENDICES

Central Saint Martins College of Art & Design
University of the Arts London
Thesis submitted for the award of a Ph.D degree
November, 2012

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APPENDIX A

PRE-DOCTORAL

WORK

Appendix A PRE-DOCTORAL WORK

Appendix A briefly presents empirical developments produced prior to the research. That is work produced in the contexts of design education and design practice, which formed the starting point for this research to progress.

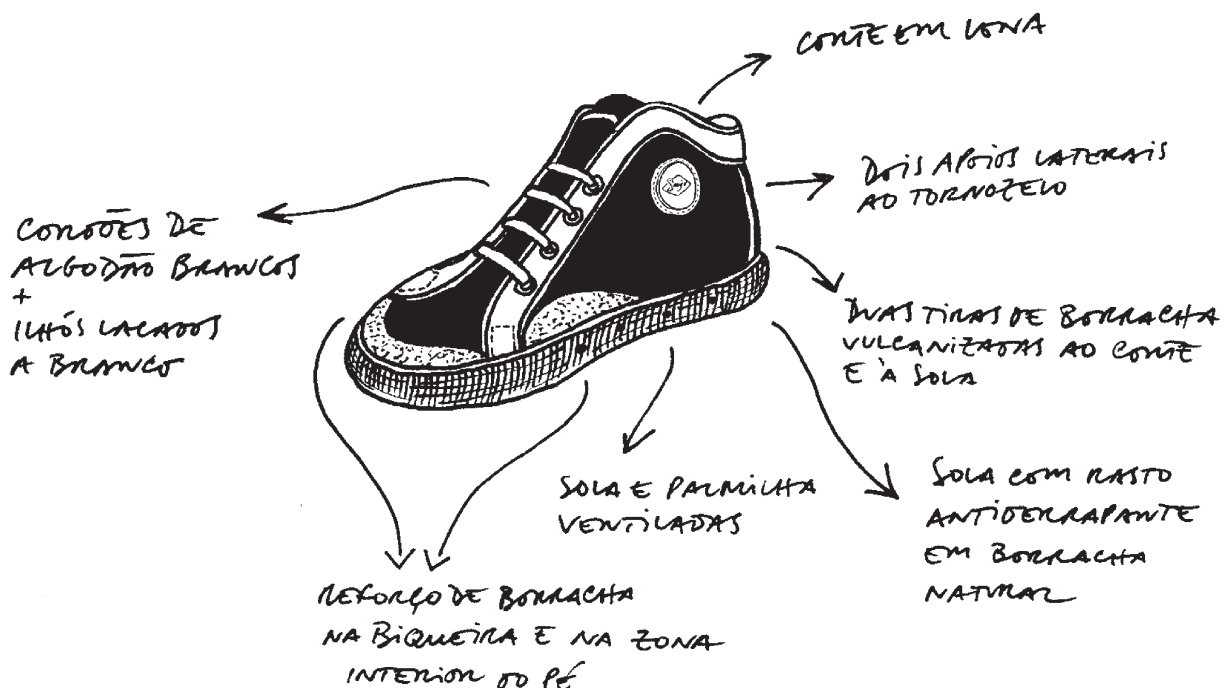
A1 First step into research

The masters dissertation was an opportunity to map and study the broader relationship between design and the Portuguese footwear industry (Figures A.1 and A.2).

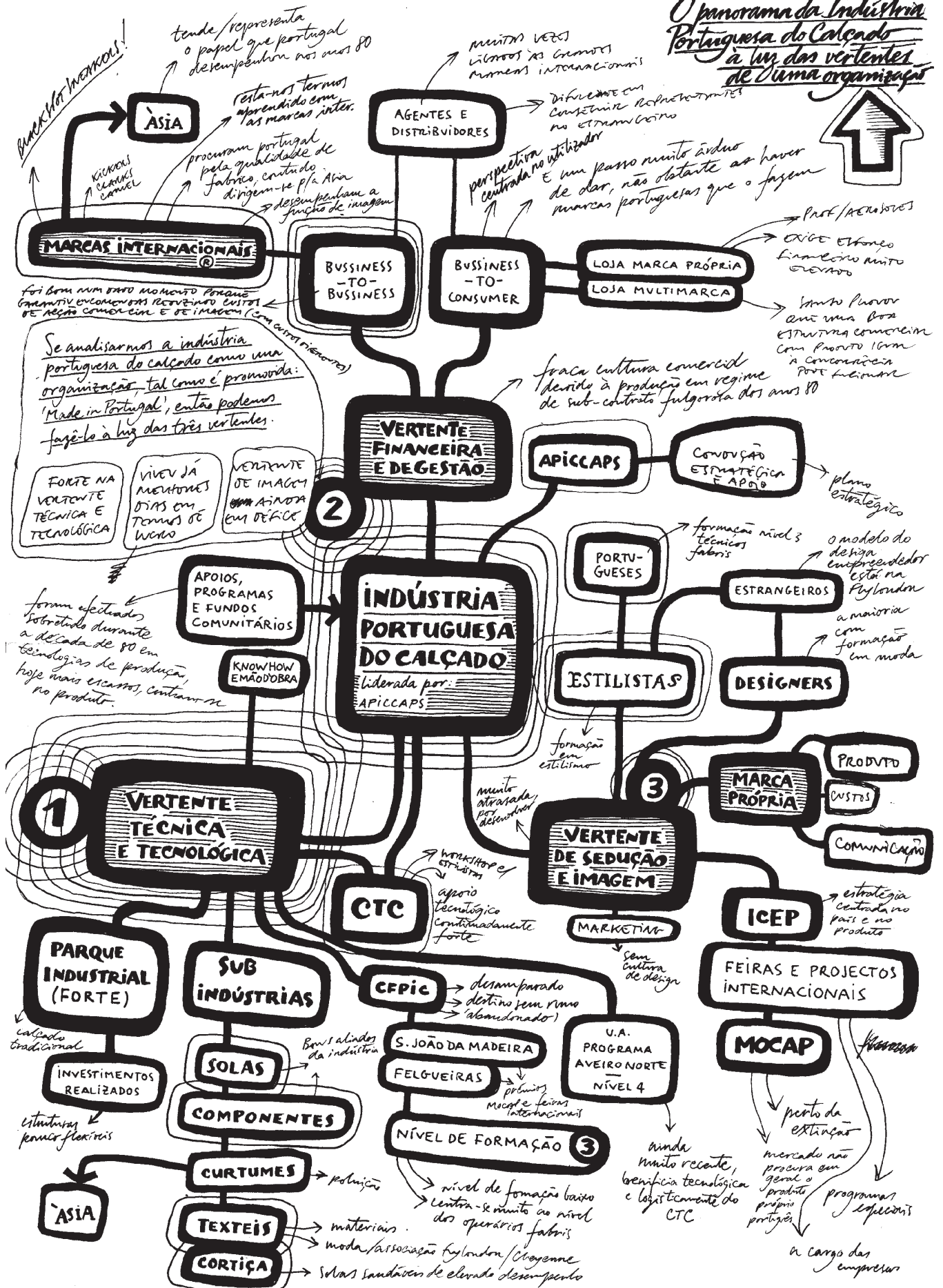
The first items of the Sanjo collection were gathered during research carried out in that period (2002–2005).

Figure A.1 – Morphology of the Sanjos, 2004.
Drawing: author's collection.

Figure A.2 – Mindmap of Portuguese footwear industry, 2004.
Drawing: author's collection.



O panorama da Indústria Portuguesa do Calçado à luz das vertentes de uma organização



A2 Exploratory window display

The early items of the Sanjo collection were subject to design intervention at a stationary shop in Porto. The approach to the shoes combined with photographs of the city, printed on A5 notebook covers, was a way of celebrating a Portuguese design icon such as Sanjo, popular culture in Porto, and Summer solstice in the city (2005) (Figure A.3).



Figure A.3 – “A estação do Verão com paragem no S. João” (Summer station at St. John’s).
Installation at stationary shop Papélia, Porto, 2005.
Photographs: author’s collection.



Figure A.4 – Graphic surgery of Viarco package designs.
 From graphic surgery to the re-edition of historical Viarco
 pencils packages for 'Uma Casa Portuguesa', 2006.
 Photographs: author's collection.



A3 Articulation of design practice and design education

Graphic recovery and re-edition of historical Viarco pencils packages, another Portuguese design icon from the 1940s and 1950s, for ‘Uma Casa Portuguesa’ (2006). This work was produced in collaboration with Catarina Portas, José Miguel Vieira Araújo, with special contribution from Nuno Zeferino (Figure A.4).

Through exploring original designs, the re-interpretation of the Viarco brand identity was also proposed to 2nd Year design students at the University of Aveiro as part of a larger project. This project developed in collaboration with Professor Carlos Aguiar, José Miguel Vieira Araújo from Viarco, and José Castro from Papélia (2007) (Figure A.5).

Figure A.5 – Re-interpretation of Viarco original designs.

University of Aveiro, 2007. Digital files and photographs: author's collection.



A4 Portuguese heritage design

Linking generations, cultures and time through research, memory and portable imageries¹

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 provide establishing 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 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, analysing which is now giving 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

¹ Originally published in: Lioy, A. (Ed.) (2010) Networks, the writing marathon 2010. London: Area D Action Research in Art & Design Limited, pp.10–17.

sustained the country's independence through self-sufficiency. Therefore most of the internal productions were also for internal consumption. Despite of many criticisms against the Estado Novo, this provided the rise of Portuguese economy during the 1940s and the 1950s, when most of European countries were still recovering from war.

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 account 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 bring over and to share was overwhelming. The room's tables were not enough to display the results of their research, as their stories were surprising.

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 could be possible otherwise. They made new friends and deepened family ties while collecting old objects, which could potentially enrich their design approaches.

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, 15×15 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,



Project outcomes

Linking to what is described in the Prologue of this thesis and throughout the various chapters, Portuguese graphic design from the New State period is a territory with rich potential for exploration from wider design perspective.

The work developed in the Strategic Design course at the University of Aveiro (2005–2007) is able to demonstrate this. What follows briefly illustrates a part of the outcomes produced with design students, especially the wealth of material culture available to research in the design field (Figure A.6).

The work resulted in the gathering of:

- a) over 2 500 photographic records of Portuguese trademarks and brands imagery;
- b) nearly 200 brand and trademark designs;
- c) nearly 200 images recovered in the 15x15 cm format of the Portuguese traditional tiles, to function either individually or altogether as a panel;
- d) 40 small case studies.

Figure A.6 – Collection of work produced by design students.

Work produced at the Strategic Design course, University of Aveiro, Portugal, 2005–2007.

Photographs: author's collection.



A 4.1 Portuguese trademarks and brands recovered.

Sample of the Portuguese trademarks and brand designs identified, collected and graphically recovered by design students at the Strategic Design course, University of Aveiro, as part of a larger project (2005–2007) (Figure A.7). The trademark designs in Figure A.7 are simply listed in alphabetical order.

Figure A.7 – Portuguese trademark designs.

Selection of trademark designs recovered by design students at the Strategic Design course, University of Aveiro, Portugal, 2005–2007. Digital file: author's collection.



A Pessoa	Conquistador	Gazeta das Aldeias	Pomito Lencart
Ach. Brito	Coração Linhas	Hipólito	Regina
Alpina	Couto	Ídolo	Reguladora
Ambar	Crónica Feminina	Inave	Resista
Amial	CTT	Jomar	Saluzena
Âncora	Cutoline	Lavor	Secil
Anjo	Dr. Bayard	Leão	Silampos
Astra	Empresa Industrial de	Lionesa	Sores
BB	Chapelaria	Lombadas	Sumol
Bil	Encerite	Lusa	TAP
Brandão Gomes	Ezequiel	Mabor	Teatro Aveirense
Carfer	Fábrica Tabaco	Majora	Tebe
Casal	Micaelense	Modas e Bordados	Triunfo
Caves Aliança	Revista Facho	Mondex	Vaqueiro
Cera Chaves	Fagulha	Obesyl	Viarco
Chiquita	Favorita	Oliva	Zam
Chuta	Flaga	Orfeu	Zelly
Cinal	Fogões Portugal	Osul	
Cisne	Fosforeira Portuguesa	Pachancho	
Claus	Gazcidla	Pica Pau	



A 4.2 Portuguese trademarks and brands and their related imagery

Sample of the Portuguese trademarks and brand designs recovered by design students at the Strategic Design course, University of Aveiro, in the form of postcards (2005–2007) (Figure A.8). Postcards function both separately and as a panel.

Further explorations of this work can include the sorting of images according to, for example, typefaces, lettering, symbols, ethnographic representations, and genre.

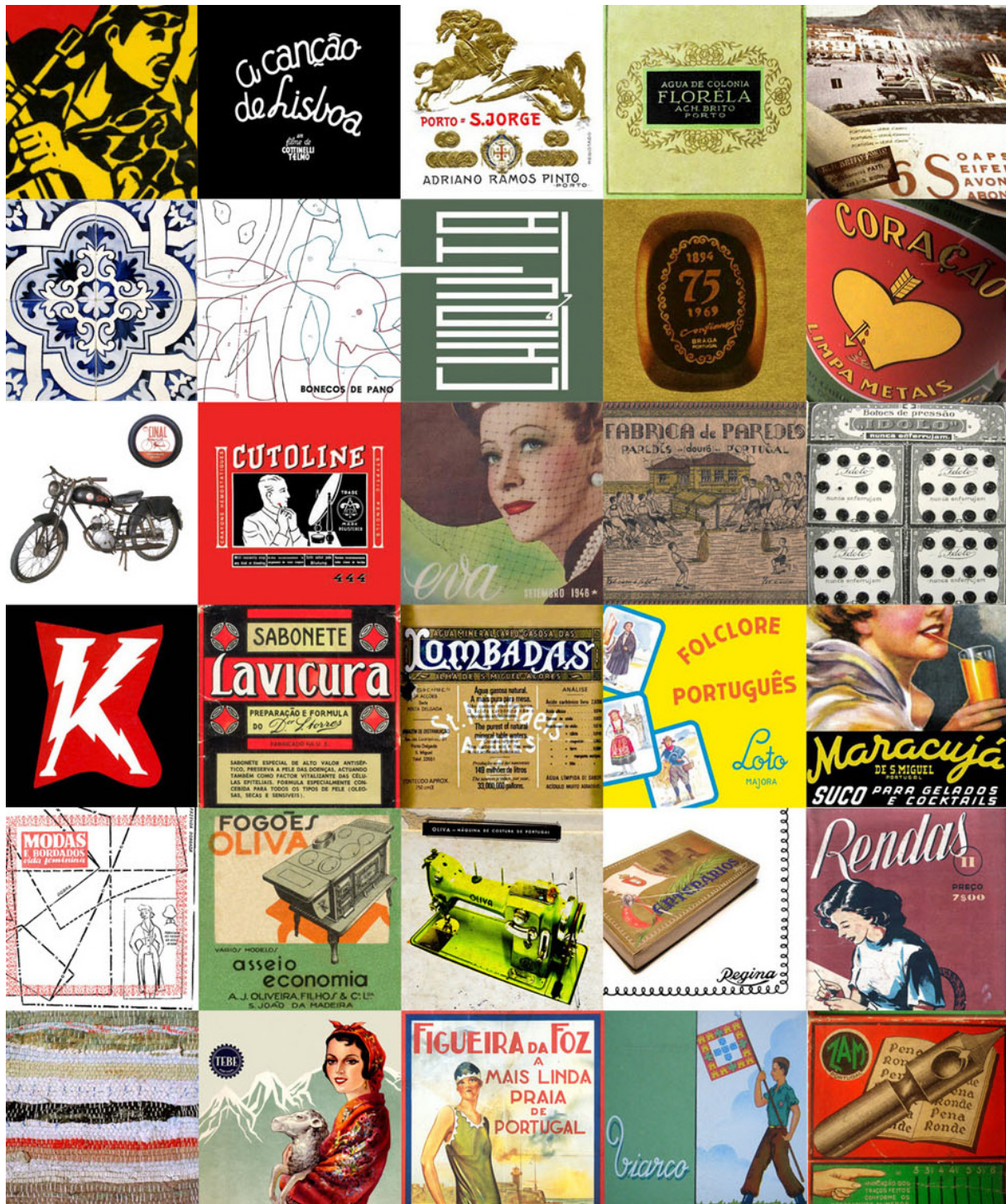
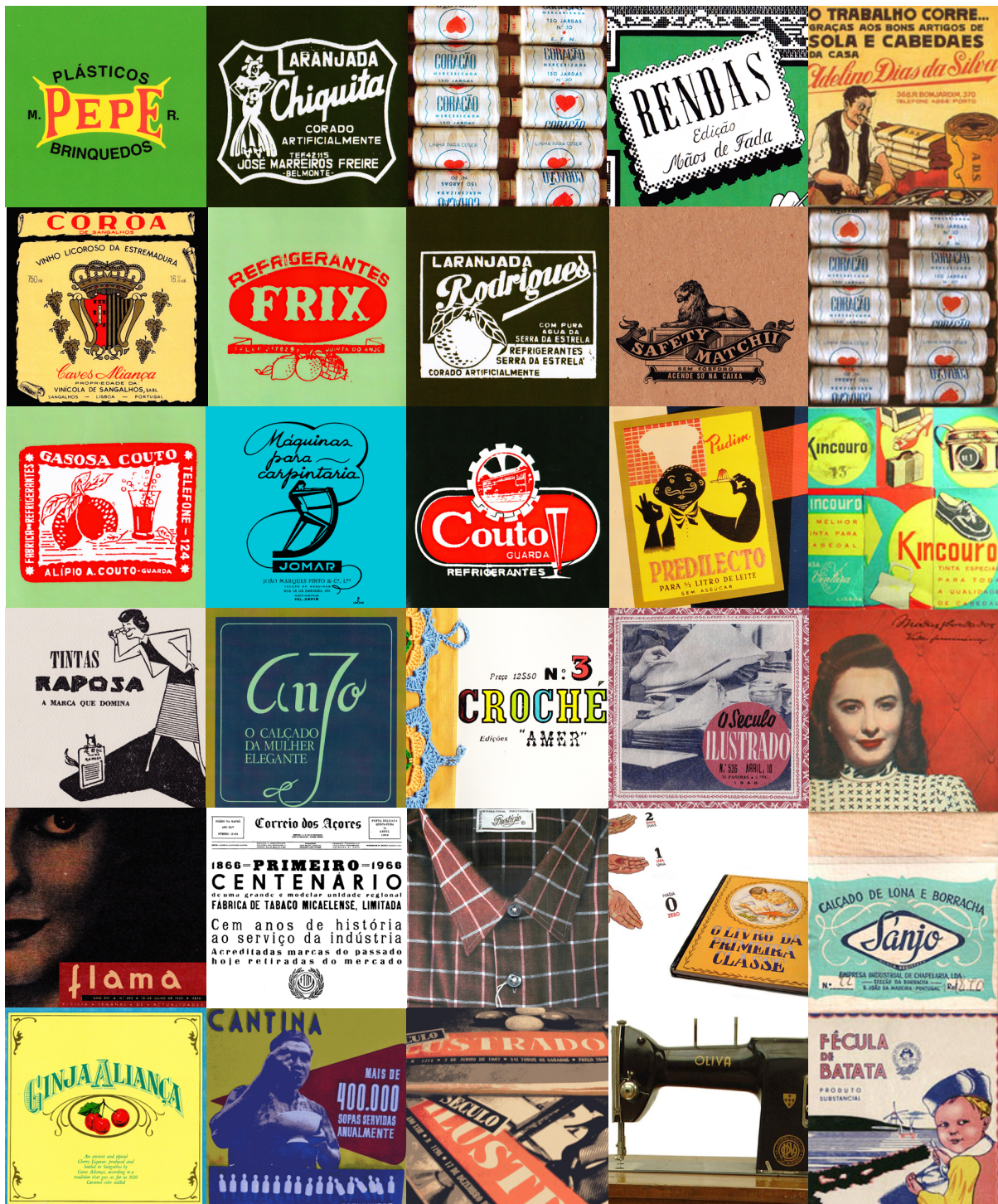


Figure A.8 – Panel of Portuguese brands imagery.
 Selection of postcards produced by students, based on the
 graphic recovery of Portuguese brand imagery. Strategic
 Design course, University of Aveiro, Portugal, 2005–2007.
 Digital files: author's collection.



APPENDIX B

MIND MAPS AND DIAGRAMS

Appendix B MINDMAPS AND DIAGRAMS

The design of mindmaps and diagrams was an aid to the conceptualisation of the research since its very beginning. The series of drawings presented here illustrate how the design thinking behind the project evolved and deviated.

The discovery of research methods and terminology that were new to me, as well as different possibilities to unfold the research challenged its progression. That is the case, for example, of the conceptualisation of 'portable imageries' (Figure B.1).

The chronological display of various drawing produced along the journey help tracing back how it progressed (following Figures).

Figure B.1 – Preliminary concept of 'portable imageries': systemic approach and functions.

Diagrammatic view, early developments.

Drawing: author's collection.

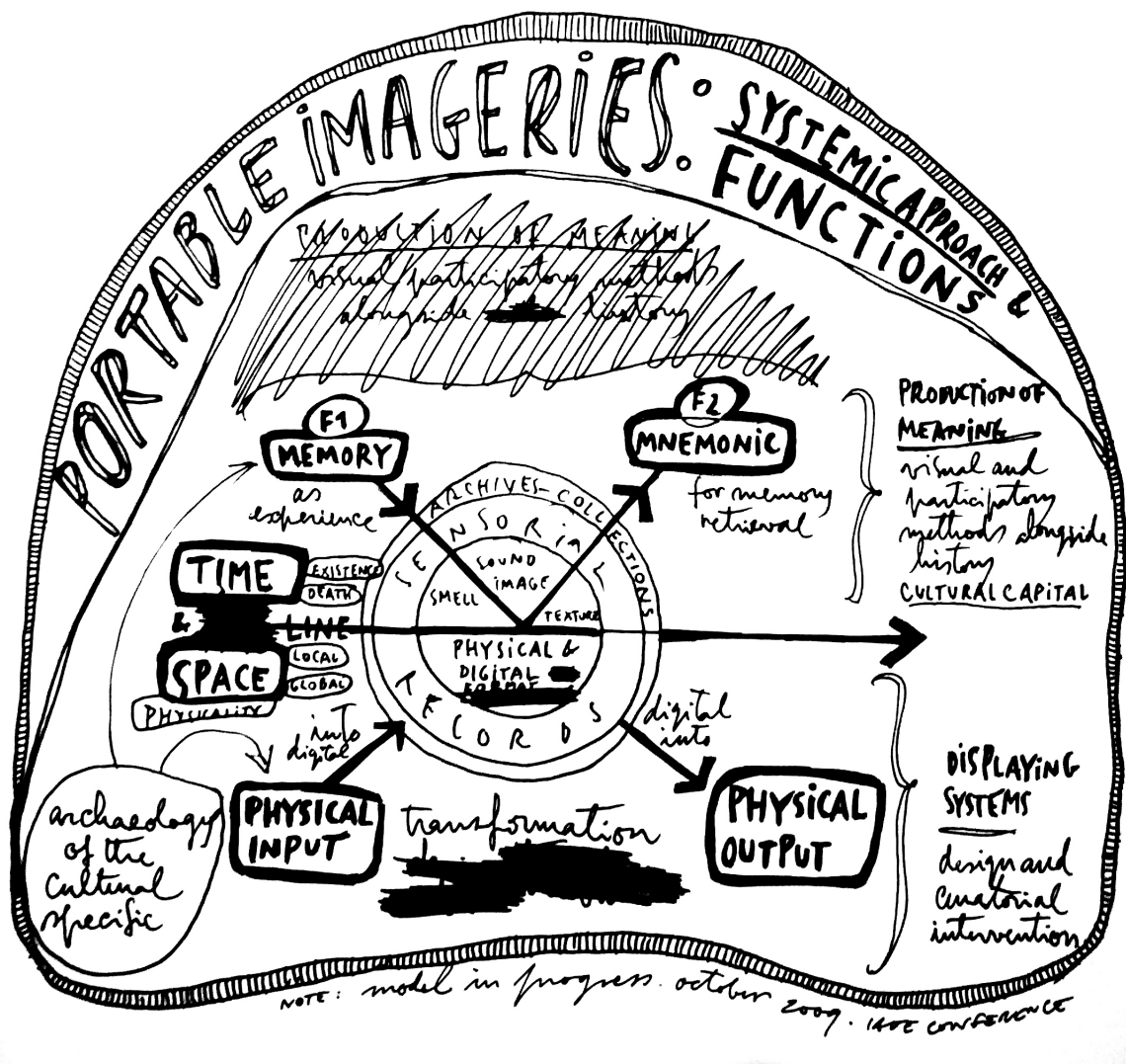
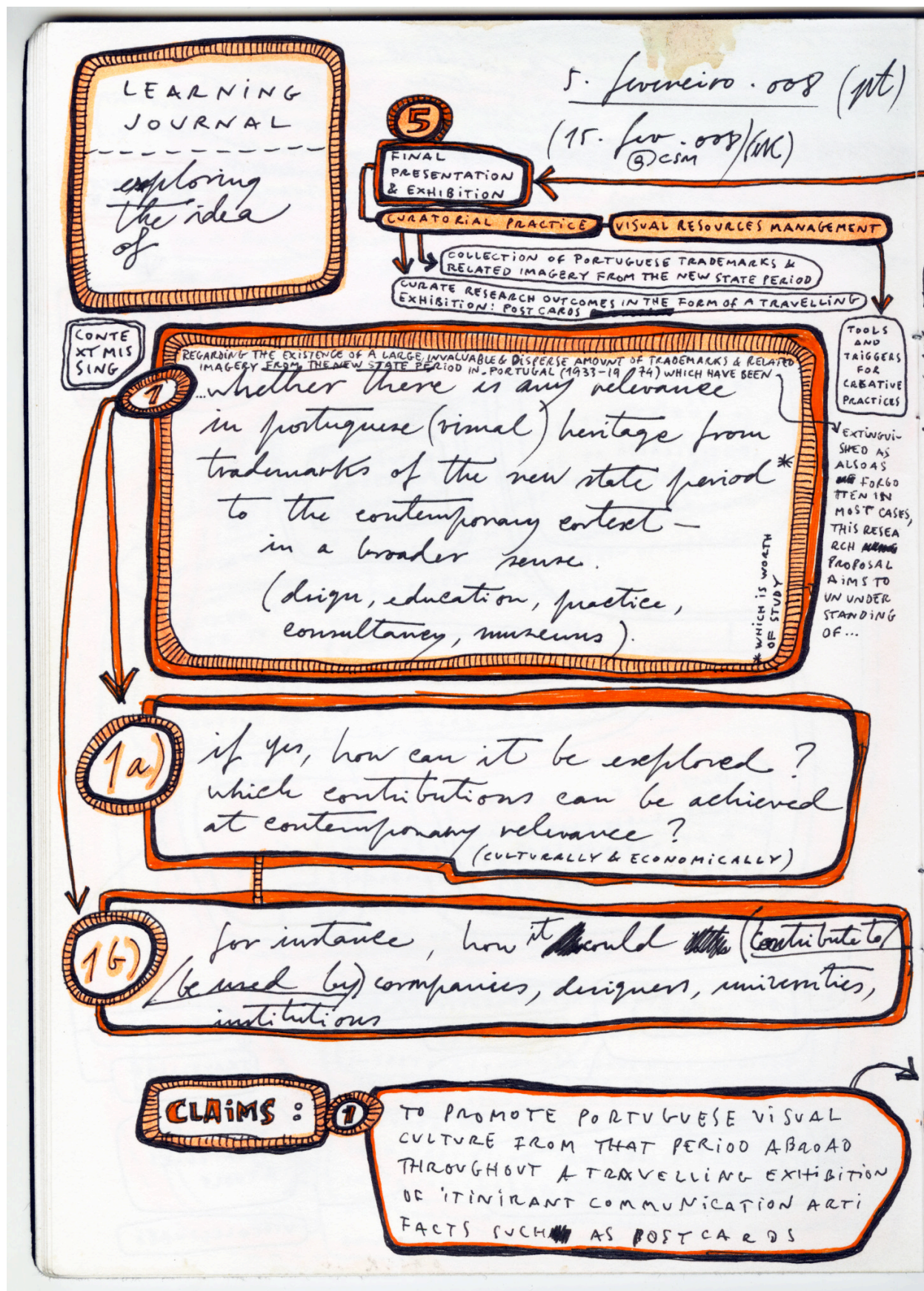


Figure B.2 – Exploring the idea of a learning journal,
February 2008.
Drawing: author's collection.



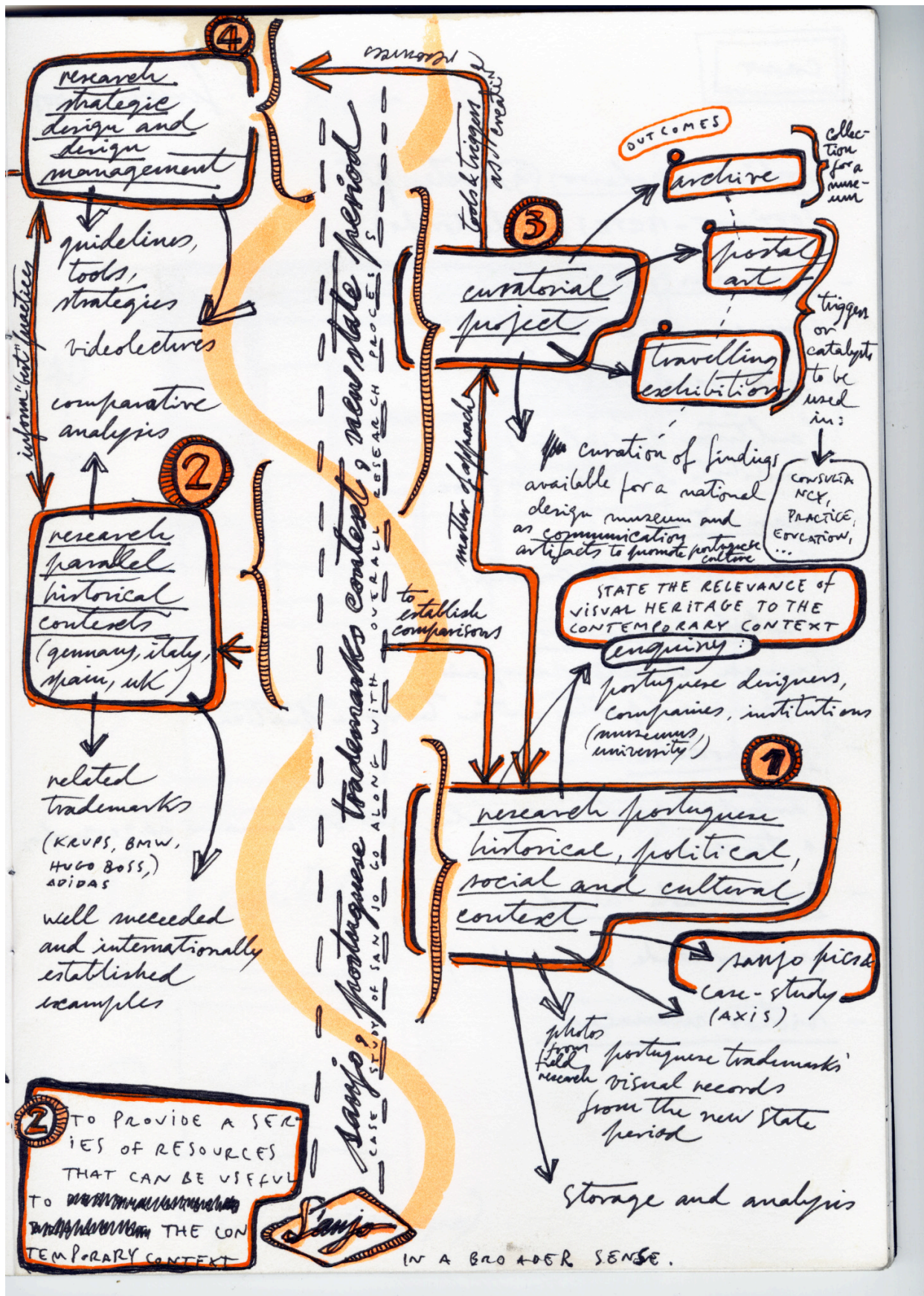
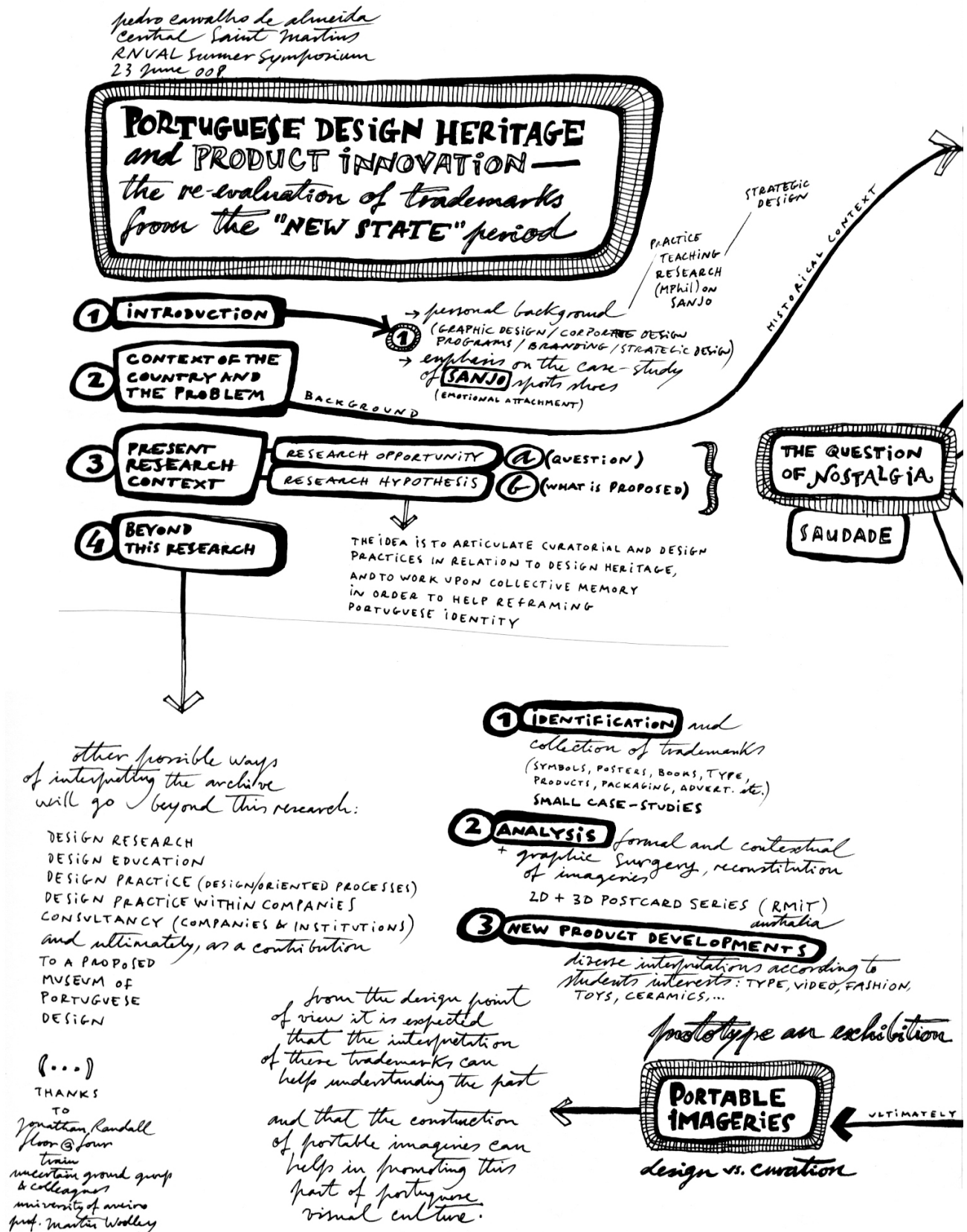


Figure B.3 – Mindmap presented at the RNUAL Summer Symposium, June 2008.
Drawing: author's collection.



THE "NEWSTATE" (1933-1974)

was a (soft) fascism regime.
is a relevant period in portuguese history, also from the design point of view due to the nationalistic ideologies in trademarks imageries

- NEUTRALITY IN WWII
- SELF SUFFICIENT INDUSTRY
- REFLECTION FAVOURED THE NATION
- PATERNALISTIC, CONSERVATIVE AND CATHOLIC REGIME

2

AFTER THE "NEWSTATE" PERIOD

nationalistic ideologies were considered old-fashioned by the generalized desire in the country to become modernized

- 1974'S INSURRECTION RESTORED DEMOCRACY
- POLITICAL AND ECONOMICAL INSTABILITY
- PRIVATIZATIONS
- STRATEGICAL POLICIES FAVOURED INDUSTRIES BASED ON SUB-CONTRACTED PRODUCTIONS TO INTERNATIONAL BRANDS

lack of national identity/self-esteem
diverse yet emotional relationships they have with these products, either at social, cultural, economical and political levels.

people's reactions to these trademarks should be tested, because of identity constructions through objects.

the extent of design heritage and the fact that trademarks remain unstudied

(RESEARCH OPPORTUNITY)
(RESEARCH HYPOTHESIS)
drawn from

3

PREVIOUS RESEARCH

SANJO CASE-STUDY

LACK OF FORMALITY

WORK WITH STUDENTS

emotional engagement

METHODOLOGY

NEW STEP TO RESEARCH

- WHAT IS THE RELEVANCE OF THE ARCHIVE?
WHAT IS ITS SIGNIFICANCE?
TO PORTUGUESE PEOPLE / TO THE PRESENT DESIGN CONTEXT?

6 GATHERING THE ARCHIVE & VISUAL RECONSTITUTION OF THE CONTEXT

INTERPRETATION & MANIPULATION OF VISUAL ELEMENTS

postcards

narrative containers
story-telling
sensorial-emotional artifacts (SOUND, IMAGE, NARRATIVES, TEXTURES, SMELL, HISTORIES, PHOTOGRAPHS, etc.)

Sanjo Vianco

- THERE CAN BE SEEN INFLUENCES OF THE DICTATORSHIP.
- DEPICTION OF SCENES FROM PORTUGUESE HISTORY, REGION AND CULTURE.
- THERE CAN ALSO BE SEEN INFLUENCES FROM DIVERSE AESTHETICAL MOVEMENTS IN EUROPE (ART DECO, MODERNISM).
- IMAGERIES FROM LATE 80'S AND THE 90'S SHOW HOW TRADEMARKS STRUGGLED WITH VISUAL IDENTITY.

1 identification & collection of portuguese trademarks (SMALL CASE-STUDIES)

2 formal & contextual analysis and graphic surgery/reconstitution process (2D & 3D POSTCARDS / POSTCARDS EXCHANGE)

3 DANGEROUS PART
new product conceptual developments
(DIVERSE INTERPRETATIONS ACCORDING TO STUDENTS PERSONAL INTERESTS: TYPE, VIDEO, FASHION ACCESSORIES, TOYS, ...)

-RMIT-
Australia

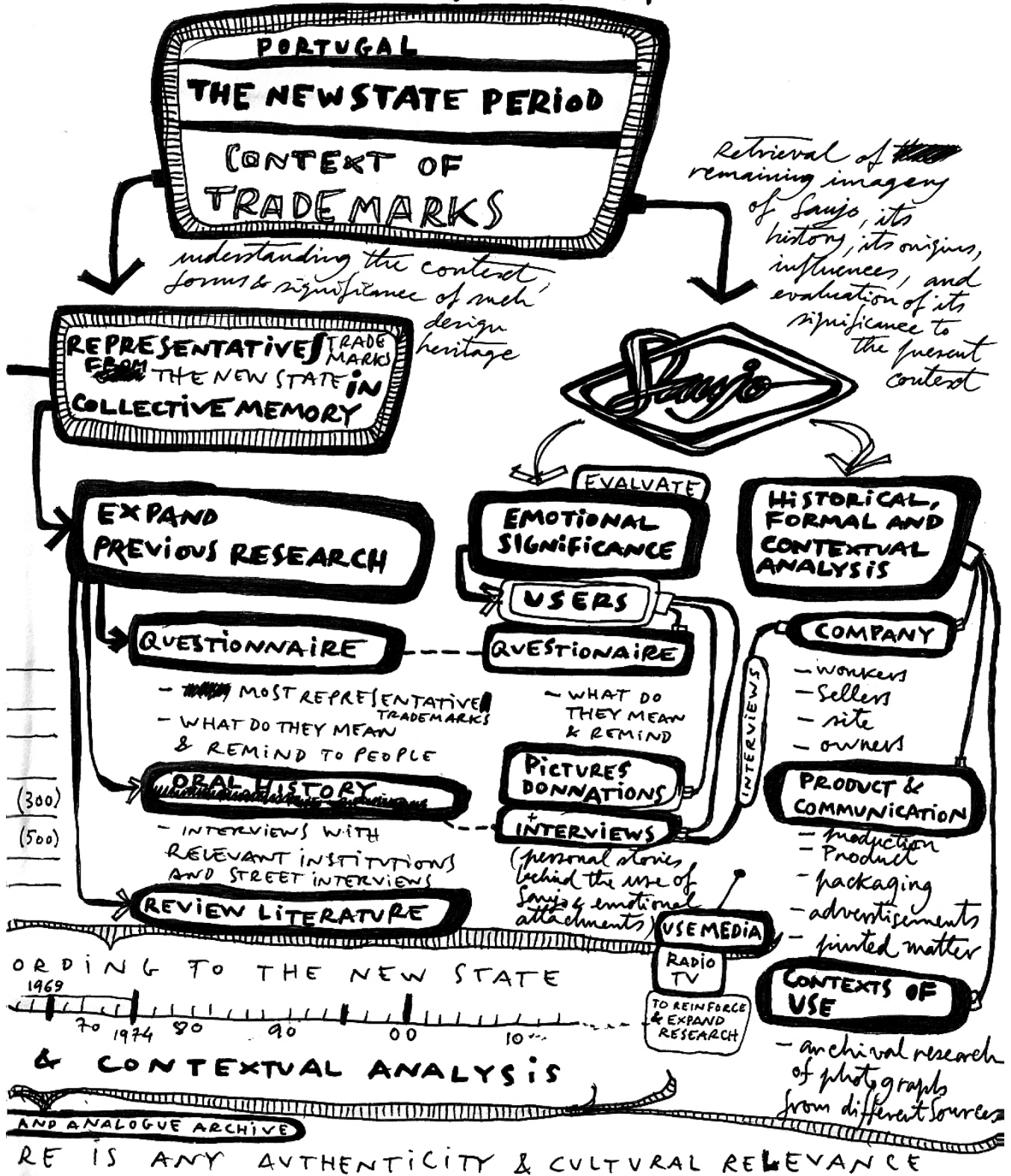
Figure B.4 – Mapping opportunities for the research, July 2008.
Drawing: author's collection.



22. Julho. 009
24

MAPPING OPPORTUNITIES

MAIN STUDY



TRACING THE ORIGINS OF SANJO

AUDIO
AND
VIDEO
RECORDING

INTERVIEWS

interviews are addressed to people who are seen as might having relevant information about Sanjo, in relation to:

- PRODUCT
- COMPANY
- IMAGE
- PRODUCTION
- SELLING
- 'SPECIAL' USERS
- 'FANS'

it refers to those who are somehow different from the ones responding the questionnaire, and that ~~they~~ are able to provide additional information for any special reason.

it refers to people who have ~~been~~ shown by any means or behaviour emotional attachments to Sanjo's.

QUESTIONNAIRE

PURPOSES AIMS

throughout 3 sets of questions

① identification and characterization of the context (SOCIO-ECONOMICAL) of Sanjo's shoes users, which will mainly refer to the Portuguese territory.

② understanding of the relevance of Sanjo's to users, including both its material and emotional relevance.

QUALITATIVE VS. QUANTITATIVE

?

③ gathering of evidence related to Sanjo shoes and trademark (statements, stories, pictures, images, objects, artefacts, products, boxes, advertisements, documents, etc ...).

Figure B.5 – Tracing the origins of Sanjo, October 2008.
Drawing: author's collection.

13. october . 008

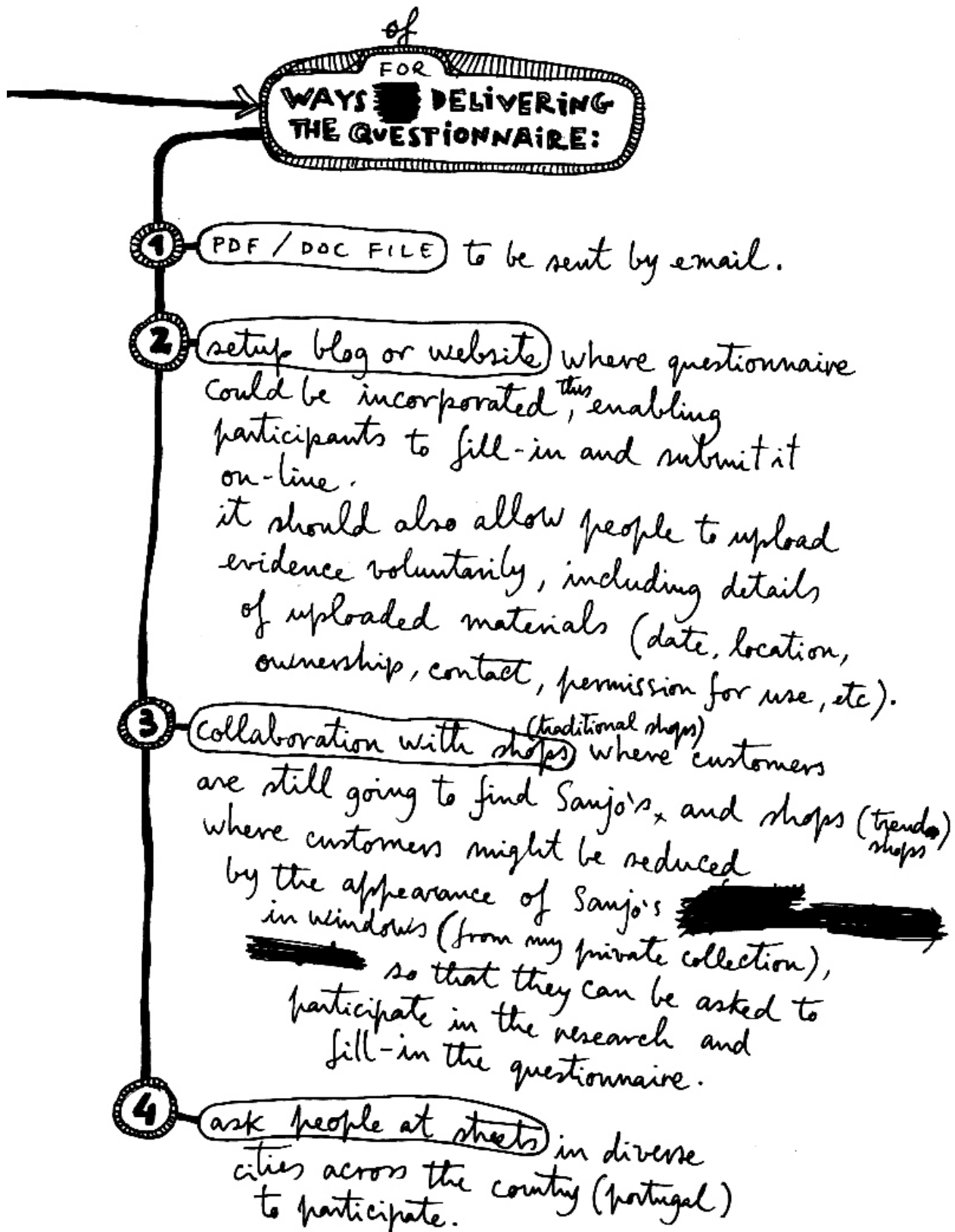


Figure B.6 – Preparation for the showcase at Central Saint Martins, October 2008.
Drawing: author's collection.

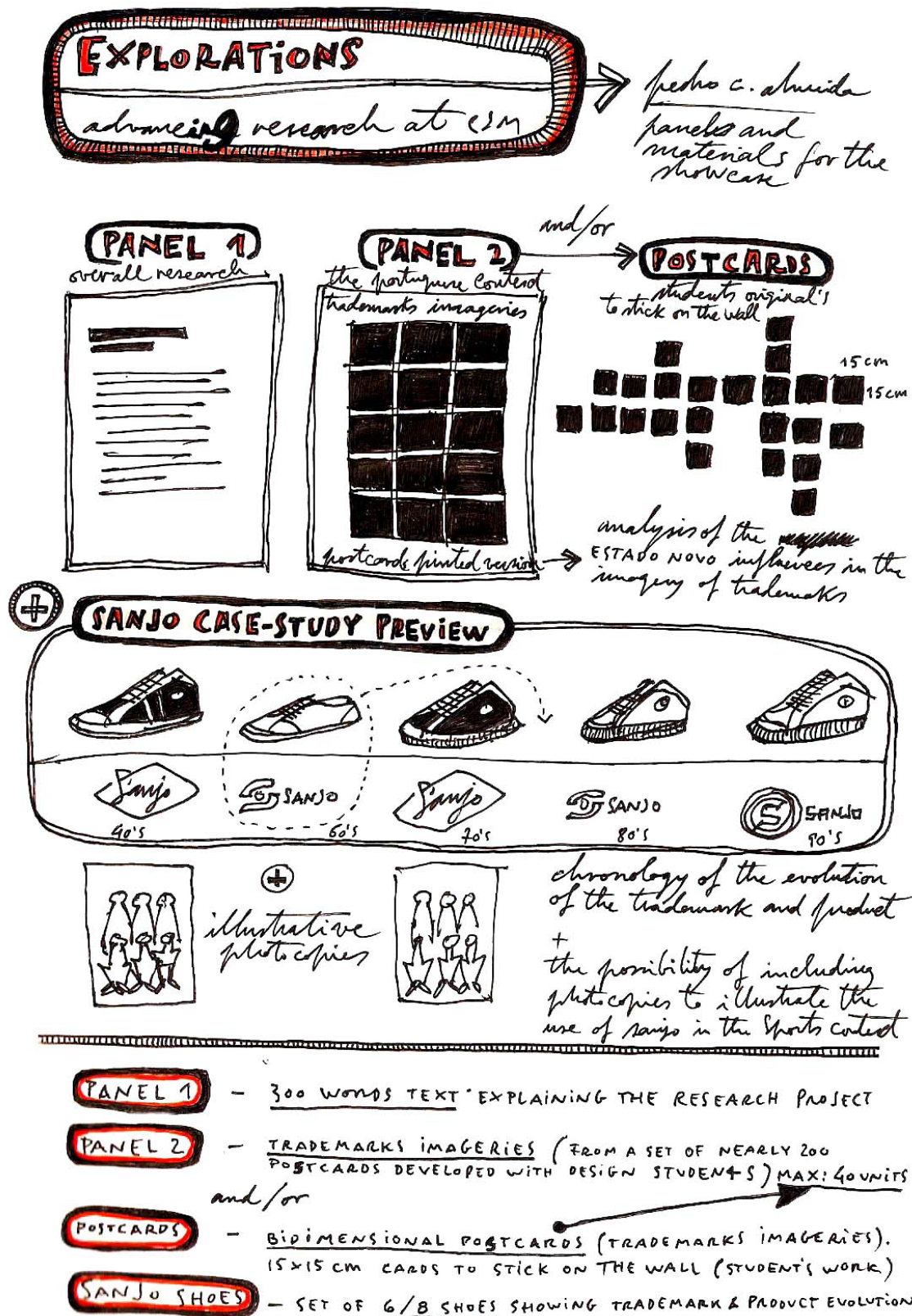


Figure B.7 – Mindmap presented at 'PhD Experience, doctoral workshop', November 2008.
University of Hull. Drawing: author's collection.

pedro cavallho de almeida
"PHD EXPERIENCE"
UNIVERSITY OF HULL
17th november 008

STRATEGIC DESIGN

PRACTICE
TEACHING
RESEARCH
(MPHIL) ON
SANJO

→ personal background
(GRAPHIC DESIGN / CORPORATE DESIGN
PROGRAMS) / BRANDING / STRATEGIC DESIGN
→ emphasis on the case-study
of **(SANJO)** photo plates
(EMOTIONAL ATTACHMENT)

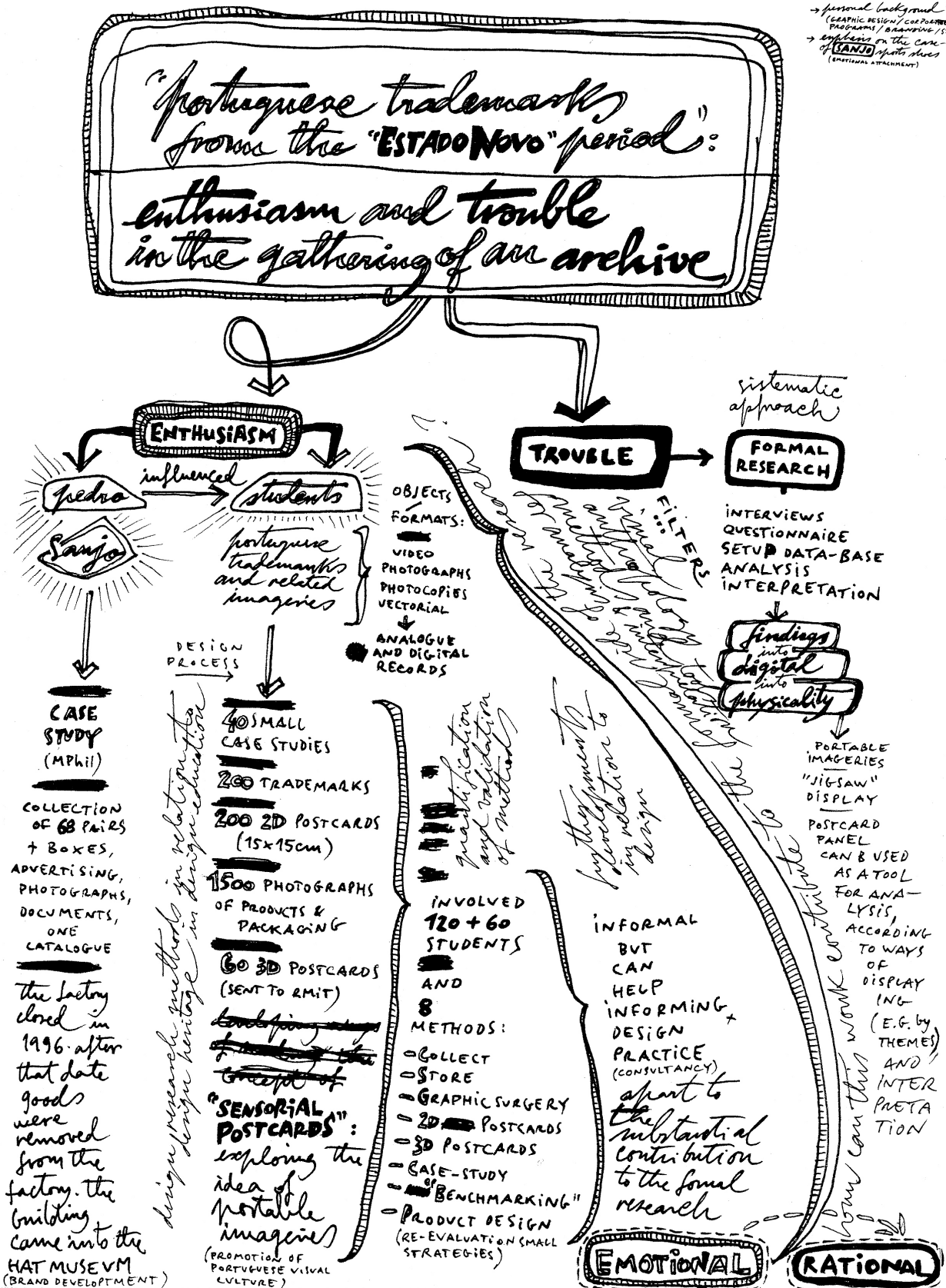
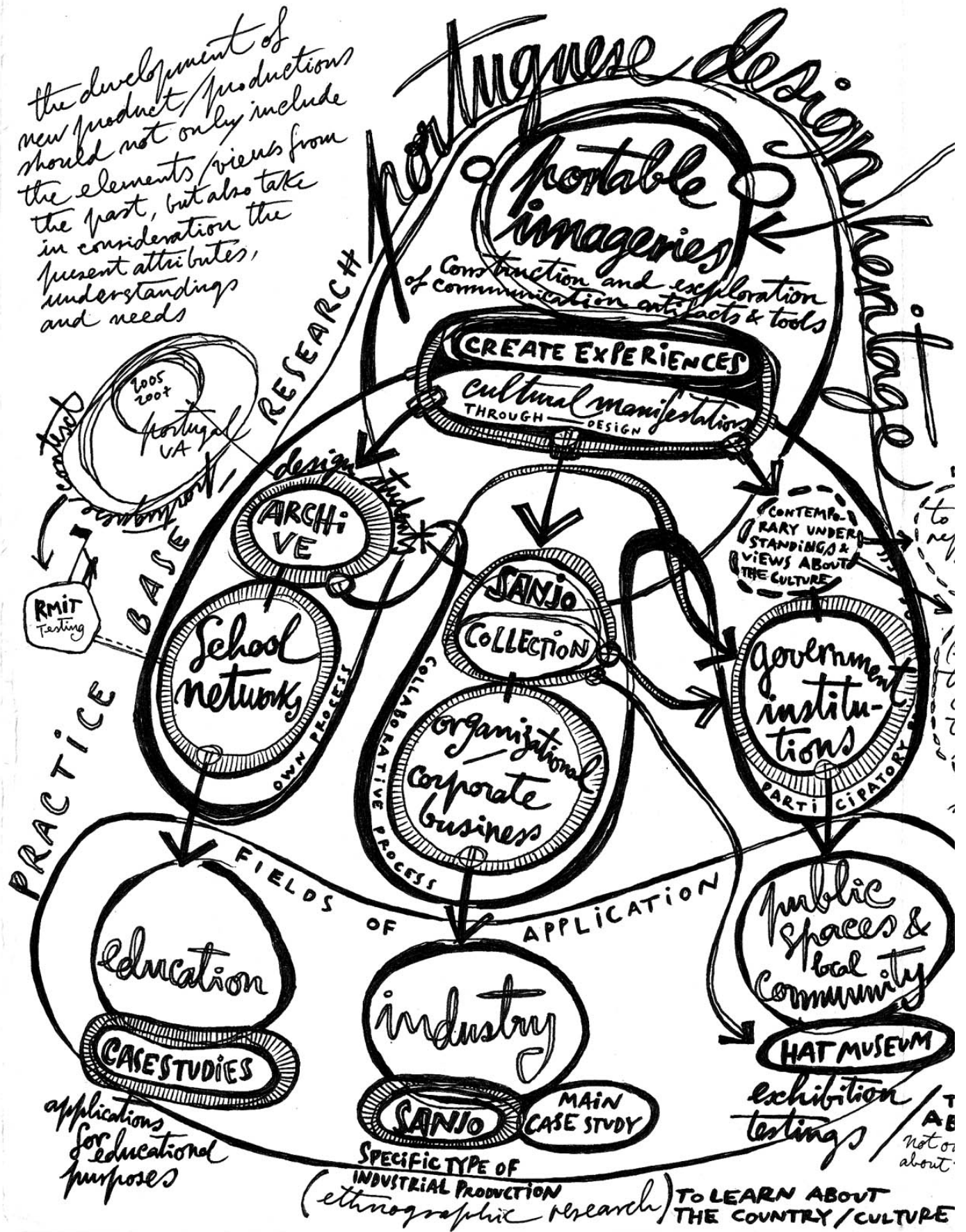


Figure B.8 – Further development of the ‘portable imageries’ concept, January 2009.
Drawing: author’s collection.



THEORETICAL & METHODOLOGICAL
FOUNDATIONS

playful triggers
(LOI, 2005)

cultural probes
(GAVER ET. AL) 1999

activities designed
to trigger experiences
between people to
develop new design
situations.

DESIGNING EXPERIENCES THROUGH SPACES FOR ENGAGEMENT AND OPEN PARTICIPATION

to choose
representatives
about the
culture

ask people
(e.g. to choose from
the images, to give
comments & feedback
to contribute with texts,
images, oral history,
physical evidence
material

test with
different groups
of people

to give people
the opportunity to
communicate and
to add something
to the research

RNUAL 009, feb
Symposium
PORTUGUESE
DESIGN HERITAGE
& PORTABLE
IMAGERIES:
exploring
trademarks
from the
"ESTADO NOVO"
period

Pedro Cavalho
de Almeida
CSM

TO INFORM
ABOUT THE CULTURE

Not only to help locals to reflect
about their own culture but also to
help people from abroad
in knowing that culture.

heritage

ment
M-
IPATORY

ices &
unity

MUSEUM

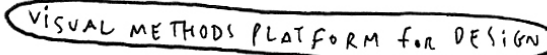
tion

3

NOT
'CULTURE

vilar do paraíso
Portugal
28. Jan. 009
TO: DARIA!
THANKS.


40 BRAND ARCHIVES. *Pedro Carvalho de Almeida*



HOW THIS SUBJECT RELATES TO MY RESEARCH PROJECT

(DISRUPTED ~~MEMORIES~~ MEMORIES)
AND CULTURAL CONTINUITIES)

DISRUPTED
DISRUPTIVE
DISPOSABLE



IDENTITIES
IMAGERIES
MEMORIES
STORIES

framework that I'm interested in my research work

- ARTICULATION OF HISTORICAL AND DESIGN INFLUENCE IN RELATION THE PRESERVATION (OR RETRIEVAL) OF MEMORY THROUGH ~~RETRIEVAL~~ PRACTICE-RELATED RESEARCH (DESIGN INTERVENTION)
- ~~RETRIEVAL~~ AIMING AT A BETTER INFORMED DESIGN PRACTICE, IN RELATION TO LOCAL IDENTITIES / ~~THE~~ CULTURAL SPECIFIC
- CONCERNS TO CONTEXTS WHERE EVIDENCE AND MEMORY TEND TO DISAPPEAR RAPIDLY } *such it is the case of some cultural manifestations in Portugal*
- MY PARTICULAR OBJECT OF STUDY RELATES TO GRAPHIC DESIGN IN THE AUTHORITARIAN REGIME OF THE "ESTADO NOVO" (1926-1974) IN PORTUGAL, AND "SANTO" ICONIC SPORTS SHOES:

PRODUCT
SITE OF PRODUCTION
IMAGERY
MEMORY

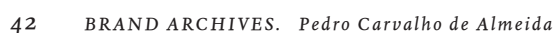
retrieval of the memory of Santo

METHODS
THESE REFER TO GILLIAN ROSE'S (2007) "SITES, MODALITIES AND METHODS FOR INTERPRETING FOUND VISUAL MATERIALS" (IN: VISUAL METHODOLOGIES, P.

exhibitions as a means for ~~communicating~~ research results the communication and presentation of research results

WHAT COULD SUCH A PLATFORM DO IN RELATION TO AN INTERDISCIPLINARY COLLABORATION INVOLVING VISUAL METHODS FROM THE SOCIAL SCIENCES & DESIGN KNOWLEDGE?

Timeline installation at the Uncharted Stories exhibition. Chelsea College of Art & Design. Drawing and photograph: author's collection.



(POSTCARDS AND SHOES
ACCORDING TO CATEGORIES
AND HISTORICAL TIMELINE)

3 to 4 meters long

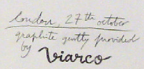
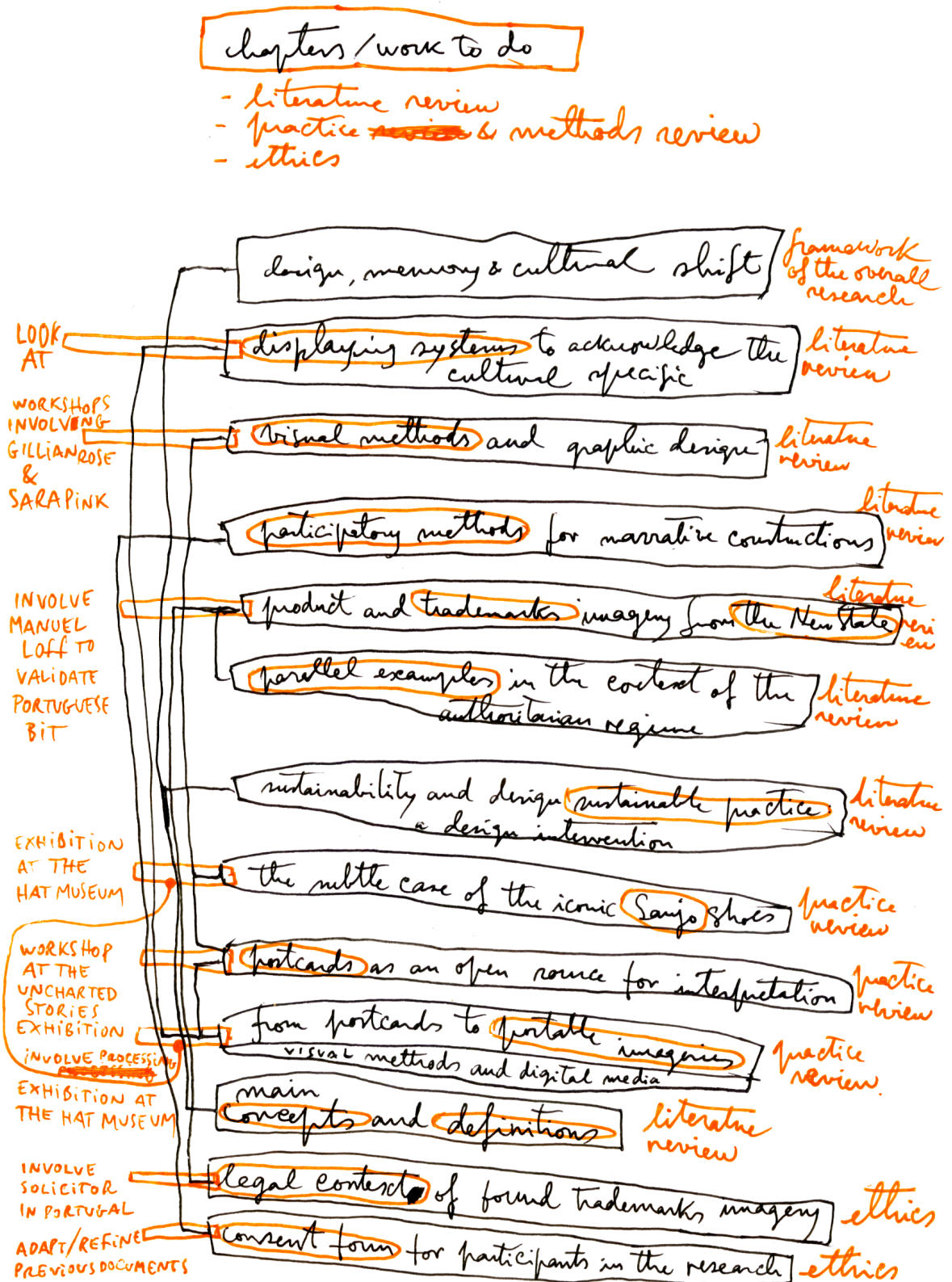


Figure B.11 – My PhD: main concepts and terms, October 2009.
Drawing: author's collection.



Figure B.12 – Chapters/work to do, October 2009.
Drawing: author's collection.



APPENDIX C

TIMELINES

Appendix C TIMELINES

C1 SANJO AND PORTUGUESE TIMELINES¹ COMBINED²

- 1891 – The hat factory “Oliveira Palmares” is founded in 1891 in S. João da Madeira, northwest of Portugal.
- 1904 – The company changes its name to ‘Oliveira Palmares, Araújo & C^a’.

Fall of monarchy and first Portuguese Republic (1910–1926)

- 1910 – Fall of Monarchy and proclamation of Portuguese Republic (5 October).
- 1914 – The company changes its name again to “Oliveira e Palmares & C^a”.
- 1911 – New national symbols, flag and anthem. New Portuguese currency: the ‘Escudo’ (shield).
- 1914 – Portugal enters World War I.
- 1918 – End of World War I.
- 1920 – Foundation of the ‘Empresa Industrial de Chapelaria’ (EIC) in S. João da Madeira, northwest of Portugal, the former producer of the Sanjo vulcanized canvas and rubber shoes.
- 1921 – Experimental footwear production is tested but it is abandoned in the same year due to investment requirements;
António Oliveira Salazar is elected deputy in the parliament but he resigned a few days later.
- 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). Salazar is invited to minister but he refuses due to governmental lack of conditions.
- 1928 – Salazar is invited again to the government. He accepts the position of Minister of Finance, with broad power over the other ministries.
- 1929 – The Great Depression affects the Portuguese economy.
- 1930 – National Colonial Congress.

¹ The sources used to produce both timelines were drawn from the list of references and bibliography in Volume I, as well as from primary source materials collected throughout the research.

² The criteria for combining both timelines derives from the one adopted to design the chronological table in chapter 4 (see Figure 4.11, Volume I).

- 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.
- 1932 – Great Industrial Exhibition where EIC is awarded a Gold Medal.
- 1932 – New Portuguese Constitution establishes a non-parliamentary regime.
- 1933 – The New State is formally established.

The New State period (1933–1974) and first stage of the Sanjo brand (1933–1981)

- 1933 – Footwear production restarts at EIC through the creation of the 'Secção de Caoutchouc' (rubber department) following investments in the company.
 Footwear production would take some years to stabilize;
 EIC promotional postcard (Photolithography);
 First congress of Portuguese industry and National Imperial Congress;
 Nationalization of industry and labour;
 Creation of the State and Defence Surveillance Police (PVED);
 António Ferro becomes responsible for the sectors of culture and
 propaganda under the New State regime;
 Inauguration of the Secretariat of National Propaganda (SPN), to play
 an active role in the dissemination of nationalistic ideals and the
 standardization of culture;
 Decree regulates the censorship of printed publications.
- 1934 – Congress of the National Union;
 Portuguese Colonial Exhibition;
 Triumphal Exhibition of Sports.
- 1936 – Salazar supports Spanish head of state general Francisco Franco.
- 1936 – Consolidation of vulcanized rubber and canvas footwear production at EIC.
- 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.
- 1937 – 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 prioritise 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-Komintern 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 Gaio’ 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.
- 1945 – Creation of the State Defence International Police (PIDE), instead of PVED.
- 1948 – Creation of the ‘Museu de Arte Popular’ (museum of folk art);
- A photograph of S. João da Madeira local club ‘ADS — Associação Desportiva Sanjoanense’ shows ADS basketball players wearing Sanjos.
- 1949 – Portugal is founding member of NATO.
- 1952 – Inauguration of the ‘Restelo’ stadium in Belém, Lisbon.
- 1954 – Photograph of Sporting Lisbon volleyball players wearing Sanjo;
- Sanjo advertisement in magazine “Noiva do Mar”, Figueira da Foz.
- 1955 – Portugal joins the United Nations.
- 1957 – Photograph of ADS and Sporting Lisbon basketball players wearing Sanjo;
- Most athletes of ADS wear Sanjo.

- 1959 – Sanjo advertisement in magazine “Portugal é isto”, Figueira da Foz.
- 1960 – Portugal joins EFTA;
Delegation of ADS athletes at the ‘Estádio das Antas’ stadium, Porto.
- 1961 – Beginning of the colonial war in Angola;
Portugal joins the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (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 wins the European football Cup.
- 1962 – 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;
Valdemar Correia, a chemical engineer and key personality at Sanjo invents the rubber wheels for roller hockey shoes. These are firstly tested by the Portuguese team in the world roller hockey championship in Santiago, Chile.
The Portuguese national team wins the world champions in that year;
Sport Lisboa e Benfica wins the European football Cup for the second time.
- 1963 – EIC advertisement in newspaper O Regional, S. João da Madeira.
- 1964 – EIC advertisement in newspaper O Regional, S. João da Madeira.
- 1965 – Abolition of the industrial conditioning law;
The United Nations require the independence of the Portuguese colonies.
- 1966 – Portuguese football national team achieves the 3rd place in football World Cup. Eusébio wears Puma. ADS football players also wear Puma;
ADS and Boavista female basketball players wear Sanjos.
- 1967 – FC Porto athlete wears Adidas running shoes at a competition in S. João da Madeira.
- 1968 – Salazar falls from a chair, preventing him from carrying out his duties after nearly four decades. He is replaced by Marcelo Caetano;
Sanjo annual catalogue, Nr. 40.
- 1969 – Photograph of Fernando Sampaio Sousa shows the Sanjos in Mozambique.
- 1970 – Death of Salazar.
- 1971 – EIC exports the Sanjos to Sweden.

'25 de Abril' 1974: end of the New State regime

- 1974 – Carnation Revolution and restoration of democracy in Portugal. The 25 April military coup dictates the end of the New State regime;
A photograph shows the Sanjos at the '25 de Abril' revolution;
ADS female basketball team ends temporarily;
First test of democratic liberalism in Portugal;
The end of the colonial war is announced.
- 1976 – Alert by the Ministry of Economy to the degree of specialization of international sports brands, which later became a threat to Sanjo.
- 1980 – ADS players start wearing other brands, including Adidas and Le Coq Sportif.
Only two ADS players wear Sanjos.
- 1981 – The Sanjo trademark is registered.

Second stage of Sanjo (1981–1990)

- 1983 – Measures at EIC are undertaken to face a scenario of crisis;
Redesign of the Sanjo brand identity;
Appearance of Sanjo sportswear.
- 1984 – Restrictions to the importation of goods are lifted by the government;
1.500/2.000 pairs of Sanjo are produced daily.
- 1985 – Signing of the Treaty of Portuguese Membership of the EEC.
- 1988 – Only some ADS veteran players wear Sanjos.

Third stage of Sanjo (1990–1996)

- 1990 – The Sanjo brand is licensed to Oliva;
Redesign of the Sanjo brand identity.
- 1991 – Centenary of felt hats production at EIC.
- 1995 – Footwear production at EIC stops.
- 1996 – The brand is licensed to Sanjo — Indústria 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).

Fourth stage of Sanjo (1997–2008)

- 1997 – Sanjo is bought by Fersado, a trading company from Lisbon;
 - Redesign of the Sanjo brand identity;
 - Replicas of the former Sanjos are produced in China aimed at the Portuguese market;
 - Copies of shoe designs from global brands start being produced under the Sanjo name.
- 2001 – Euro comes into circulation;
- 2002 – Redesign of the Sanjo brand identity;
- 2004 – Sanjo models are produced in China, most based on copies of global brands such as Nike, Puma and Adidas.
- 2005 – Opening of the ‘Museu da Chapelaria’.

Fifth stage of Sanjo (2008–2009)

- 2008 – Redesign of the Sanjo brand identity and relaunch of the brand in the Portuguese market;
 - The relaunch of Sanjo is covered by the Portuguese media, which sparks increasing interest for the brand in the country.

Sixth stage of Sanjo (2009 to present)

- 2009 – The brand is licensed to Frentesport/Son, a subsidiary company of Fersado;
 - Redesign of the Sanjo brand identity by Oxygen, a brand agency in Fátima;
 - The “return” of the Sanjos is covered by Portuguese newspapers, magazines, and television;
 - Increase of discussions about the return of Sanjo in weblogs by former users and enthusiasts of the brand.
- 2010 – The original Sanjos appear on television series “Conta-me como foi”, RTP;
 - First exhibition about the Sanjo brand in the ‘Museu da Chapelaria’;
 - Sellers of Sanjo and users of the brand start complaining about the poor quality of the shoes.

C2 ZEHA¹ (GDR/EAST GERMANY)

- 1897 – Zeha is founded in Weida, Thuringia.
- 1948 – Footwear production starts at a factory-complex in Hohenleuben.
- 1950 – Production of football boots starts in the early 1950s.
- 1954 – The Zeha trademark is established and registered.
- 1955 – Zeha distinguishes itself as a specialist shoe factory.
- 1960 – Zeha becomes official supplier of the GDR Olympic team.
- 1962 – The national team of the former Soviet Union plays in Chile wearing Zeha sport shoes. The Zehas feature obliquely offset dual stripes.
- 1964 – GDR, USSR and Czechoslovakia national teams wear Zehas in the Olympics.
- 1965 – Zeha wins the gold medal for exceptional performance in the field of street-wear at the Leipzig Trade Fair.
- 1972 – The company ‘VEB Spezialsportschuh, Hohenleuben’ retains the Zeha trademark;
In the late 1970s, Zeha becomes an indisputable GDR hallmark and the shoes become a best-selling export, including to Sweden.
- 1989 – Fall of the Berlin Wall.
- 1990 – Nearly all eastern products are removed from shops².
- 1993 – Production ceases under the name ‘Zeha Hohenleuben GmbH’ after interim re-privatisation.
- 2002 – Two Berlin designers, Alexander Barré and Torsten Heine, acquire the rights of Zeha trademark and found Zeha Berlin AG.
- 2003 – Zeha shoes start being produced in Italy.

¹ <http://www.zeha-berlin.de/en/brand/history/>; Marke - Zeha Berlin [Internet]. Available from: <<http://www.zeha-berlin.de/en/index.php?page=geschichte.html>> [Accessed 19 March 2011].

² BBC (2009) A taste for the old East Germany. BBC. Available from: <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/8344960.stm>> [Accessed 1 April 2011].

C3 WARRIOR (CHINA)

- 1927 – Shanghai Warrior Shoes Co., Ltd. is incorporated as subsidiary of Shanghai Huayi (Group) Company in Shanghai, China³.
- 1935 – The trademark Warrior is registered⁴;
The Warrior brand is founded due to Shanghai Zhengtai Company expands its rubber business into the sports footwear market. Translated, the original Chinese characters 回力 refer to the power to overcome difficulties, to reflect the company's effort to fight against bankruptcy at the time⁵.
- 1960s to 1980s – Warrior shoes are worn by Olympians, politicians, and by common people (man, woman and children) alike⁶.
- 1970s – Warrior's flagship model, the vulcanized canvas and rubber WB-1 (Hui Li⁷) is introduced and becomes widely sought after⁸. Many Chinese teenagers dream of having a pair of white Warrior sneakers.
- 1990s – The popularity of the WB-1 continues throughout the 1990s in China but it gives way to Western brands due to the market economy;
The Warriors become the shoes of the working class⁹ and its status is devalued to that of workers and elderly citizen¹⁰.
- 1997 – The trademark Warrior is acknowledged as one of the famous trademarks of Shanghai¹¹.
- 2000 – Warrior is forced to close its main factory¹².
- 2007 – Ethnographic research of Shumeng Ye about the Warriors.

3 <http://www.warriorshoes.com/en/aboutus/introduction.aspx> [Accessed 18 March 2011].

4 *ibid.*

5 <http://warriorsneaker.com/blog> [Accessed 18 March 2011].

6 <http://warriorfootwear.com/legend.php> [Accessed 1 July 2012].

7 <http://warriorsneaker.com/history/> [Accessed 18 March 2011].

8 *ibid.*

9 *ibid.*

10 <http://warriorsneaker.com/blog/warrior-footwear-a-fashion-staple-and-cultural-icon-born-in-the-streets-of-1930s-shanghai/> [Accessed 18 March 2011].

11 <http://www.warriorshoes.com/en/aboutus/introduction.aspx> [Accessed 18 March 2011].

12 <http://www.labbrand.com/brand-source/warrior-shoes-and-winding-road-brand-revitalization> [Accessed 18 March 2011].

- 2008 – Shumeng Ye's 'Book of Warriors' is published¹³ and put on sale at Collete, France. It sparks the relaunch of the brand in China and worldwide.
- 2010 – The first Warrior shop opens in Shanghai¹⁴;
A branch of Warrior is created in the USA aimed at distributing the brand in Western markets.

C4 FEIYUE (CHINA/FRANCE)

Due to contradictory information it is not clear whether the Feiyue shoes and brand were created in the 1920s (becoming popular in the 1930s), in the 1930s or in the 1950s¹⁵. However, sources agree with the fact that the Feiyues became famous due to robustness, flexibility and comfort, which are necessary requirements for martial arts. These shoes were the first choice of Shaolin monks and kung fu masters¹⁶. The Feiyue shoes are also very popular in martial arts clubs and schools outside China, where they are the standard shoes for students.

- 1950s – After China's war of Liberation, Shanghai Rubber Shoes Limited Company is commissioned to design rubber shoes, known as the liberation shoes;
With the approval from the army, over 10 million pairs of liberation shoes are produced.
- 1958 – The 'Fei Yue' (flying forward) name is registered¹⁷;
Production of 1.6 million pairs of Feiyue shoes.
- 2005 – Patrice Bastian, a French entrepreneur living in Shanghai recreates the Feiyues¹⁸.

¹³ <http://www.creativereview.co.uk/cr-blog/2008/december/shumeng-ye-and-the-book-of-warriors> [Accessed 18 March 2011].

¹⁴ <http://www.labbrand.com/brand-source/warrior-shoes-and-winding-road-brand-revitalization> [Accessed 18 March 2011].

¹⁵ <http://www.fash-eccentric.com/2010/07/east-meets-west-the-cult-of-feiyue-sneakers/>;
<http://feiyue-kungfu-shoes.blogspot.com> [Accessed 16 March 2011];
<http://my.telegraph.co.uk/expat/tag/feiyue-shoes/> [Accessed 8 April 2011].

¹⁶ <http://feiyue-kungfu-shoes.blogspot.com> [Accessed 16 March 2011].

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ http://www.feiyue-shoes.com/pages_en/historique.cfm [Accessed 16 March 2011].

- 2006 – A European version of the brand is established in France¹⁹;
The French Feiyue brand is launched.
- 2007 – launch of Feiyues designed by Parisian shoemaker Céline.
- 2008 – Chinese martial arts performers wear the original Chinese Feiyues at the opening of the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games;
The French Feiyue extends partnerships to artists from Japan (Shin Tanaka), France (Stereo panda, Steph Cop), and Hong Kong (NSBQ).
- 2009 – Launch of the French Feiyue model 10N28E, named after the geographical coordinates of Shanghai²⁰.
- 2010 – The French Feiyues established new partnerships with French artists for new product developments aimed at Western markets.
- 2011 – A webpage on the Internet explains the differences between the Chinese and French Feiyues;
Shanghai Rubber Shoes Limited Company claims to be the largest rubber shoes manufacturing base in the globe. It is staffed by over 6,000 employees with capacity for producing over 804 million pairs of rubber shoes per year.

It remains unclear whether the Chinese (Feiyue) and French (Feiyue) versions of the brand are partners or competitors, and whether their products are produced in the same factory or in distinct ones.

The origins of the former Feiyue product and brand designs also remain unclear since information is contradictory²¹. Sources point out to the creation of the original shoes and brand in the 1950s, whereas other sources refer to the 1920s/1930s. It is also unclear whether sources are official, i.e. provided by the actual owners of the Chinese side of the brand.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ <http://www.feiyue-shoes.com> [Accessed 16 March 2011].

²¹ <http://site.douban.com/widget/notes/1460589/note/91441820/> [Accessed 30 March 2011];

<http://feiyue-kungfu-shoes.blogspot.com/> [Accessed 16 March 2011];

http://www.feiyue-shoes.com/pages_en/historique.cfm [Accessed 17 March 2011].

C5 BOTAS²² (CZECHOSLOVAKIA/CZECH REPUBLIC)

- 1949 – The Botana company is established, built upon centuries of shoemaking tradition in the Skuteč region.
- 1958 – Sports shoes represent 6,5% of the production. Main production of Botana is male walking shoes with only a minor production of ski and skating shoes.
- 1963 – Botana starts producing sports shoes under the brand Botas, deriving both from Bota-Sports and Bota-Skuteč (bota is Czech for shoe);
A number of Czech and foreign sportsmen, who were successful in Olympic games and world championships wear Botas, including four-fold world champions in ice dancing Eva and Pavel Roman, gymnasts Čáslavská and Bosáková, ski-jumper Jiří Raška and ice-hockey national teams.
- 1966 – Botas shoes are designed by Marcel Scheinpflug for indoor sports. These are originally manufactured using Mongolian horse coats;
Volleyball and football tennis (*nohejbal*) Czech teams wear Botas.
- 1968 – Sports shoes represent 51,3% of the production.
- 1970s – A new plant is built in Skuteč as well as new administrative headquarters of the company. New shoe designs are produced.
- 1974 – The company has a portfolio of 230 shoe designs for almost all kinds of sports. Production is aimed at the domestic market and 35 other countries (including Germany, England, France, Norway, Canada, Sweden, Finland, USA, Australia, and New Zealand);
The main market is the Soviet Union.
- 1980s – The shoes are redesigned by Milan Mlynár.
- 1983 – Botana's production peak is between 1983 and 1985.
- 1984 – Botana produces 2,600.000 pairs of shoes per year;
The company is awarded a number of medals and prizes from the trade fairs in Liberec, Leipzig or Brno.

²² <http://www.botas.cz/en/about-us/about-the-company/> [Accessed 5 April 2011];
<http://www.66gallery.cz/web/> [Accessed 15 March 2011];
<http://www.botas66.cz/> [Accessed 15 March 2011];
<http://www.europeandesign.org/#/ed-awards/winners/various/32-miscellaneous-printed/botas-66/> [Accessed 5 April 2011];
<http://www.radio.cz/en/section/panorama/a-czech-shoe-classic-gets-a-makeover> [Accessed 15 March 2011].

- 1988 – Sports shoes represent 82,9% of the production.
- 1990 – Privatisation of Botanas;
The company starts declining;
Botana produces sports shoes for Puma, Adidas and Karhu among several other brands from northern European countries and America until 1996.
Most of Botana's clients specialized in winter sports technical equipment such as ice hockey and ice-skating: Jofa, CCM, Riedell and some other small foreign companies.
- 1991 – Botana transforms into a joint stock company with the government as a co-owner.
- 1992 – Conclusion of a mutually successful contract with Salomon A.G. for the production of technologically advanced shoes (snow-board, trekking, cross-country skiing).
- 1995 – Benal s.r.o., a company from Prague, takes over the majority of Botana.
Restructuring of the company to make it more competitive in the open market.
- 2000 – The company's name changes to Botas A.S. and a new mark is designed;
The production of winter sports shoes focus is on ice-hockey, figure skating and cross-country skiing shoes, taking 90% of overall production.
- 2001 – Collaboration with Salomon A.G. ends due to Adidas took over Salomon A.G.
This cooperation continues within a licensing programme.
- 2005 – The original Botas shoes are selected for the Czech 100 design icons.
- 2007 – Athletes continue wearing Botas, including football tennis world champion Petr Bubniak, all of the Czech and Slovak football tennis representation teams, and skier Dušan Kožíšek (Bronze medal in the world championship 2007 in Sappor).
Design students from the Academy of Arts Architecture and Design, Prague, develop a new brand identity of Botas sports shoes for their final year project: Botas 66;
The project Botas 66 is selected to represent the Czech industry in Milan.
- 2008 – The project Botas 66 is awarded the European Design (ED) Awards 2008, in category 'Miscellaneous Print'.
- 2009 – Launch of Botas 66 in the market;
Botas is awarded the Czech Grand Design 2009, in category Manufacturer of

the Year;

The 66 Gallery is created, combining a shop for selling Botas 66 with a gallery for exhibiting young Czech and Slovak artists' work.

C6 TISZA²³ (HUNGARY)

1939 – Thomas Bata buys a property near to the second biggest river in Hungary, the Tisza to build a shoe factory.

1942 – The Cikta Rt. factory starts producing home shoes (loungers).

1949 – Cikta Rt. adopts the name Tisza Cipőgyár Nemzeti Vállalat.

1950s / 1960s – The company produces for the internal market and exports only to socialist countries;

The company produces a large quantity of boots for the Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Defence and the Civil Guard.

1970 – Tisza submits an application for an authorization to use a new design for the Tisza trademark.

1971 – The new Tisza mark, a big T with a strip in the middle of it, starts being used; The Tisza company starts producing sport shoes;

The Adidas *La Paz* football shoes are produced by Tisza.

During the Hungarian communist era, the Tisza sports shoes are one of the very few options available in the market, becoming very popular among young people;

1974 – Tisza PVC sole shoes are awarded in Hungary.

1976 – Tisza Cipőgyár leisure shoes are awarded at Budapest International Fair.

Tisza Cipőgyár obtains international recognition, including a multi-year contract with Adidas and exports to the English and American markets.

In the 1970s the company produced 10,2 million pairs of shoes per year, of which 3 million were gymnastic shoes and 2 million for the socialist market.

1990 – In the mid 1990s Tisza Cipőgyár stops producing sports shoes to focus

²³ <http://www.tiszacipo.hu/> [Accessed 5 April 2011];

http://www.nosztalgia.net/cms/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=38&Itemid=83 [Accessed 1 April 2011].

- production on women, man and children footwear.
- 1999 – Global brands enter the Hungarian market.
- 2002 – László Vidák, an importer and distributor of British shoes in Hungary, decides to revive the Tisza brand name.
- 2003 – Vidák's company, Clash Kft, buys the legal rights of Tisza.
The Tisza sports shoes are redesigned, produced and launched in Hungary.
The first Tisza shop opens in the centre of Budapest.
- 2009 – Closure of the original Tisza Company in Martfű;
Clash Kft continues producing shoes, clothing and accessories under the Tisza name.

C7 STARTAS²⁴ (YUGOSLAVIA/CROATIA)

- 1931 – The factory that later created Startas shoes is installed by Bata in Borovo, a small city near Vukovar, now Eastern Croatia.
- 1945 – Bata continues manufacturing during World War II, although activities are reduced.
- 1946 – Establishment of a communist government;
The country is renamed to Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia.
- 1947 – The company changes its name to Borovo, combining production of tires and shoes through different organisational forms.
- 1963 – The country is renamed to Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY)
- 1976 – Borovo initiates the production of Startas shoes, originally designed for table tennis;
Startas sells more than 5 million pairs annually and it is produced in 3 colours (white, navy and black);

24 <http://www.longlivestartas.com> [Accessed 17 March 2011];
http://www.longlivestartas.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=34&Itemid=62 [Accessed 17 March 2011];
<http://www.borovo.hr/povijest.html> [Accessed 17 March 2011];
<http://www.borovo.hr/proizvodnja/borovo-gumitrade-d-o-o/startas.html> [Accessed 17 March 2011];
<http://www.bata.com/history.php> [Accessed 17 March 2011];
<http://dizajn.hr/?#/318-dodijeljene-nagrade-hrvatskog-dizajnerskog-drustva/> [Accessed 17 March 2011].

- Startas adorns the feet of Yugoslavia's athletics heroes and schoolchildren.
- 1980s – Borovo employs a total of 23,000 workers. The company produces 23 million pairs of shoes per year, over 580 000 pieces of tires, and about 12,500 tons of rubber-technical goods. Retail network consists of 620 stores and products; Borovo is the owner of 74 acres of industrial land and 240,000 square feet of production space. It is the second largest enterprise in Yugoslavia.
- 1987 – Near 3,900 athletes from 122 countries around the globe wear the Startas at the 'Univerzijada' in Zagreb, an equivalent to student's Olympic Games; The Startas brand achieves greater recognition.
- 1991 – War between Croatia and Serbia decimates Croatian cities; Vukovar is severely attacked and destroyed. The factory is also affected and only three of the factory's ten halls survive; Borovo stops production in Vukovar and the Startas stop being produced.
- 1992 – Borovo starts operating from Zagreb and production takes place at a facility in the city of Donji Miholjac. The retail network is limited to the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Slovenia.
- 1998 – Business activity is re-launched in Vukovar, integrated in the Croatian constitutional and economic system; Borovo enters into possession of its assets devastated by war in Vukovar; Footwear and rubber-technical goods production restarts.
- 2007 – Designer Mauro Massaroto revives the Startas brand and sports shoes; Shoes are handmade by 30 workers at the Borovo factory. The original 70's techniques and machinery are used in the production of 2, 000 handmade pairs. Canvas uppers are hand-sewn and dyed, labels are hand-stitched, sole moulds are hand cut and glued. New materials are used to produce the Startas, including suede, denim and satin; Launch of the brand in Croatia throughout limited-edition series; The new Startas include collaborations with designers and artists; The success of Startas in the market fosters the local economy.
- 2008 – Startas is awarded the 'Velika Nagrada Hrvatskog Dizajnerskog Društva' (Grand Prix Croatian Designers Society).

C8 SUMMER OLYMPICS DATES

Bellow, connections were made between Summer Olympics dates, historical events (e.g. wars, global brands), and histories of the brands presented in this study:

- 1916 – Berlin, Germany: Games cancelled due to WWI.
- 1936 – Berlin, Germany: American runner Jesse Owens wins a Gold medal in Dasslers (later named Adidas).
- 1940 – Tokyo, Japan; Helsinki, Finland: Games cancelled due to WWII.
- 1944 – London, UK: Games cancelled due to WWII.
- 1972 – Munich, West Germany: Zeha owners change.
- 1980 – Moscow, USSR: All brands included in the study were in full operation.
- 1984 – Los Angeles, USA: Chinese volleyball players wear Warrior.
Nike emerged for the first time as a serious international brand, demonstrating to be able to compete directly with global brands. Nike challenged the fierce dominance of Adidas as the major sports brand in the world since the 1936 Olympics in Berlin.
- 1996 – Atlanta, USA: Botas stops producing for global brands such as Adidas and Puma. From the European brands in the study Botas was the last company falling after western brands dominance. This further indicates whether global brands moved most productions to Asian countries.
- 2008 – Beijing, China: The Feiyues were used by performers at the opening of the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games, showing that the Feiyues represent a brand of strategic interest to China.

APPENDIX D

VISUAL DATA AND RESEARCH SOURCES

Figure D.1 – Map of the field research.
 Photocopy, montage and photograph: author's collection.



Appendix D VISUAL DATA AND RESEARCH SOURCES

D1 Interviews and personal conversations

Abel Balseiro (Sapataria Balseiro, Cacia).

Audio-recorded conversation, 15 July 2008 and 18 December 2009.

Álvaro Santos Chaves (Casa Bambi, Coimbra).

Video-recorded interview, 29 July 2008.

António Rainho (ADS, S. João da Madeira).

Written notes, 27 May 2009.

Arménio Alberto Adé (former ADS athlete, S. João da Madeira).

Written notes, 6 January 2009.

Carlos Santos (former CEO of EIC, Santa Maria da Feira).

Audio-recorded interview, 8 September 2009.

Daniel Neto (co-author of ADS monograph, S. João da Madeira).

Written notes, 7 November 2008; Video-recorded conversation, 8 January 2009.

Georgina Moreira (Sapataria Halley, Porto).

Written notes, 1 August 2008.

Joana & Marisa Ventura (100% Algodão, S. João da Madeira).

Written notes, 6 January 2009.

João Gomes da Silva (former employee of EIC, S. João da Madeira).

Written notes, 27 May 2009.

Luís Quintino (former CEO of EIC, S. João da Madeira).

Written notes, 8 January 2009.

Manuel Fernandes (CEO of Fersado and owner of Sanjo, Prior Velho, Lisbon).

Written notes, 30 December 2008, 19 December 2009; Personal email messages.

Manuel Lopes da Silva (Sapataria Lopes, Trofa).

Written notes, 7 January 2009.

Maria José Ferreira (Director of the Laboratory, CTCP — Centro Tecnológico do Calçado de Portugal, S. João da Madeira).

Audio-recorded interview, 26 January 2010.

Pedro Correia & Family of Valdemar Correia (Cucujães).

Audio-recorded interview, 18 February 2010.

Rosa Lemos (Isac Veiga & Filho Lda., Figueira da Foz).

Audio-recorded conversation, 26 August 2010.

Suzana Menezes (Museu da Chapelaria, S. João da Madeira).

Written notes, 6 January 2009.

D2 Purchase of Sanjo remaining stocks

Isac Veiga & Filho Lda., Figueira da Foz.

67 pairs of Sanjo from stages 2 and 3.

Novalma, Porto.

2 pairs of Sanjo from stages 1 and 2.

Sapataria Balseiro, Cacia, Aveiro.

3 pairs of Sanjo from stages 2 and 3.

Sapataria Guerra, Valadares, Vila Nova de Gaia.

11 pairs of Sanjo from stage 3.

Sapataria Halley, Porto.

38 pairs of Sanjo from stages 2 and 3.

Sapataria Lopes, Trofa.

7 pairs of Sanjo from stages 2 and 3.

Sapatarias 999, Coimbra.

1 pair of Sanjo from stage 5.

Tridente, Lagos, Algarve.

36 pairs of Sanjo from stages 2 and 4.

D3 Donations to this research

Álvaro Santos Chaves. *1 pair of used white low-cut Sanjos from stage 2, and 1 pair of new low-cut white Sanjos from stage 3.*

Ana Raposo. *1 pair of used black Sanjos from stage 5.*

Liliana Guimarães. *1 pair of used gymnastics Sanjos from stage 3.*

Manuel Fernandes. *1 Sanjo shoe from stage 3, and 9 product catalogues from stages 4 and 5.*

Pedro Correia & Family. *1 sticker from stage 1.*

Rosa Lemos. *Sales records of EIC from stage 3.*

Sérgio Falcão. *1 pair of used white Sanjos from stage 3.*

Goretti Costa. *1 blank purchase order of EIC.*

Daniel Neto. *1 postcard of EIC.*

D4 Loans to this research

Vítor Amorim. *11 pairs of Sanjos from stages 1, 2, 3 and 4.*

D5 Report on the legal registration of the Sanjo trademark

Filipa Iglésias (Abreu Advogados S.A.).

D6 Sanjo and EIC original documents, records and printed materials

Headed paper, order and delivery sheets (from stages 2 and 3)

Sanjo product catalogue (from stage 1)

Price tables (from stage 1)

D7 Visual references from books

Neto, D. & Silva, P. (1999) *Associação Desportiva Sanjoanense: 75 anos de História (1924–1999)*. S. João da Madeira: Laborpress.

Pimentel, I. (2007) *Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina*. Lisbon: A Esfera dos Livros, p.156, illus.

Saraiva, J. (Ed.) (2004) *História de Portugal – Vol. X, A Terceira República – Do 25 de Abril aos nossos dias*. Matosinhos: Quidnovi, p. 9, illus.

Simões, A. (Ed.) (1995) *História de 50 anos do desporto Português*. Lisbon: A Bola, p.494, illus.

— p.507, illus.

— p.508, illus.

Vieira, J. (2000) *Portugal Século XX: Crónica em Imagens 1950–1960*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores.

D8 Visual references from local newspapers and publications

Alves, M. (1967) 'Na I divisão'. *O Regional*, 23 December, p.13, illus.

Bastos, J. (1985) 'O Regional entrevistou o presidente da APICCAPS'. *O Regional*, 4 May, p.6.

Bastos, J. (1996) 'O fim da "Sanjo"'. *O Regional*, 9 November, p.3, illus.

Cardoso, M. (2010) 'Marcas com história, a corrida das Sanjo'. *Expresso*, 7 August,

Guimarães, L. (2009) 'Sanjo: história de uma identidade'. *Labor*, 3 December, pp.6–7.

O Ginásio subiu à I divisão (1969) Vai d'arrinca. *Boletim do Ginásio Club Figueirense, March / April, Vol. 25 (VI)*, p.1, illus.

Oliveira, A. (1968) 'Recordações da minha passagem pela chapelaria'. *O Regional*, 7 December, p.2.

Oliveira, S. (2009) 'Sanjo regressa ao mercado'. *Público, Economia*, 22 May, p.1, illus. p.29.

Pereira, P. (Ed.) (1959) *S. João da Madeira, Nr. 15–A. Indicações gerais sobre o conselho*. Lisboa: S.N.I. / M.E.N. & Edição Rotep, p.5 illus.

Ritto, C. (2011) 'Ténis 'Sanjo' com edição especial Xutos & Pontapés'. *Diário de Notícias*, 26 July, p.52.

- Rodrigues, S. (1996) 'Edifício da Sanjo, futuro museu da cidade'. *O Regional*, December, p.7, illus.
- Santos, J. (Ed.) (1959) *Figueira da Foz que eu cantei. Portugal é isto Series*, Figueira da Foz: Biblioteca Municipal, p.6, illus.
- Santos, V. (1985) 'Algumas curiosidades do início e desenvolvimento da indústria'. *O Regional Especial 100 anos da indústria de calçado*, 31 July, pp.17–23.
- Stockler, R. (1996) 'Sanjo, o fim de uma grande empresa'. *O Regional*, 27 July, p.13.

D9 Sanjo and EIC advertisements in local newspapers and publications

- Calçado vulcanizado Sanjo* (1954). In: Figueira da Foz Noiva do Mar: Biblioteca Municipal, p.36, illus.
- Sanjo* (1959). In: Figueira da Foz que eu cantei. Portugal é isto Series, Figueira da Foz: Biblioteca Municipal, p. 6, illus.
- Sanjo calça Portugal inteiro* (circa 1960). In: Figueira da Foz Eterna Rainha, p.6, illus.
- Empresa Industrial de Chapelaria, Lda.* (1963). In: *O Regional*, 2 June, p.5, illus.
- Chapéus Joanino e calçado Sanjo* (1964). In: *O Regional*, 1 January, p.5, illus.
- Empresa Industrial de Chapelaria* (1982). In: *Actividades Nacionais*, January, vol.1, p.62.
- Empresa Industrial de Chapelaria, Lda.* (1983). In: *Correio de Azeméis*. Há 56 anos nasceu o concelho de S. João da Madeira, March, Edição especial S. João da Madeira, p.18, illus.
- Empresa Industrial de Chapelaria, Lda.* (1984). In: *A Vida Portuguesa*, December, p.12, illus.
- Sanjo—Empresa Industrial de Chapelaria, Lda.* (1984). In: *Terras da nossa terra*. Esboço histórico de S. João da Madeira, December, vol.21, p.43, illus.
- Empresa Industrial de Chapelaria, Lda.* (1986). In: *O Nosso Conselho*. S. João da Madeira 1926–1986. July, vol.11, p. illus.
- Sanjo* (1983). In: *Terras da nossa terra*, July, vol.21, p.62, illus.

D10 Family photographs and photograph albums

CFPIC — Centro de Formação Profissional da Indústria de Calçado.

Clube Desportivo dos Olivais.

Daniel Neto.

Fernando Sampaio Sousa.

Francisco Cardoso Lima.

Francisco Parreira Lavado.

Henrique Fernandes.

Maurício Guimarães.

D11 Online sources

What follows is a report of sources found online. These are research records stored in 'Zotero'. Bellow is an enlarged scale of the report. The following pages present smaller scale versions.

LABOR - 09-04-2009 - Sociedade - As Sanjo estão de volta-1.jpg

Type Attachment

Date Added Sat Oct 8 02:51:01 2011

Modified Sat Oct 8 02:51:01 2011

Pesquisa Colecções Museu Chapelaria

Type Web Page

URL <http://www.museuchapelaria.cm-sjm.pt/cgi-bin/chapeu/pesquisa-cgi.pl>

Accessed Fri Oct 14 14:37:29 2011

Date Added Fri Oct 14 14:37:29 2011

Modified Fri Oct 14 14:37:46 2011

Attachments

- Pesquisa

Museu da Chapelaria: Sanjo. Uma Marca. Uma História

Type Web Page

Author Museu da Chapelaria

URL <http://museudachapelaria.blogspot.com/2010/10/sanjo-uma-marca-uma-historia.html>

scan0001-1.jpg

Type Artwork
Artist "Macaco Silva"
Medium JPEG Image
Artwork Size 157x444 pixels
URL http://i37.photobucket.com/albums/e91/macaco_silva/scan0001-1.jpg
Accessed Wed May 5 16:37:54 2010
Date Added Wed May 5 16:37:54 2010
Modified Wed May 5 16:39:37 2010

Attachments

- scan0001-1.jpg (JPEG Image, 157x444 pixels)

São João da Madeira - Wikipédia, a enciclopédia livre

Type Web Page
URL http://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/S%C3%A3o_Jo%C3%A3o_da_Madeira
Accessed Fri May 7 17:15:16 2010
Date Added Fri May 7 17:15:16 2010
Modified Fri May 7 17:15:16 2010

Attachments

- São João da Madeira - Wikipédia, a enciclopédia livre

Sanjo: ténis regressam às lojas e querem conquistar lá fora > Geral > TVI24

Type Web Page
URL <http://www.tvi24.iol.pt/comentarios/geral/sanjo-fersado-agencia-financeira-entrevista-tenis/1156523-5238.html>
Accessed Mon Jun 14 19:10:49 2010
Date Added Mon Jun 14 19:10:49 2010
Modified Mon Jun 14 19:10:49 2010

Attachments

1 of 22

12/07/19 20:54

Accessed Fri Dec 9 10:45:01 2011
Date Added Fri Dec 9 10:45:01 2011
Modified Fri Dec 9 17:45:10 2011

Attachments

- Museu da Chapelaria: Sanjo. Uma Marca. Uma História

Economia - Sanjo "ressuscita" na China - RTP Noticias, Video

Type Web Page
Author RTP
URL <http://tv1.rtp.pt/noticias/?article=372841&...>
Accessed Fri Dec 9 17:36:28 2011
Date Added Fri Dec 9 17:36:28 2011
Modified Fri Dec 9 17:44:55 2011

Attachments

- Economia - Sanjo "ressuscita" na China - RTP Noticias, Video

Sanjo – Documento comemorativo do centenário da Empresa

Type Newspaper Article
Publication Cultural data
URL <http://culturaldata.wordpress.com/2010/09/30/sanjo-documento-comemorativo-do-centenario-da-empresa/>
Accessed Fri Dec 30 12:16:24 2011
Library Catalog culturaldata.wordpress.com
Date Added Fri Dec 30 12:16:24 2011
Modified Fri Dec 30 12:16:24 2011

Attachments

- Snapshot

1920 anos « THE DELAGOA BAY COMPANY

- Sanjo: ténis regressam às lojas e querem conquistar lá fora > Geral > TVI24

os apagões do TRAMAGAL: Disciplina e Simpatia

Type Web Page
URL <http://apagoesdotramagal.blogspot.com/2010/11/disciplina-e-simpatia.html>
Accessed Fri Apr 1 20:45:41 2011
Date Added Fri Apr 1 20:45:41 2011
Modified Fri Apr 1 20:45:41 2011

Attachments

- os apagões do TRAMAGAL: Disciplina e Simpatia

LABOR - 09-04-2009 - Sociedade - As Sanjo estão de volta-1.jpg

Type Attachment
Date Added Sat Oct 8 02:51:01 2011
Modified Sat Oct 8 02:51:01 2011

Pesquisa Coleções Museu Chapelaria

Type Web Page
URL <http://www.museuchapelaria.cm-sjm.pt/cgi-bin/chapeu/pesquisa-cgi.pl>
Accessed Fri Oct 14 14:37:29 2011
Date Added Fri Oct 14 14:37:29 2011
Modified Fri Oct 14 14:37:46 2011

Attachments

- Pesquisa

Museu da Chapelaria: Sanjo. Uma Marca. Uma História

Type Web Page
Author Museu da Chapelaria
URL <http://museudachapelaria.blogspot.com/2010/10/sanjo-uma-marca-uma-historia.html>

2 of 22

12/07/19 20:54

URL <http://delagoabay.wordpress.com/category/1920-anos/>
Accessed Thu Mar 22 19:54:59 2012
Date Added Thu Mar 22 19:54:59 2012
Modified Thu Mar 22 19:54:59 2012

Attachments

- 1920 anos « THE DELAGOA BAY COMPANY

Voleibol+na+Gabela.jpg (JPEG Image, 1295 × 935 pixels)

Type Web Page
URL http://4.bp.blogspot.com/_idiIB692HNs/TCp79M6P3TI/AAAAAAAAABhw/SOIImS2--ioY/s1600/Voleibol+na+Gabela.jpg
Accessed Sat Mar 24 17:24:43 2012
Date Added Sat Mar 24 17:24:43 2012
Modified Sat Mar 24 17:24:43 2012

Attachments

- Voleibol+na+Gabela.jpg (JPEG Image, 1295 × 935 pixels)

Desafio 1: reunir fotografias para aumentar o arquivo histórico

Type Newspaper Article
Author O Regional
Publication O Regional online
Place S. João da Madeira, Portugal
Date 2010-05-06
Section Economia
URL <http://www.oregional.pt/noticia.asp?idEdicao=409&...>
Accessed Fri May 7 16:17:52 2010
Date Added Fri May 7 16:17:52 2010
Modified Fri May 7 16:20:09 2010

Attachments

- O Regional online - 06-05-2010 - Economia - Desafio 1: reunir fotografias para aumentar o arquivo histórico

História Sanjo

Type Web Page
Author Calçadodesportivo.com
Website Title Calçadodesportivo.com
Date 2010-05-06
URL <http://www.calçadodesportivo.com/historiasanjo.htm>
Accessed Fri May 7 17:18:53 2010
Date Added Fri May 7 17:18:53 2010
Modified Fri May 7 17:58:28 2010

Notes:

Some of the data presented here refers to research carried by Pedro Carvalho de Almeida.

Attachments

- calçadodesportivo.com/pesconfortáveis.com-Essenciais-História-Sanjo

Espero bem que não: O Regresso da Sanjo

Type Web Page
Author Fernando Alvim
Website Title Espero bem que não
Date 2010-05-05
URL <http://esperobemquenao.blogspot.com/2010/05/o-regresso-da-sanjo.html>
Accessed Mon May 10 20:15:05 2010
Date Added Mon May 10 20:15:05 2010
Modified Mon May 10 20:15:57 2010

Attachments

- Espero bem que não: O Regresso da Sanjo

Sanjo: ténis regressam às lojas

Type Newspaper Article
Author Marta Dhanis
Publication Agência Financeira

5 of 22

12/07/19 20:54

6 of 22

12/07/19 20:54

Date Added Wed May 5 18:52:49 2010
Modified Wed May 5 18:53:52 2010

Attachments

- 1st Sanjo Challenge ;D - mindmashup's posteros

Eu e os meus Sanjo. O regresso vintage dos ténis da geração de 80

Type Newspaper Article
Author André Rito
Publication Ionline
Place Lisboa, Portugal
Edition Online
Date 2010-04-24
Language Portuguese
URL <http://www.ionline.pt/conteudo/56730-eu-e-os-meus-sanjo-o-regresso-vintage-dos-tenis-da-geracao-80>
Date Added Tue May 4 16:00:12 2010
Modified Wed May 5 18:38:25 2010

Viarco, Oliva e Sanjo em exposição no Museu

Type Newspaper Article
Author António Gomes Costa
Publication O Regional online
Place S. João da Madeira, Portugal
Date 2010-04-03
Section Cultura
Language Portuguese
URL <http://www.oregional.pt/noticia.asp?idEdicao=400&...>
Accessed Wed May 5 20:18:14 2010
Date Added Wed May 5 20:18:14 2010
Modified Wed May 5 20:20:40 2010

Attachments

- O Regional online - 04-03-2010 - Cultura - Viarco, Oliva e Sanjo em exposição no Museu

7 of 22

12/07/19 20:54

8 of 22

12/07/19 20:54

Place Portugal
Edition Online
Date 2010-05-03
Section Últimas
Language Portuguese
URL <http://www.agenciafinanceira.iol.pt/portal-iol/sanjo-fersado-agencia-financeira-entrevista-tenis/1156523-5282.html>
Date Added Tue May 4 15:46:16 2010
Modified Wed May 5 18:37:07 2010

Sanjo - We're back!

Type Web Page
Author Sanjo
Website Title Sanjo
Date 2010-05-03
URL <http://www.sanjo.pt/>
Accessed Wed May 5 16:08:09 2010
Language Portuguese
Date Added Wed May 5 16:08:09 2010
Modified Wed May 5 16:57:37 2010

Notes:

Historical references refer to research carried out by Pedro Carvalho de Almeida

Attachments

- Sanjo - We're back!

1st Sanjo Challenge ;D

Type Blog Post
Author Maria Monteiro
Blog Title Posterous
Date 2010-05-03
URL <http://mindmashup.posterous.com/1st-sanjo-challenge-d>
Accessed Wed May 5 18:52:49 2010
Language Portuguese

Sanjo Challenge

Type Blog Post
Author Maria Monteiro
Blog Title Posterous
Date 2010-03-29
URL <http://mindmashup.posterous.com/sanjo-challenge-0>
Accessed Wed May 5 18:48:08 2010
Language Portuguese
Date Added Wed May 5 18:48:08 2010
Modified Wed May 5 18:52:35 2010

Attachments

- Sanjo Challenge - mindmashup's posteros

Sanjo

Type Blog Post
Author "Franksy"
Blog Title Gang of Four
Date 2010-26-03
URL <http://gangoffour-coimbra.blogspot.com/2010/03/sanjo.html>
Accessed Wed May 5 19:26:05 2010
Language Portuguese
Date Added Wed May 5 19:26:05 2010
Modified Wed May 5 19:49:34 2010

Attachments

- gang of four: SANJO

Os chapéus "Joanino" e o calçado "Sanjo": Postal Sanjo

Type Web Page
Author Cultural Data
Website Title Cultural data, Arquivo de rabiscos e de sentidos
Date 2010-03-02

URL <http://culturaldata.wordpress.com/2010/03/02/os-chapeus-joanino-e-o-calcado-sanjo/digitalizar0004/>
Accessed Wed May 5 19:37:57 2010
Date Added Wed May 5 19:37:57 2010
Modified Mon Dec 26 21:37:55 2011

Attachments

- Postal Sanjo « Cultural data

EMPRESA INDUSTRIAL DE CHAPELARIA, LDA. S. JOÃO DA MADEIRA (PORTUGAL)

Type Web Page
Author Cultural Data
Abstract Postcard dated 1933
Website Title Cultural data, Arquivo de rabiscos e de sentidos
Date 2010-03-02
URL <http://culturaldata.wordpress.com/2010/03/02/empresa-industrial-de-chapelaria-lda-s-joao-da-madeira-portugal/>
Accessed Wed May 5 19:46:56 2010
Language Portuguese
Date Added Wed May 5 19:46:56 2010
Modified Wed May 5 19:51:46 2010

Attachments

- EMPRESA INDUSTRIAL DE CHAPELARIA, LDA. S. JOÃO DA MADEIRA (PORTUGAL) « Cultural data

Exposição: S. João da Madeira revisita o passado das indústrias Viarco, Oliva e Sanjo

Type Web Page
Author LUSA - Agência de Notícias de Portugal, S.A.
Website Title Noticias.rtp.pt
Date 2010-02-26
URL <http://tv1.rtp.pt/noticias/index.php?t=S-Joao-da-Madeira-revisita-o-passado-das-industrias-Viarco-Oliva-e-Sanjo.rtp&...>

Facebook | Sanjo

Type Blog Post
Author N/A
Date 2009-12-09
URL <http://www.facebook.com/pages/Sanjo/226986113960?v=wall>
Accessed Sat May 8 20:05:49 2010
Language Portuguese
Date Added Sat May 8 20:05:49 2010
Modified Sat May 8 20:06:49 2010

Attachments

- Facebook | Sanjo

Sanjo: história de uma identidade

Type Newspaper Article
Author Liliانا Guimarães
Publication Jornal Labor
Place S. João da Madeira, Portugal
Edition Online
Date 2009-12-03
Section Sociedade
Language Portuguese
URL <http://www.labor.pt/noticia.asp?idEdicao=206&...>
Accessed Wed May 5 18:32:19 2010
Date Added Wed May 5 18:32:19 2010
Modified Wed May 5 18:36:12 2010

Attachments

- Jornal LABOR - 03-12-2009 - Sociedade - Sanjo: história de uma identidade

'Casadíssimo' com as Sanjo

Type Newspaper Article
Author Liliانا Guimarães

Accessed Wed May 5 20:02:50 2010
Language Portuguese
Date Added Wed May 5 20:02:50 2010
Modified Fri May 7 17:06:13 2010

Attachments

- Artes & Espectáculos - S. João da Madeira revisita o passado das indústrias Viarco, Oliva e Sanjo - RTP Noticias

i ♥ Sanjo & you?

Type Blog Post
Author Maria Monteiro
Blog Title Posterous
Date 2010-01-06
URL <http://mindmashup.posterous.com/i-sanjo-and-you>
Accessed Wed May 5 18:54:55 2010
Language Portuguese
Date Added Wed May 5 18:54:55 2010
Modified Wed May 5 18:56:06 2010

Attachments

- i ♥ Sanjo & you? - mindmashup's posterous

Facebook | Sapatilhas Sanjo

Type Web Page
Author Maria Monteiro
Website Title Sapatilhas Sanjo
Date 2010-01-06
URL <http://www.facebook.com/sanjolovers#!>
Accessed Fri May 7 18:10:00 2010
Date Added Fri May 7 18:10:00 2010
Modified Fri May 7 18:16:43 2010

Attachments

- Facebook | Sapatilhas Sanjo

Publication Jornal Labor
Place S. João da Madeira, Portugal
Edition Online
Date 2009-12-03
Section Sociedade
Language Portuguese
URL <http://www.labor.pt/index.asp?idEdicao=206&...>
Accessed Wed May 5 18:56:37 2010
Date Added Wed May 5 18:56:37 2010
Modified Wed May 5 19:06:00 2010

Attachments

- Jornal LABOR - 03-12-2009 - Sociedade - "'Casadíssimo' com as Sanjo"

Mdi 0911 - Quinta-feira 19 de Novembro

Type Blog Post
Author Susana Barreto
Blog Title Posterous
Date 2009-11-16
URL <http://mdi0911.posterous.com/?page=8>
Accessed Fri May 7 16:37:42 2010
Language Portuguese
Date Added Fri May 7 16:37:42 2010
Modified Fri May 7 16:40:40 2010

Attachments

- Mdi 0911 - Home

Liceu D.Filipa de Lencastre 1977 1984: Junho 2009

Type Blog Post
Author Paulo Cunhal Sendim
Date 2009-06-30
URL http://filipalencastre7780.blogspot.com/2009_06_01_archive.html
Accessed Wed May 5 16:12:58 2010

Language Portuguese
Short Title Um dia em que morri
Date Added Wed May 5 16:12:58 2010
Modified Wed May 5 16:58:48 2010

Attachments

- o Liceu D.Filipa de Lencastre 1977 1984: Junho 2009

As Sanjo estão de volta

Type Newspaper Article
Author Liliana Guimarães
Publication Jornal Labor
Place S. João da Madeira, Portugal
Date 2009-04-29
Section Sociedade
Language Portuguese
URL <http://www.labor.pt/noticia.asp?idEdicao=176&...>
Accessed Wed May 5 20:21:13 2010
Date Added Wed May 5 20:21:13 2010
Modified Wed May 5 20:46:57 2010

Attachments

- o Jornal LABOR - 09-04-2009 - Sociedade - As Sanjo estão de volta

Sapatilhas SANJO!

Type Blog Post
Author "Menina Limão"
Blog Title Cinquenta e três
Date 2009-04-10
URL <http://cinquentaetres.blogspot.com/2009/04/sapatilhas-sanjo.html>
Accessed Fri May 7 16:48:33 2010
Language Portuguese
Date Added Fri May 7 16:48:33 2010
Modified Fri May 7 16:53:44 2010

Notes:

See all posts from the 2009-04-10 to 2009-11-20

Attachments

- o [cinquenta e três]: sapatilhas SANJO!

As Sanjo estão de volta

Type Newspaper Article
Author Liliana Guimarães
Place S. João da Madeira, Portugal
Date 2009-04-09
Language Portuguese
URL <http://www.labor.pt/noticia.asp?idEdicao=176&...>
Date Added Tue May 4 16:05:55 2010
Modified Wed May 5 16:58:39 2010

Grátis! Wallpaper de Manitas

Type Web Page
Author ABROCAS
Date 2009-01-28
URL <http://daltonicbrothers.blogspot.com/2009/01/gratis-wallpaper-de-manitas.html>
Accessed Mon Feb 28 18:43:19 2011
Date Added Mon Feb 28 18:43:19 2011
Modified Mon Feb 28 18:44:45 2011

Attachments

- o <!-- daltonicbrothers -->: Grátis! Wallpaper de Manitas

EM 1962, ANTÓNIO LIVRAMENTO FOI HOMENAGEADO PELO PRESIDENTE DA REPÚBLICA

Type Blog Post

13 of 22

12/07/19 20:54

14 of 22

12/07/19 20:54

Zotero Report

zotero://report/collection/0_H3TDK8SA/html/report.html?sor...

Zotero Report

zotero://report/collection/0_H3TDK8SA/html/report.html?sor...

Author Publicada Por Francisco Parreira Lavado
Abstract No ano de 1962 em Santiago do Chile, Portugal sagra-se novamente campeão do mundo de hóquei patins. É neste ano que são introduzidas pela primeira vez as rodas em borracha produzidas em S. João da Madeira. Valdemar Correia é o autor desta inovação
Blog Title António José Parreira Livramento
Date segunda-feira, 31 de Agosto de 2009
URL <http://antonio-parreira-livramento.blogspot.com/2009/08/em-1962-antonio-livramento-foi.html>
Accessed Wed Jul 28 23:42:20 2010
Date Added Wed Jul 28 23:42:20 2010
Modified Wed Jul 28 23:58:26 2010

Novos pisanter...

Type Blog Post
Author "Ana"
Blog Title À minha maneira
Date 2008-05-09
URL <http://aminhamaneira.wordpress.com/2008/05/09/novos-pisantes/>
Accessed Wed May 5 16:42:38 2010
Language Portuguese
Date Added Wed May 5 16:42:38 2010
Modified Fri May 7 17:10:43 2010

Attachments

- o Novos pisanter... « À minha maneira

Demência Colateral! (Ténis Sanjo)

Type Blog Post
Author "Cipri"
Blog Title Demência Colateral!
Date 2008-04-18
URL http://luisqipri.blogspot.com/2008_04_01_archive.html
Accessed Wed May 5 17:14:15 2010
Language Portuguese
Date Added Wed May 5 17:14:15 2010
Modified Wed May 5 17:16:08 2010

Attachments

- o Demência Colateral!: Abril 2008

Os bons ténis Sanjo

Type Blog Post
Author José Carlos Correia
Blog Title O Blog do Carlitos
Date 2008-04-02
URL <http://oblogdozecarlos.blogspot.com/2008/04/os-bons-tnis-sanjo.html>
Accessed Wed May 5 17:05:15 2010
Language Portuguese
Date Added Wed May 5 17:05:15 2010
Modified Wed May 5 17:06:43 2010

Attachments

- o O Blog do Carlitos: Os bons ténis Sanjo

Rei dos Leittões: Os meus ténis Sanjo

Type Blog Post
Author "Pata Negra"
Date 2008-01-03
URL <http://reidosleitoe.blogspot.com/2008/01/os-meus-tnis-sanjo.html>
Accessed Wed May 5 16:17:17 2010
Language Portuguese
Date Added Wed May 5 16:17:17 2010
Modified Wed May 5 16:59:10 2010

Attachments

- o Rei dos Leittões: Os meus ténis Sanjo

Fui a Coimbra e...

Type Blog Post
Author "Catarse"

15 of 22

12/07/19 20:54

16 of 22

12/07/19 20:54

Abstract ...já não há Sanjo na Bambi.
Blog Title Gabardina
Date 2007-12-26
URL <http://gabardina.blogspot.com/2007/12/fui-coimbra-e.html>
Accessed Wed May 5 17:12:09 2010
Language Portuguese
Date Added Wed May 5 17:12:09 2010
Modified Wed May 5 17:13:38 2010

Attachments

- Gabardina: Fui a Coimbra e...

O "TENI" dos Bafatenses

Type Blog Post
Author "JPedro"
Blog Title Rua Cidade Bafatá: Rua do tamanho do mundo!
Date 2007-09-11
URL <http://bafata.blogspot.com/2007/09/sanjo.html>
Accessed Wed May 5 17:01:37 2010
Language Portuguese
Date Added Wed May 5 17:01:37 2010
Modified Fri May 7 17:08:06 2010

Attachments

- Rua Cidade Bafatá: O "TENI" dos Bafatenses

Na noite do Speliking. -

Type Blog Post
Author Freitas
Blog Title Blog do Quinze de 75
Date 2006-03-18
URL <http://defreitas.blog.co.uk/2006/03/18/speliking-633572/>
Accessed Wed May 5 16:56:04 2010
Date Added Wed May 5 16:56:04 2010
Modified Wed May 5 16:57:16 2010

Attachments

- Na noite do Speliking. - Blog do Quinze de 75

Sanjo

Type Forum Post
Author Mistério Juvenil
Forum/Listserv Title Forum Mistério Juvenil: Espaço Pirata
Date 2006-2008-2009
Language Portuguese
URL <http://www.misteriojuvenil.com/forum/viewtopic.php?p=8372&...>
Accessed Wed May 5 16:24:24 2010
Date Added Wed May 5 16:24:24 2010
Modified Wed May 5 19:06:49 2010

Attachments

- Mistério Juvenil :: Verificar tópico - sanjo

Os ténis Sanjo

Type Blog Post
Author Joana Bilton
Blog Title Lady Bug
Date 2005-09-27
URL <http://mindofspinne.blogspot.com/2005/09/os-tnis-sanjo.html>
Accessed Wed May 5 16:51:53 2010
Language Portuguese
Date Added Wed May 5 16:51:53 2010
Modified Wed May 5 16:59:01 2010

Attachments

- Lady Bug: Os ténis Sanjo

Obras em casa, dia dois

Type Blog Post
Author Rosa Pomar
Blog Title A Ervilha Cor de Rosa
Date 2005-06-21
URL <http://aervilhacorderosa.com/2005/06/page/2/>
Accessed Wed May 5 16:34:52 2010
Language Portuguese
Date Added Wed May 5 16:34:52 2010
Modified Wed May 5 16:58:27 2010

Attachments

- A Ervilha Cor de Rosa » 2005 » June:

Para um suburbano, é importante andar bem montado.

Type Blog Post
Author Miguel "Pianodrunk"
Blog Title oBlogdoPiano
Date 2005-03-14
URL http://oblogdopiano.blogspot.com/2005_03_01_archive.html
Accessed Wed May 5 17:07:52 2010
Date Added Wed May 5 17:07:52 2010
Modified Fri May 7 17:08:46 2010

Attachments

- oBlogdoPiano

sapatilhas_sanjo (Ze Miguel - Design Activities)

Type Web Page
Author Cardoso José Miguel
Date 2005
URL http://sites.google.com/site/zemiguelcardoso/trabalho/sapatilhas_sanjo
Accessed Mon May 10 20:16:51 2010
Date Added Mon May 10 20:16:51 2010
Modified Mon May 10 20:33:00 2010

Attachments

- sapatilhas_sanjo (Ze Miguel - Design Activities)

O Centro de Documentação do Museu da Indústria de Chapelaria de S

Type Document
Author Suzana Menezes
Author Sérgio Lira
Author Feliz Gouveia
Author Alexandra Alves
Author Diana Amaral
Author Pedro Malaquias
Date 2004
URL www2.ufp.pt/~slira/artigos/com_loures.pdf
Accessed Tue Dec 6 18:49:59 2011
Date Added Tue Dec 6 18:49:59 2011
Modified Tue Dec 6 18:52:18 2011

Attachments

- O Centro de Documentação do Museu da Indústria de Chapelaria de S

Sistema de Gestão de Coleções Museológicas Industriais

Type Web Page
Author Universidade Fernando Pessoa
Website Title Sistema de Gestão de Coleções Museológicas Industriais
Date 2003-2006
URL <http://www.museuchapelaria.cm-sjm.pt/cgi-bin/chapeu/index.pl>
Accessed Fri Dec 9 16:01:03 2011
Rights Museu da Indústria de Chapelaria
Date Added Fri Dec 9 16:01:03 2011
Modified Fri Dec 9 16:09:04 2011

Attachments

- Página inicial

Sanjo

Type Blog Post
Author Rosa Pomar
Abstract "eram óbvias como tantas outras coisas e vinham de são João da madeira. ou todas brancas ou pretas e brancas. quando já tinham desaparecido, encontrei umas em saldo na rua do poço dos negros mas pareceram-me tão desconfortáveis que não as trouxe. as últimas (do meu pai) duraram vários verões e muitas passagens pela máquina da roupa."
Blog Title A Ervilha Cor de Rosa
Date 2002-06-27
URL <http://aervilhacorderosa.com/2002/06/>
Accessed Wed May 5 16:30:42 2010
Language Portuguese
Date Added Wed May 5 16:30:42 2010
Modified Wed May 5 16:58:13 2010

Attachments

- A Ervilha Cor de Rosa » 2002 » June:

Capa centenário EICHAP

Type Web Page
Author Museu Indústria Chapelaria
Abstract Capa comemorativa do centenário da empresa EICHAP / SANJO
Date 1991
URL <http://www.museuchapelaria.cm-sjm.pt/cgi-bin/chapeu/page.pl>
Accessed Fri Oct 14 18:33:05 2011
Date Added Fri Oct 14 18:33:05 2011
Modified Fri Oct 14 18:35:10 2011

Attachments

- Pesquisa completa

S. João da Madeira

Type Magazine Article
Publication Terras da Nossa Terra
Volume Ano 19
Date Julho 1983

Pages 62
Archive Daniel Regalado Neto
Date Added Tue Dec 21 16:27:24 2010
Modified Tue Dec 21 16:48:59 2010

Notes:

Anúncio publicitário

Concelho de S. João da Madeira 1982

Type Magazine Article
Author Henrique Robles
Publication Actividades Nacionais
Issue 1
Date Janeiro 1982
Pages 62
Archive Daniel Regalado Neto
Date Added Tue Dec 21 16:21:52 2010
Modified Tue Dec 21 16:48:48 2010

Empresas Industriais de S. João da Madeira

Type Magazine Article
Author Camacho Pereira
Publication S. João da Madeira, Indicações gerais sobre o concelho
Issue 15-A
Date Agosto 1959
Archive Daniel Regalado Neto
Date Added Tue Dec 21 16:39:46 2010
Modified Tue Dec 21 16:48:37 2010

Notes:

Patrocinado pelo S.N.I e M.E.N.

Ordem de publicação n.º 80

APPENDIX E

LIST OF PUBLISHED WORK

Figure E.1 – Poster of Explorations: advancing research at Central Saint Martins exhibition.
Digital file: author's collection.



Appendix E LIST OF PUBLISHED WORK

E1 Papers published in proceedings of international conferences (refereed)

- 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.
- Almeida, P. (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.
- Almeida, P. (2009) 'Portuguese design heritage and portable imageries: re-evaluation of the Sanjo sports shoes'. In: Côrte-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.
- 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: Côrte-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.
- Almeida, P. (2009) '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.

E2 Papers presented at international conferences and seminars (refereed)

- Almeida, P. (2011) *Brand identity as cultural experience*. Paper presented at Design and Memory, International Doctoral Seminar, Aalto University, School of Art and Design, Helsinki, March 24, 2011.
- Almeida, P. (2010) *Articulation of contextual and graphic design influences as process*. Paper presented at the 2nd International Forum of Design as Process. Scientific meeting of the Latin Network of Design as a Process, Universidade de Aveiro, Portugal, October 28–30, 2010.
- Almeida, P. (2009) *Visual methods and research in communication design: towards interdisciplinary collaboration*. Paper presented at 1st International Visual Methods Conference, School of Education, Leeds University, UK, September 15–17, 2009.

Almeida, P. C. (2009) *Portuguese design heritage and product innovation: the re-evaluation of trademarks from the “Estado Novo” period*. Paper presented at Design and Cultures, 5th Annual Design Research Conference, The Interdisciplinary Design Institute of Washington State University Spokane, USA, January 15–16, 2009.

Almeida, P. C. (2008) Enthusiasm and trouble in collecting an archive. Paper presented at PhD Experience: An Interdisciplinary Conference Workshop, University of Hull, UK, November 17–18, 2008.

E3 Exhibitions

Almeida, P.C. (2009) *Disruptive identities and cultural continuities*. Timeline installation. Uncharted Stories exhibition, CCW Graduate School Launch Festival, The Triangle Space, Chelsea College of Art and Design, University of the Arts London, London. 25 October–7 November, 2009.

Almeida, P.C. (2008) *Portuguese design heritage and product innovation: the re-evaluation of trademarks from the “Estado Novo” period*. Showcase of research materials. Explorations: advancing research at Central Saint Martins exhibition, Innovation Gallery, Central Saint Martins College of Art & Design, University of the Arts London, London. 7–17 October, 2008.

Almeida, P.C. (2008) *Portuguese design heritage and product innovation: the re-evaluation of trademarks from the “Estado Novo” period*. New Views 2 online poster exhibition. The London College of Communication, University of the Arts London & The School of Applied Communication, RMIT University. Available from: <<http://newviews.co.uk/gallery/posters>> [Accessed 3 July 2012].

E4 Other publications

Almeida, P.C. (2012) *Mapping a territory: establishing a visual conversation for visual and contextual analysis*. Lecture and workshop. Masters in Communication Design, ESAD Matosinhos, Portugal. 26–27 January, 2012. Available from: <<http://www.esad.pt/pt/eventos/esad-talks-pedro-almeida>> [Accessed 7 April 2012]; <<http://esadmacommunication.wordpress.com/2012/02/20/pedro-carvalho-de-almeida-workshop/>> [Accessed 7 April 2012].

Almeida, P.C. (2010) ‘Linking generations, culture and time through research, memory and portable imageries’. In: Lioy, A. (Ed.) *Networks, the writing marathon 2010*. London: Area D — Action Research in Art and Design, pp.10–18.

The semiotic of trainers. (2009) [Podcast radio programme]. London, Resonance 104.4 FM, London Consortium. 12 November. Available from: <http://thethreadradio.org/?page_id=25> [Accessed 12 July 2012].

Almeida, P. C. (2009) ‘Identidade cultural: património e inovação’. *TecnoMetal, revista de informação técnico-científica de metalurgia e metalo-mecânica*, 181 (XXXII) March/April, pp.10–15.

E5 Lectures

Visual identity as an organisational resource. Especialização em Design e Desenvolvimento de Produto, Masters in Industrial Design, Faculty of Engineering, University of Porto, Portugal, 27 February, 2012.

Sanjo@FBAUP: overview of ongoing design research project. História e Teoria da Imagem, Masters in Visual Design, Faculty of Fine Arts, University of Porto, Portugal, 19 November 2009. Available from: <<http://mdio911.posterous.com/sanjo-prof-pedro-carvalho-de-almeida-19nov09>> [Accessed 18 February 2010].

Visual identity and brands. Design Studio FEUP, Masters in Industrial Design, Faculty of Engineering, University of Porto, Portugal, 4 December, 2009. Available from: <<http://designstudiofeup.blogspot.pt/2009/12/pedro-carvalho-almeida.html>> [Accessed 7 July 2010].

Figure E.2 – Poster of Uncharted Stories exhibition.

Digital file: author's collection.

