

On Logos, Business Cards, and the case of UK universities

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Abstract

Logos are artifacts that organizations use for marketing and image building, and, in this chapter, connected to messages of organizational change. Exploring the case of the higher education sector in the UK, the chapter analyses logos of three 'layers' of universities -- traditional, 'New' (1960s), and 'former polytechnics'. Differences and commonalities in logos positions logos as part of a wider agenda of changes. The logos of 'Old Universities' convey the message that "we are the privileged, for the privileged, the provider of wisdom, rooted in ancient time and well tested. Their logos reflect tradition, excellence, elitism, style (and may also be interpreted as snobbism). 1960s Universities convey a message of new, fresh wave, innovation; can do as well as the old. 'New Universities' that were formerly polytechnics convey a message that "we too are 'a university' reflecting their political ambitions and wish for growth, complying with a governmental vision, and fulfilling self-prescribed high aims. The messages conveyed through the logos are analyzed in the chapter in light of agendas and performance in the higher education system in the UK.

Introduction

Meeting a person in a business context, a typical introductory activity (or a ritual to be completed upon adjuring the meeting) will be an exchange of business cards. Typically, the most prominent and distinctive feature of a business card is the organizational logo. Upon receiving a letter from a company representative, printed on their official letterhead paper, a prominent and distinctive visual feature of the letter would be the organizational logo on the letterhead. Browsing the internet, looking at web pages of organizations, a logo will be positioned in a central, focal point, as if to set the tone of the 'virtual place'.

The common denominator for these scenarios is the prominence of the organizational logo, and its crucial role in forming the first impression the organization will make upon you. The cliché that you have no second opportunity to make a first impression is highly valid in

this case. Thus organizations should devote considerable attention for their logo and the way it represents them. The same will be true of a variety of organizational artifacts. In this chapter I will present the case of the role of artifacts in the UK academic system, as well as their use in business cards, will be discussed too.

Logo

What is the logo? A logo (or at least, a good logo) is a symbolized manifestation of the organization. It is part of the identity, a representation of organizational spirit, and at the practical level, a marketing tool for the organization and its members. The word 'logo' is derived from the Greek for "word" or "speech". Logos are symbolic, graphic artifacts aiming to produce a certain image of an organization, to convey a message, and when designed and presented they are expected to create certain impressions of that organization. They manifest the 'public face' of the organization, and can be a powerful window through which an organization can represent itself. The logo's role is not restricted to external perception of the organization. It also serves as a vehicle to help building both a self-image and group identity of the group members. It can be a quintessential conveyor of the group distinctiveness of the organizational members. Thus one duality for the logo is the distinction between its role within the organization compared with its role which is external to the organization.

Another duality in the nature of logos is that they are designed to appeal both to logic and to an unconscious perspective. The study of symbolism depends to a large extent on the concept of the unconscious (Gabriel, 1999, p. 55). Symbols actively elicit an internal experience of meaning: Dandridge (1983, p. 71), argues that while signs "help a person to denote and comprehend knowledge of external world objectively", symbols "go further as they help to translate an unconscious or intuitively known internal world of feeling into the comprehensible terms of our visible reality". People use both logical interpretation and their unconscious in decoding and underpinning the meaning of logos. Applying social identity theory to organizational contexts may mean that where individuals define themselves in terms

of the organization in which they are members, such identifications can operate as cognitive frameworks, and this is where symbols such as the logo have a significant role in shaping and manifesting such identification. Organizational identification has perceptual, attitudinal and behavior consequences that are congruent with the identity. Such identification makes it likely that employees will think, feel and act in the interests of the organization (Dutton, Dukerich & Harquail, 1994; Tyler, 1999). In the case of organizational symbolism, the logo is part of a collective of symbols and artifacts that help to generate an organizational identity. However, while some symbols mostly address the realm of logic (such as organizational name – see Glynn & Abzug, 2002; Glynn & Marquis, this volume), the logo aims at a latent level of both logic and unconscious. These two dimensions are applicable also to the way the external environment perceives the organization via its logo.

Close attention to the aesthetic and the design is of great appeal and attraction for customers (Heskett, 1980), and this should also be applied for the symbols associated with the organization, including the logo. Moreover, a logo should readily evoke the same intended meaning across different people (Cohen, 1986; Durgee & Stuart, 1987; Kropp, French & Hillard, 1990). Schmitt and Simonson (1997, p. 13-15) indicated that smart organizations have gained a competitive advantage through aesthetics, in particular when marketing the organization as a whole, which is exactly what logos are created for, bearing in mind this is their external role.

What's in the logo? The logo, like many other cultural symbols, may derive an extraordinary power, a phenomenon which is hard to explain (van Buskirk & McGrath, 1999). The logo or emblem represents the entity with which people may feel strong identification with. The role that a flag plays for a country may be comparable to the one that the logo represents for an organization. While many have died fighting for their country flag, such a level of commitment would not be expect within an organization. Gabriel indeed stated that 'some symbols, such as flags, words and emblems stand for particular ideas in a

conscious and explicit way.’(Gabriel, 2000, p. 92). On a totally different, commercial perspective, the big M represents for most not only McDonald’s as a restaurant but all what McDonald’s the corporation represents and stands for (Ritzer, 1996). Similarly, the trademark Coca Cola is the force that generates much of the sales for this drink (apparently ‘Coca Cola’ is the second world-wide known word after the symbolic word ‘OK’).

From a marketing point of view, the word logo refers to the graphic designs that organization use to identify itself or its products (Bennett, 1995). However, marketing literature contains no systematic research on the effect of design on consumer evaluation of logos (Henderson & Cote, 1998), ignoring the inside role of the logo for its members. From a research point of view, the study of logos is usually covered by the marketing discipline, and is mostly commercially oriented. Nevertheless, logos should also be studied as organizational symbolic artifacts, not merely as marketing tools. This chapter examines logos from a wider organizational studies perspective, which generally suffers from dearth of research (See Sproull, 1981, for an exception).

What makes a logo unique? The logo is part of the wider system that organizations utilize for their impression management. As such, the logo is just a component or one of the ‘ingredients’ of a comprehensive system that is generated to represent the organization and its image. The development of self-image for organizations may resemble the formation of self-image for individuals, which is a complex and multi-faceted process (Litterer, 1973, p.190). This formation is an important organizational aspect, which affects both strategy and practical management, and this is vividly visible in the academic context (Gioia & Thomas, 1996). This is where the logo and its role are unique. The uniqueness of the logo is concerned with its visibility, representation, and the issue of the first-impression impact. Logos are recognizable, re-iterate familiarity with the organization, and elicit consensually held meaning in the ‘market’ (Cohen, 1986, Robertson, 1989). Thus for the general public, as well as for the organizational members, the logo instantly corresponds with the organization, its

image, even its ethos. The logo, as many other organizational artifacts, has both symbolic and aesthetic qualities (Rafaeli & Vilnai-Yavetz, this volume), but unlike other artifacts (e.g. dress or architecture of buildings), the logo is *the* symbolic element of the organization, or at least is designed to be one.

The following case is a vivid example for the importance and relevance the business card (with the logo as its main feature) plays in self identity construction: people may have several organizational identities, and some work for or represent more than one organization. A colleague of mine is a university Professor, and also serves as an Editor of an academic journal. When he meets colleagues at conferences he is expected, as part of the etiquette, to exchange business cards. Which one will he produce – the university or the journal business card? The answer is concerned with both the issue of impression management and organizational identity. In this specific case, his employing university does not have the reputation for being one of the best in the country, but the Journal has a very good academic standing. No wonder he will pull out the Journal's business card, with its distinct logo on it...

A word of caution

There are certain limitations that should be borne in mind when dealing with logos. The logo comprises of only a small part (albeit important) of the whole image of the organization. Moreover, the interpretation of logos, in particular as it 'speaks' to the unconscious, depends on interpretation by the receiver. This, as Rafaeli and Worline (2000: 74) noted, differs as much as people differ in their interpretations of symbols. Also, unlike most organizational artifacts that are developed and controlled by the organization and/or its members, a unique feature of the logo is that the actual design is usually done by media professionals, not from within the organization – such external designers might miss the idea or concept behind the organization and the way it wishes to be perceived by the external environment. When a logo is proven un-fit or problematic it can be changed. Such a change

can be a one-off, major change, or subtle, continuous series of updating. However, like changing the name of the organization, changing the logo requires a considerable investment in terms of brand name re-positioning.

Symbols and organizational culture

Pettigrew (1979) introduced the notion of organizational culture into the study of organizations. The culture of the organization dwells in people's minds, and comprises one of the most influential factors in creating successful organizations (Peters & Waterman, 1982). Nevertheless, culture is not easy for evaluation or measurement (Sheridan, 1992). Part of organizational culture is its identity. Organizational identity is a relatively young field of study, brought in to the management literature by Albert and Whetten (1985). The role of organizational identity as a relevant concept in understanding organizational phenomena is important, for example, when organizations go through mergers (Millward & Kyriakidou, this volume). Weick (1979) has argued that the employees are those who enact organizations and who make them real, but the external environment too makes sense of the organization. Either way, both internal and external perceptions of logos form part of the wholeness of an organization and its identity. Although symbolic representation of organizational identity is of significant importance, there is a shortage of writing on the role of organizational symbols (for an exception, see Stern, 1988).

Within the three-level classification of organizational symbols suggested by Czarniawska-Joerges and Joerges (1990) – labels, metaphors, and platitudes – logos are closest to labels, though they do not necessarily include verbal expression. If an image is shared (as is the case with logos), the artifact logo helps to link present with past and provides a compelling image that maintains a sense of identity. Along the same lines, Jung (1964, cited in Dandridge, 1983, p. 71) describes symbolizing as helping to translate the world within us into a visible reality. When bestowed on new comers, it makes them true members of the

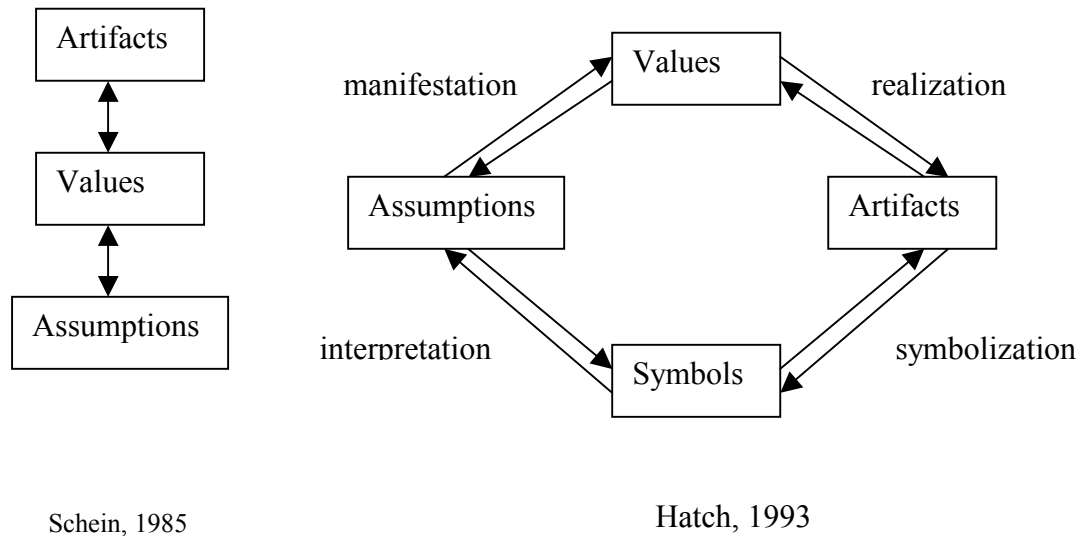
organizational community (Weick, 2001), and later it helps in developing the bond between the organization and its members (Pratt & Rafaeli, 2001).

Symbols are one ingredient of culture (Schein, 1985). In particular, Gabriel (1999, p. 169) argues that symbols form a prominent role in basic culture development for the study of organization, building on ethnography. Symbols can be seen as the building blocks of culture, embedding multiple meaning, and energizing action, as suggested by Pondy, Frost, Morgan, and Dandridge (1983). As argued above, the logo usually serves as an organizational symbol, many times forming the first impression of the organization.

To clarify the distinction and association between symbols and artifacts as separate constructs and the relevance of these constructs to logos and business cards, it would be useful to relate to Vilnai-Yavetz and Rafaeli's framework (this volume), which regards to instrumentality, symbolism and aesthetics as the three dimensions of any artifact. Indeed, the logo and the business card represent much more than their physical matter. They are instrumental in conveying organizational nature, culture, values, and status. They represent a symbolism of the organization, and they are, by their nature, a manifestation of the aesthetic visualization of the organization.

Comparing Schein's (1985) framework with the one suggested by Hatch (1993) as prospect frameworks to understand the role of artifacts in shaping culture, it is interesting to note that Hatch's framework allows for dynamism in the relationship between the components of culture, and thus perhaps fits better for the purpose of cultural analysis. The distinction between symbols and artifacts is not simple, though. Logos are in fact symbolic artifacts. It seems that Hatch has identified artifacts as physical objects that have not yet been infused with extra meaning or value. Thus, logos could be positioned in either one of two places – (1) if a logo is specifically designed with one message in mind (e.g., merely to identify a school by its name), then it is an artifact; (2) if it has additional meanings to it (e.g., further characterizing the institution), then it has moved to the symbolic realm.

Figure 1:



Adapted from Hatch, M. J. (1993) "The dynamics of organizational culture."

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Hofstede (1991) tells us that organizations are programming the mind of newcomers. Introducing the logo and other symbols helps in making this process a success. It also helps enact a shared reality and sensemaking of the organization to internal members and to the external environment (Morgan, 1997; Weick, 2001). The logo, symbols, and style of the organizations are part of what makes them develop and maintain distinct identities (Scherer, 2003: 327). These perspectives focus on the internal rather the external role of the logo.

The role of design is important in logos. The aesthetic dimension is fundamental in understanding symbols, and adds to its power (Gagliardi, 1990; Strati, this volume). Sometimes the aesthetic element of the logo or business card may even conceal the imperfections of the organization or its process (Strati & Guillet de Montoux, 2002), especially if they come to represent different social realities, (Yanow, this volume). The logo can manifest the core idea that brings the organization together. For example, NetEducation

(2003), a higher education institution, indicates how the organizational logo represents its mission statement: As claimed in their promotion material, the essence of the logo (see figure 2) is its dynamic and expanding shape. “The shape expresses the core of modern education that uses technology in several nuanced ways. As its appearance, the NetEducation Centre itself is an ever expanding community which reaches the information networks of the world. Its dynamics is controlled and systematic within a calm entity. The shapes are soft and human emphasizing humanity in the world of modern technology. The expanding shape reminds of ripples that proceed on the surface. This motion is parallel to the principle of life-long learning.” The logo also implies a spatial dimension of infinite networks in a world that is becoming a global village. On a more individual level the logo can be seen as a stylized fingerprint; as an imprint of a very personal nature.

Figure 2: The NetEducation logo:



As manifested above, the logo is expected to symbolize the organization in a graphical manner. It needs to be distinct from others, but representing a certain type of organization (in the case presented in this chapter – universities). The logo is expected to display the nature and notion, even the underlying ideas, vision and direction of the organization.

Heskett (2002) praises the efficiency in design, comparing the past with today’s design of symbols, which tend to be less explicit. This efficiency is reflected in many logo designs. As will be seen later on in this chapter, the new 1992 universities in the UK held it

as crucial to be explicit and re-emphasize the label 'university' in their logo. Such a trend is clearly manifested in logos of products with a long history (an interesting example is the development of the logo for the whisky Johnny Walker: within a century it transformed from an explicit figure of a person walking with his boots on, holding a whip in his hand, into a few curved lines, symbolizing the same figure in later logos).

Apart from the marketing and identity issues, logos are also a legal asset and can become a legal issue for organizations (see also Glynn & Marquis, this volume). Names and logos are highly important, and there is a wide body of legislation that has dealt with the protection of brands via names and logo (Schmitt & Simonson, 1997, p. 216). New organizations or organizations that change their nature might try to build on established brands when they modify or revise their name and logo. Brands add value to companies and products, as they satisfy social and psychological needs (de Chernatony & McDonald, 1998, p. 114). As will be demonstrated later, this is exactly what happened when UK polytechnics were transformed into universities in 1992, and tried to choose names that resembled those of established universities (opting sometimes for names that were considered too similar, raising legal confrontations).

Logos in practice

Before newcomers to the organization will have a chance to learn about more in-depth substantial issues, such as organizational identity or culture, they will be presented with the letter, business card, etc., all carrying the logo of the organization. Thus the logo is one of various representations that enable both the organizational internal and external environment to perceive and evaluate the organization. The logo presents, maintains and reinforces an image of the organization. It is not clear, yet, how the logo, being an organizational artifact, in helping individuals and collectives "make sense" of the organization. In this chapter I examine the role of logo as an artifact which is a fundamental ingredient/component of

organizational culture (e.g., Schein, 1985; Hatch, 1993), while acknowledging the logo as an individual artifact (e.g., Sproull, 1981).

The importance and relevance of artifacts in organizations

The organizational logo plays a critical role in organizational life. Two important perspectives are the people management issue and the issue of marketing or public relations. Internally, the logo is there for employees, operating as a source of immediate contextualized information that inevitably plays a role in how other information is processed. Externally, it represents the organization to the wider environment, being part of the ongoing marketing campaign for recognition as well as having the ‘brand’ known and promoted (de Chernatony & McDonald, 1998; Belch & Belch, 2001).

For a junior employee, the entitlement to a business card or to the right to use formal organizational letterhead represents progress and recognition of responsibility and appreciation on behalf of the organization. Such an entitlement can be seen as part of the *Rite of Passage* for new members of the organization (Trice & Beyer, 1984). A PhD candidate at a US university was recently heard at the Academy of Management Meeting, mumbling with mixed emotion, humbleness and frustration that “We, PhD candidates at &&&, are not considered to be worthy of having our own university’s business cards”.

Of course this is just one of many elements – with the advent of new technologies new types of symbolic artifacts are emerging. For example, technological devices, such as cell phones and laptops are serving as new types of status markers, alongside the traditional ones, such as company’s cars (Owens & Sutton, 2002).

As Rafaeli and Pratt indicated in the introduction, cultural symbols – logos being one of them – often serve as “shorthand” reminders of an organization’s history. In addition, they can play a central role in how organizational members and other constituents come to know and understand their organizations. They can initiate such sensemaking, or may be the targets of visionary leaders’ attempts to use artifacts to shape members’ perceptions.

Logos as reflective artifacts – the case of UK universities

Like most organizations, universities have a variety of artifacts, among which one may count the logo, architecture (e.g. building style), and dress code. The case introduced in this chapter presents and analyzes the utilization of logos in the UK academia, and in particular shows how a subtle (and sometimes not so subtle) distinction may be made between different types of UK universities.

The main direction of analysis will focus on a comparative illustration of the three major types of universities in the UK: ‘Old’, ‘New (1960s)’ and ‘Former polytechnic’. The old includes universities such as Cambridge, St. Andrews, Manchester and London. They have a long history, and have set the tone and reputation of British education for generations (in particular Oxford and Cambridge). The new universities emerged as a natural response to the increased demand for higher education. Many of them were established in the 1960s, when the UK establishment realized the need for widening the tertiary educational cover. Among them one can find Exeter, Keele, Loughborough, UEA, York, and Warwick. The third group of UK universities emerged from polytechnics that were transformed into a university status in 1992, when the government decided to enable them to become (or title themselves as) universities. Middlesex, University of Central Lancaster, Manchester Metropolitan, Oxford Brookes, and South Bank are examples of this group.

In the rest of the chapter I will analyze how these universities differ in terms of their logos, their symbolic nature and their organizational representation. I will look at how these are utilized to make sense of the organizations. Some intriguing questions or cases can be developed along the following lines:

- Can a distinction be made among the logos according to the type of university?
- Why do logos within each of these groups of universities resemble each other?

University Logos:

Each university, like any other established organization, has a specific, unique name, accompanied by a distinctive logo, which aims to represent it to the wider public and environment. Sometimes the meaning of the logo needs to be explained (see example in figure 3) and it is probable that in some cases, too high a level of resources is required to absorb the message. A ‘resource matching perspective’ (Meyers-Levy & Peracchio, 1995) means that an optimal level of stimuli will have the advantage of enabling people to adequately process a stimulus can be reached. As the time people devote to screening a logo is limited (say, when they browse the net, receive a business card, or company letter) the logo need not to be too complex or too simplistic.

Figure 3: Logo meaning:



UPE logo

The UPE logo was introduced as a new visual symbol that would support, and represent, our transformation process. The logo is used on all marketing material as well as stationery, signage and other corporate identity material... Abstract symbolism has been used in the design of the logo. The twin uprights represent the University itself. Although loosely related to the Main Building, the most visible feature of the UPE campus, they are open and free flowing rather than rigid and closed. They symbolise the upward thrust of intellectual and personal development. The curved blue band represents UPE's location at the sea; the green, the land and our nature reserve; and the sun, a bright future.

Source: UPE web-page.

The case of UK universities: A comparative manifestation of difference

As mentioned above, the universities in the UK can be roughly divided into three major categories. (a) ‘Old’ universities: Those established in the distant past, with traditions of high quality academic work and fit for the upper echelons of society. While there have been efforts to change this notion in recent years, such as encouragement of students of working-class background to attend old universities, it is not yet clear whether the change is mere lip service to political correctness, or if it is a deeper one. (b) Newly founded

(relatively), 1960s universities, most of which were established (or gained a University status) in the actual 1960s. And (c) The 1992s' Universities' – some 50 former polytechnics that were apparently 'transformed' in 1992 into having a university status. Some indeed worked towards changing their identity and culture into a university one; others continue to carry the legacy of teaching institutions.

Using the Yanow (this volume) approach to interpretive approach in studying artifacts, a random sample of university logos is presented below, to demonstrate the difference in the nature and notion of the institutions, relating to their status:

Old institutions:

Figure 4: 'Old' UK universities logos:



Reflection on the common denominator: The most prominent element in the logo is the ancient emblem. While only some present the full name, all have a distinguished design, representing ancient symbols of wisdom, knowledge, books or a Motto written in Latin. This is mostly a mediaeval style. A typical color combination includes some three colors.

The 1960s

During the 1960s, the UK government realized that a substantial increase in the number of universities is required to keep up with the high demand for a more qualified workforce, and to maintain a competitive edge over other countries. Many universities were established. Let us look at the logos of some of them:

Figure 5: 1960s Universities logos



* note - Brunel university is a conversion of a former college, thus the ‘traditional’ element of the logo.

Reflection on the Common denominator: Simplicity, ‘modern’ letters, sometimes the whole logo comprises only of letters, of the university name or its abbreviations. This is in line with the trend of pattern for including the organizational name in the logo as pointed out

by Glynn and Abzug (2002). The name may appear in full, supporting Olins' (1989) corporate identity theme of the importance of the name as part of the identity bond that individuals build with their organization (Glynn & Abzug, 2002). The style represents fairly modern 20th century principles. Coloring is simpler, with the typical shape including a single color, two at the most.

The 1992 Universities

In 1992, the UK government enabled a large number of polytechnics to re-position and re-name themselves as 'university', with the hope that these institutions will indeed be transformed into 'real' universities. It was required to manage a repositioning process in self-marketing (Belch & Belch, 2001). One of the first things to do for many former polytechnics was to change their name (and subsequently either amend an old logo or design a new one). Was this meant to follow the metaphor of pouring new wine to old bottles? What type of logos have these new universities chosen? Figure 6 presents a sample of these logos.

Figure 6: 1992s universities logos





Reflection on the common denominator: A clear attempt to reflect the fact that it is a university – almost all made sure that the word ‘University’ appears in the logo. Many added distinctive modern style symbols. In general they were trying to imitate the 1960s logo style rather than the old university ones as a role model.

Note:

There were some legal battles in dealing with protection of brand, as implied from Schmitt and Simonson (1997). Having the chance and option to choose a new name and new logo designed to reflect their new identity, many adopted names resembling the traditional university in the same area, in some cases provoking some legal issues of ownership of names. Former polytechnics have tried to build on established brands of traditional universities when changing their name and logo, and in many cases, added further identification to make sure there is a clear distinction between them and the local established university (e.g. Nottingham Trent University, to distinguish from Nottingham University; Sheffield Hallam University, to distinguish from Sheffield University; University of Central

Lancaster, to distinguish from University of Lancaster; and Leeds Metropolitan and Manchester Metropolitan University, to distinguish from Leeds/Manchester University.

The context to understand this relates to the legal field: the basic legislation suggests that organizations cannot use certain identity elements (including colors, names, symbols etc.) already in use by another organization “if such use would likely to cause confusion or mistakes in the marketplace ... or if such a use would misrepresent their products or services” (Schmitt & Simonson, 1997, p. 217). This was indeed the argument in the legal battle between UEA (University of East Anglia) and Anglia Polytechnic, ending with the latter using the name APU – Anglia Polytechnic University (the only one of the 1992 polytechnics that kept the label ‘polytechnic’ in its name).

Meaning – the message conveyed

It seems that there is a high level of resemblance of the symbolic logos within the three groups, which support Sevon’s argument of whether identity is distinctive or whether organizational identities are institutionally determined via processes of imitation (Sevon, 1996, in Hatch & Schultz, 2000). Indeed, university logos try first to generate the idea of university (thus the clear resemblance), and only then to find an individual distinction for the specific university.

What can be learned for each group in terms of (a) the message; (b) what it is reflecting on; and (c) how can it be interpreted, both positively and negatively?

For the ‘Old Universities’:

The message is... we are the privileged, for the privileged. We are the provider of wisdom. We are rooted in ancient time and well tested, have a tradition of creating new knowledge, and providing for its dissemination.

Reflecting on... Tradition, excellence, elitism, style.

Positive interpretation may relate to... the selected, nourishing future leaders, scholars, the next generation's elite. Negative interpretation can see... Snobbism, old boys network. The conflicting interpretations may be due to differences between internal and external perceptions.

For the 1960s Universities:

The message is... new, fresh wave; innovative; can do as well as the old. The future will see us competing on level ground. Reflecting on...real need for more universities; strong need for new perspectives and relationship to the current world. Positive interpretation may relate to... modern; inevitable development; competing as equals – and some of the 1960s universities went steadily along this route, overtaking many of the old universities in both research and teaching excellence (York and Warwick are fine examples for such achievements). Negative interpretation can see... on the one hand, the old university system may say: “well, wait a 100 or 500 years before you think you are a ‘real’ university”; on the other hand, what was innovative in the 1960s may not be so in 1990, 2000, 2010. The choice of style in shaping the logo is subject to fashion – and it is interesting to see how, at about the same period, the founders of SONY in Japan chose to use a combination of letters as a trademark, forming the actual logo from the name (Morita, 1987). This very same concept was applied by UEA, incidentally even using similar types of letters.

For the ‘New Universities’:

Having the label ‘university’ in the name is part of the building of an image and reputation (Fombrum & Shanley 1990), so, yes, the message is... “we too are ‘a university’”. Reflecting on...political ambitions and wish for growth, complying with a governmental vision, and fulfilling self-prescribed high aims. Positive interpretation may relate to... yes, it is possible – and some have indeed made a real effort to transform themselves from ‘teaching

only' institutions into learned, knowledge-creating universities. Negative interpretation can be... but whatever you do you are still a 'former poly', and again, a clear distinction may be made between internal vs. external perceptions of what they have achieved.

Before moving to the discussion I wish to emphasize that the differences in logos are accompanied by a wider distinction between the types of universities, most notably the level of performance of research and teaching (more so for the former), and certainly of the overall culture. Some of the differences are reflected in other artifacts too, such as architecture: old universities are mostly located in buildings dated back to mediaeval times, which have unique 'character' and distinct features, 1960s universities typically use the most advanced concepts of the time, thus the labeled "Red Brick" universities, whereas typical 1992s' universities are set in large, school-type, simple, functional buildings, which are usually dull, grey, non-imaginative and purpose-built. Even the geographical location can serve as an indicative: many of the 'old' university are located in city centers, the 1960s universities were typically built on the outskirts of mid-sized cities, and the 1992s' ones are likely to be situated in inner cities.

Thus, while in this chapter I limited myself to the issue of logos and business cards, I wish to acknowledge the wider perspective and components of the case in hand.

DISCUSSION

The case of UK universities' logos can be indicative of the importance and relevance of logos in general. Like other organizational artifacts, they form part of an identity creating system (Albert & Whetten, 1985; Olins, 1989; Scherer, 2003). They contribute to the development of the bond between the organization and its members (Pratt & Rafaeli, 2001), and represent the organization to the wider external environment (Cappetta & Gioia, this volume).

The same questions that Glynn and Marquis (this volume) ask in their chapter – "do individuals have preferences about how closely artifacts match the institutional environment,

and do such preferences affect individuals' perception of organizational legitimacy? -- can be asked about the logo. The re-branding of 1992 universities in the UK included re-naming and new logos designs, aimed specifically at changing the nature and perception of those former polytechnics, into institutions worthy of the title 'university'. However, sometimes the design of the logo was aimed at concealing the true nature of the organization – university in this case, with certain imperfections, in line with Strati and Guillet de Montoux's argument (2002) (see also Strati, this volume).

A mere change of name will not be sufficient to generate such a wide, comprehensive change, and needs to be accompanied by further changes. In fact, in many cases, the name will provide no further way to distinguish between organizations of similar nature, where the logo can provide such differentiation: The 'UL Bank' vs. 'LU Bank' will provoke the same feeling for people, be they organizational members or the general public. The logo, which carries certain rich figurative information, may say more about these institutions. Similarly, for a person not familiar with the UK academic environment, the following may mean the same: University of Bagnor; University of Keele; University of Humberside – but their logos will be distinct, and may provide the additional input of their nature (old, new, and former polytechnic, respectively).

Nevertheless, a change which is limited to an artifact level might be insufficient, and as both Schein (1985) and Hatch (1993) agree, symbols are just one element of a culture. To change the nature of an organization, much more than a mere change of name and logo is required. The question that may come to mind is: What would be easier – to change the culture of an existing organization or to create a new culture by building a new organization from scratch? It may be too early to say, but judging from the inevitable comparison, the 1960s 'wave' meant a creation and establishing of universities right from the start, with a university culture (and competition on an equal ground with the traditional establishment). The theme was "creating something new out of nothing". This was clearly a success story,

and within a few decades it is difficult to distinguish between most of the ‘old’ and the ‘1960s’ in many aspects, such as research and teaching quality, leading to a fair mix in a variety of UK ‘league tables’, (though a handful of ‘old’ universities, in particular Oxbridge, are clearly in a league of their own.)

As for the 1992 universities, these had to change from a culture of strictly teaching institutions into research lead institutions. A transformation was required, but the theme was different: “creating something new out of something old”. There was no equal ground for a fair competition. Lecturers were required to carry on with high teaching loads *and* to conduct research with insufficient research training, finance, etc., and thus to compete from a disadvantaged starting point. Despite being branded ‘universities’, a decade later, even the best of the 1992s universities are generally lagging behind the worst of the established ones in terms of research quality assessment. Some extreme cases: On the positive side: Oxford Brookes, which managed to establish a viable research culture albeit at a low starting point. On the negative side: Thames Valley University, which ‘managed’ to come typically at the bottom of most league tables. A more special case is that of University of Derby, who, with a good teaching tradition, managed to positively exploit their new status to expand overseas, becoming a world-wide leading institution (for teaching, mostly in management) with several subsidiary business schools outside the UK.

Further perspectives

How does the symbolism reflect or represent these three tiers of the university system? First, it is clear that the three layers of status inherited in the system are reflected and reinforced by a number of artifacts, most notably the logo. Unlike the case of fashion, where the use of symbolic artifacts is probably the most crucial element in constructing both identity and image (Cappetta & Gioia, this volume), in the academic system the symbolic artifacts are

used to reinforce a message, rather than embodying it. Nevertheless, like the case of the fashion industry, there is a somewhat clear ‘pecking order’ in the academic system.

Conclusions

The above analysis of the nature of logos is revealing. Nevertheless, one should remember that logos are just one artifact of the full picture of an organization’s symbols, artifacts and overall culture. The full picture is composed of elements of culture that are “in varying degrees interdependent, and there is convergence in the way they relate to the functional problems of integration, control, and commitment” (Pettigrew, 1979, p. 576). According to Schein’s (1985) analysis of cultural levels, artifacts are the ‘shallower’ level. Nevertheless, they are a crucial part of the organization, and deserve more than the little attention they have received so far in the literature (Gagliardi, 1990). That said, a certain realism should be incorporated in any such evaluation. Logos and other symbols are important, and need to accompany organizational changes, but they stay only within the level of symbols. If they do not represent the real nature of the organization, their impact will be limited.

Final Note

In this chapter I explored and analyzed logos as organizational symbolic artifacts. The literature dealing with such artifacts, and in particular with that of the logo (and other visual representations of organizations) is sparse. Moreover, it is spread around a variety of disciplines: management (especially within the sub-disciplines of organizational culture, impression management, and marketing), psychology, sociology, anthropology, and the media (from the aesthetics and art perspectives). Perhaps this is the reason why there is not yet a single comprehensive and coherent framework that deals with organizational symbolic artifacts in a just way.

The case of the UK university system manifests the relevance and significance of symbolic organizational artifacts. In particular, the logo is an organizational symbol that is relevant to our understanding of their role, and significance at several layers. These are the conscious vs. the unconscious, the individual vs. the organizational and society level, internal vs. external perspectives, the theoretical vs. the practical, and the differing time dimensions. All these were discussed in the literature review and were reflected in the visual data presented in this chapter.

The way artifacts such as logos, architecture, dress code and other boundary-spanning features work for organizations deserves further and in-depth investigation in management and organizational studies. I hope that future work will expand on both theory development and the practical implications of the role of symbolic artifacts in organizations.

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