INTRODUCTION

Business signage is an old art, originating with the first buyers and sellers, and decisions about what to include in signage to promote a business remain critical for financial success. Signage decisions are especially crucial for successful brand identity, and effective signage is essential to “mom and pop” businesses because the signs they place on and around their businesses represent their primary communication to court new customers.

The need for powerful signage to draw customers to small businesses has become even more urgent today as “big box” retailers such as Walmart, Target, and Home Depot, as well as online retailers like Amazon, have displaced customers and decreased revenue for small businesses, particularly when operating in the same industry or niche. Since the 1970s, big box stores have dramatically increased across the United States, and beginning in the 1990s, boutiques and small chain stores have also seen enormous expansion. The wake of this growth, the number of traditional local stores and services has declined greatly. As small businesses fall increasingly in the shadow of the big retailers, bold signage is critical for mom and pops to communicate products and services efficiently. Without an engaging surface presentation, a small store can blend into the background, allowing prospective buyers to pass by unaware and take their business elsewhere.

The survival and prosperity of mom and pop stores in the face of big box competition is important not only to the small business sector, but also to the communities these small businesses serve. “Mom and pop” is a colloquial term for small businesses that are family-owned (sometimes operated by both a mother and father, though either a man or woman may be the main proprietor), and the family’s children often work alongside their parents. Because mom and pops are typically found in lower- to mid-range socioeconomic geographies and can be found in both rural and...
urban areas, they are the establishments upon which many “long-term, lower class residents rely.” Despite the economic and social significance of mom and pops, professional designers may see only novelty in their signage. Such a superficial consideration consigns the design process behind mom and pop signs to the murky, neglected “narrative black box” described by Kazi-Tani and Valentin. In reality, however, small business owners are “actively participat(ing) in generating the content and quality of [their] experiences” through their signs.

Therefore, our purpose driving this research endeavor is clear. Understanding mom and pop signage more deeply presents designers, marketers, and business owners ample opportunities to learn from one another. There is currently an immense amount of waste in the commonly used disposable design approach. Through investigating the design decisions made by mom and pops, we expect to find a rich learning opportunity in terms of economically sound and sustainable practices that the design discipline should not overlook. As a reciprocal benefit to these mom and pop establishments, partnership with professional designers and marketers can help boost the success of small businesses through the application of industry best practices, which can subsequently increase economic vitality in the communities mom and pops serve.

MOM AND POP SIGNAGE: LEARNING BEYOND NOVELTY

Many small businesses cannot afford to hire out sign development to professionals. Instead, entrepreneurs typically use their own skills and resources to complete the work themselves, and scholars have noted the sustainability and authenticity of mom and pop on-premise signs. At the same time, the significance of this kind of “making do” can be slighted, perceived as the simple by-product of necessity or as novelty. Even worse, mom and pop signage may easily be read in a way that perpetuates stereotypes about small businesses and their customers, albeit unintentionally. Prior to even considering a sign’s iconography, a viewer could readily assume that the general nonprofessional appearance of mom and pop signage reflects the low socioeconomic status and education level of business owners and customers. It is essential to avoid such assumptions to gain a full understanding of mom and pop signage. Indeed, as Lupton reminds us, there are no defined markers for what should be considered true “design”—the categories of high and low in design are relative. The design field needs to more fully examine and understand the role “spontaneous and unpretentious voices” have played in its evolution, and the study of mom and pop signage from new perspectives that look beyond novelty and class stereotypes promises many opportunities.

HYPOTHESIS ONE: SUSTAINABILITY IN DESIGN

Sustainable design refrains from harming the environment, or actively improves it. This model of sustainability appears frequently in contemporary design literature, and we expect to see sustainability surface by necessity, rather than premeditated choice, in mom and pop signage. Frequently, small business owners are forced to be resourceful because of budget constraints and therefore reuse and repurpose materials in a highly sustainable way. Making a virtue of necessity, this application of creative problem solving for financial reasons becomes a wellspring of sustainability. Indeed, the strategies mom and pops employ in their design choices correspond closely to the American Institute of Graphic Arts’ Living Principles for Design, a roadmap for sustainable design that includes such prompts as: “What is the expected life span of the artifact? Can it be extended? What other use could this artifact have? Can the artifact be easily repaired and reused? Can it be upgraded?” Though most small business owners presumably do not consciously and systematically follow a sustainable design process, their works nevertheless evidence core principles of sustainable design. Therefore, we hypothesize that sustainability will be a principal theme found in our analysis.

HYPOTHESIS TWO: AUTHENTICITY AND HUMANITY IN DESIGN

A design may be considered “authentic” or have a visible connection to “humanity” when viewers can see evidence of the human hand or human decision-making in the design artifact. There is a unique and clear fingerprint of the artist in authentic design—the antithesis of mass-produced signage. This is similar to the Japanese concept of “yubiato,” where one may see the literal fingerprint of the artist in a final, created piece of pottery. This doesn’t necessarily mean that signage is...
hand lettered, but the design process clearly evinces freedom in decision-making. As we explore the process of mom and pop signage creation, with signage typically produced by the business owner, we expect to find the theme of authenticity in our analysis.

Gee’s Bend quilts, a prominent example of authenticity in design, started from the humblest origins, but over the years have been elevated to the realms of high art as admiring historians and scholars like William Arnett have publicized their designs widely, and commercial galleries have sought them out.\textsuperscript{10} Their designs emerged from necessity, using materials that were readily available, yet each quilter had their own voice and authorship in the creative process. “Their freedom and variety are, in part, how they came to hang on gallery walls.”\textsuperscript{11}

A more overt attempt to translate “authentic” design into mass branding elements is exemplified by the “hillbilly” branding visible in the Gatlinburg and Pigeon Forge areas of East Tennessee. In this work, the cultural identity of the hillbilly archetype is used as a reference in many branding decisions.\textsuperscript{12} Exaggerated imperfections such as crooked lettering, offset type, rough edges, and misspelled words reflect a forthrightly factitious reflection of “authentic” hillbilly culture. Such images may reinforce negative cultural stereotypes, particularly regarding low education.\textsuperscript{13} Nevertheless, those markers of rustic authenticity remain a powerful resource for rural small businesses.

\textbf{Figure 1} / Pieced Quilt c. 1979 by Lucy Mingo of Gee’s Bend, Alabama. (Billvolckening, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Pieced_Quilt_c._1979_by_Lucy_Mingo_of_Gee_s_Bend_Alabama.JPG#file)  
https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/legalcode
To create their own commercially successful signage, mom and pops may then draw on a continuum of images. On one end, business owners may cannily synthesize organic aesthetic traditions, like the forms exemplified by Gee’s Bend quilts. Others may purposely invoke elements of faux-authenticity, like we see in the Gatlinburg and Pigeon Forge signage examples (Figure 2). As evidenced here, both organic and faux-authenticity can be used to drive successful patron and customer engagement.

METHODS

In an effort to better understand signage decisions by Southeastern small businesses, the authors completed a case series report using two complementary methodological approaches. First, each author completed an autoethnographic account of her own lived experience with this subject matter and then analyzed her experience in relation to what she viewed, employing a highly reflexive approach. Second, they together completed a case series content analysis of small business signage from 2013 to the present from both urban and rural areas on the outskirts of mid-size Southern cities, employing a Visual Grounded Theory Methods approach.

Autoethnography is a process keenly focused on reflexivity and the interactions between the self and the social in understanding any phenomena. The method acknowledges that no researcher is without their own lived experience, and as such, cannot truly enter a phenomenological study as a “blank slate.” Therefore, the key to deeper understanding is to acknowledge these inherent experiences and perceptions we bring to our work. Rather than creating bias, this process acknowledges past experiences that may enable us to more deeply understand the objects of our study as “cultural insiders.” Though the authors of this study are not currently “complete members” of the group being studied, they are either from or have spent a considerable amount of their lives in and studying the Appalachian and Southeastern U.S. region. In addition, both spent their formative years in blue collar families in which they were repeatedly exposed to this type of signage. Finally, both currently study how brands communicate through effective design.

The application of Grounded Theory Methods (GTM) to visual cultural artifacts (VGMT) is a newer methodological development in the history...
of GTM. Mey and Dietrich\textsuperscript{17} summarize much of the foundational work in this area. We have followed their suggested approach in our coding (heavily referencing Konecki’s 2011 work) of “reconstructing the layers of meaning of an image from its context of production and reception,” considering “the explicit requirements for the researcher's image analysis as well as implicit assumptions of the interpretation of the image,” through our autoethnographic reflexive approach, and considering the “sociocultural analysis of the image context.”\textsuperscript{18} This work underscores Glaser and Strauss’s original intent for the methodology, which stresses that “all is data.”\textsuperscript{19} We completed many of their suggested steps including contextualization, description, segmentation, coding, interpretation, category (theme) formation, sampling, and constant comparison in our work.\textsuperscript{20}

METHOD ONE: AUTOETHNOGRAPHIC REFLECTION

Author One

“I grew up in rural Mississippi. My first introduction to design was a sign on the outside of my Pop’s shop, which was on the same property as the house I lived in. My Pop was a country mechanic. He hand painted the sign on the masthead of his garage. Given the close proximity to my Pop’s shop, I spent quite a bit of time in the office with my Granny who ran the books. I observed the interactions from an internal view, but also from what was perceived as the “feminine” side of the business.

“My dad followed in the same genre of work as my Pop. He was a traveling tire salesperson for more than a decade between the 70s and 80s. I got my name from Kelly Springfield tires. We would travel across the Southeast with tires piled higher than the cab of his truck. Most of the clientele were located in rural or isolated towns and non-metropolitan areas. These backroads were peppered with mom and pop businesses, many of whom created their own signs just like my Pop.

“A majority of these deep-south communities had more equal levels of diversity between blacks and whites. In my child’s mind, I made no distinction between black or white business owners, though now as an adult I am sensitive to the differences and unique challenges and struggles that these business owners faced based on both race and class.

“After obtaining my degree in Graphic Design, I worked in the industry designing for Ryobi Power Tools, The B.B. King Museum, and Mississippi Delta tourism. In this capacity, living deep in the Mississippi Delta, known simultaneously for its poverty and creativity, I was surrounded by local businesses that survived using their own innovation and self-taught abilities to create their brand identities and communications. In grad school, I revisited my roots and began to study these humble signs through the lens of visual literacy and with a more critical thinking approach.”

Author Two

“I was raised in the mountains of East Tennessee. I come from a blue collar family, grew up on the more rural edges of a small city, and was the first in my family to go to college. I remember as a child driving on backroads and seeing signs for “strawberries,” “fresh eggs,” “apples,” “honey,” and “hay for sale.” Growing up, my father’s family also owned a Christmas tree farm, and I recall the handmade signs touting the different prices of trees and wreaths by height and size as I would sit and help my grandmother make wreaths.

“As an adult, I reflect now on ways my socioeconomic status, urbanicity, race, and gender affected my childhood experiences and my current perceptions. I realize that I was exposed early on to ways that men and women were expected to take leadership in small businesses when working together as “mom” and “pop”—as my grandparents modeled both on the farm and also as they ran a small store in the community. Living in a predominantly white area, I also came to wonder how these experiences might differ in areas with greater racial and ethnic diversity. Growing up in a more rural area, I also recognize that the types of business signage I was exposed to as a child were likely very different than those in a more urban environment—though some design elements likely carried across environments.

“As I grew older and entered professional employment, I continued to be very interested in how brands visually communicated. Some of my own professional work involved researching brand imagery with the goal
of understanding what these visual manifestations conveyed to potential customers. I have since returned to my hometown and am teaching in the regional university, conveying experiences from my years working for Fortune 500 organizations to my students. In this transition, I was curious to learn how my experiences to date (both professional and academic) might help the traditional mom and pop businesses that still abound in the area today.”

METHOD TWO: VGTM CONTENT ANALYSIS

Sample Selection

To define the cross section of 112 images of signage included in this study, it is necessary to note that all signs were created by non-professionals (i.e., amateurs) and could be considered the equivalent of outsider or folk art. Most came from less-affluent areas across the Southeastern United States. In outward appearance, they may appear to be constructed hastily without adherence to a brand standard and with obvious imperfections. The substrates used range from wood, to vinyl, to glass and other materials, including existing architecture. The materials may include house paint, spray paint, duct tape, markers, and lettering stencils. The geographical areas sampled included urban and rural areas on the outskirts of mid-size Southern cities including Knoxville, Sevierville, and Johnson City, Tennessee, and Hattiesburg, Mississippi.

ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

The authors reviewed all images in the contexts of “production and reception,” assumptions of our own interpretation, and the “sociocultural” context of the images. This required us to reference learnings from our autoethnographic process including both our contexts of reception (i.e., our own race, gender, socioeconomic status, and urbanicity) and what we could deduce regarding cultural contexts of production (i.e., urbanicity, and some inferences regarding size of business and income). In the coding process, we reviewed each image and made field notes containing our thoughts on what we were observing. We separately noted our observations on signage aspects such as materiality, methods of construction, color, font styles, location/signage placement, etc., and then coded and classified images considering this context. We then discussed our findings together, aligning on possible themes, connections, and meanings. In this way, we identified three common themes.

As with all good applications of grounded theory methods, we followed where the data led us in analysis despite the initial hypotheses we brought to the table. In this process, the theme of authenticity appeared, as expected in our hypotheses, but we also found two additional, prominent themes: radical resourcefulness, which eclipsed the hypothesized sustainability theme, and amateur aesthetic, which elevates the amateur to expert. Each of these themes is discussed below with associated examples. It should also be noted that many of the images displayed concurrent themes but were selected as clear examples of a predominant one.

Theme One: Radical Resourcefulness

These signs displayed radical resourcefulness, providing a dramatic shift in which materials are renewed, reused, and given a prolonged life by the maker, bringing an artifact to the extremes of usage. This theme partially supported hypothesis one regarding sustainability, as this sustainable approach lies in stark contrast to the disposable nature of much mass-produced signage, but also pushes far beyond mere sustainability.

In Figure 3, a previously printed banner is now customized with new information. This type of signage is meant for temporary use, but these banners have a lifespan far longer than the relevance of the information they convey. Rather than replace the sign, the sign maker updated it with materials most democratic—Sharpie markers, tape, and paint—to meet changing communication needs. The revision retains the portion of the original message that is still relevant while saving on material use. Additionally, the back of the banner is still blank and preserves its potential for additional messaging in the future.

Figure 4 exemplifies the small business owner’s extension of the lifespan of their plastic letter board signage by replacing missing letters using paper cutouts and lamination. The lettering was clearly legible, and from the distance of the roadside, appeared to match the scale and design of the existing letters.

Each of these signs illustrates the kinds of innovative, exigent design decisions non-professional sign makers...
Figure 3 / Reconfiguring a previously printed commercial banner to display updated messaging. (Image provided by author.)

Figure 4 / Extending the lifespan of their formed plastic letter signage by creating temporary lettering. (Images provided by author.)

Figure 5 / Reuse of a more permanent wood substrate material for a temporary sign. (Images provided by author.)
execute in the field. When we think of signage materials it is typically in three categories: temporal (cardboard, poster board, paper, tape, markers), semi-permanent (vinyl, spray paint, corrugated plastic), and permanent (wood, brick, metal). Many times, however, the resourceful amateur will go against these “rules” and use a temporary material for a permanent sign or a permanent material for temporary messages, as shown in Figure 5. Professional designers have many opportunities to appreciate and learn from this smart and sustainable approach.

**Theme Two: Authenticity and Humanity**

This theme supported hypothesis two regarding authenticity and humanity. Each artist or designer brings their personal life experiences into the creation of a new artifact. When the artist’s hand is present in production, there is evidence of their own humanity that cannot be easily replicated in machine fabrication. The resultant authenticity and humanity in handmade signs contributes to their ultimate affect. (See Figure 6.) “[N]on-corporate, non-designed vernacular” displays a “visual slang that is invented, not taught,” resulting in work that has an “unfiltered, emotional directness”.

In addition to humanity, handmade signs reveal compelling narrative. A viewer can trace when decisions were made and perceive the evidence revealing how, as circumstances shifted, the intervening human hand reconfigured the original design. In the examples in Figure 7, one can discern clearly the marks of interventions when times, locations, or products for sale may have changed over time.

**Theme Three: Amateur Aesthetic**

This was a discovered theme which was not predicted in our initial hypotheses. Non-professionally manufactured signs exemplify visual communication problem solving without the influence or intervention of a trained designer. All of the signs are intended to serve a direct need of the
business, i.e., the communication of information about goods and services offered at the location. The signs use smart, attention-getting color palettes, direct language, and, at times, the actual goods for sale to achieve this primary goal. Choices about materials were purely functional, without visual consistency, but they handily met the businesses’ communication needs nonetheless. Though these examples may not have the stylistic sophistication that a trained designer would feel comfortable with, their techniques and materials are certainly valuable objects of study and inspiration.

Judged strictly from a craftsmanship perspective, the signs would not be awarded design recognition according to industry standards. Even so, as Beegan and Atkinson\textsuperscript{23} suggest, “amateurs develop ways of working and aesthetics that are outside those approved by the experts and in doing so, they can act as models for a revised professional practice.” Moving beyond considering the visual charm—or offense—resulting from amateur aesthetics and creative processes, we have found diverse learning opportunities in the study of these artifacts. Keeping in view Lupton’s discourse on high and low design,\textsuperscript{24} we stress the utility of breaking boundaries to illuminate the educational uses of design sources. We are also
guided by Cubitt’s similar discussion of the opportunity to learn from the "Amateur Aesthetic," a term applied to untrained "designers" who will “transform every material, to show respect through manipulating and changing what comes to hand, seizing a technology, a technique, a shape or melody or image and making it anew.”

In Figure 8, we see how the business owner has taken advantage of the raw materials available and creatively repurposed the product itself as the actual signage for the business. The reuse of old materials (which would likely not be resold) is doubly clever, as it also directly communicates the product available for purchase. In addition, the signage is easy to maintain and draws attention based on both its size and the surprising use of the product. Such imaginative use of stock in trade tap into the business owner’s experience, and it is something an outside designer might not consider at all.

LIMITATIONS/CONSIDERATIONS/AREAS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This study utilized a convenience sample of 112 photographs of signage from 2013 to 2018 from two regions in the Southeastern United States. Though the geographical area for analysis was limited, the authors feel these results are at least somewhat generalizable to the category of mom and pop small business signage. The inclusion of examples from both rural and urban areas were included to increase generalizability. However, a broader geographic and cultural view could provide greater insight into this area of design.

This study is also qualitative in nature, using methods of both autoethnography and VGTM as a combined approach to analysis. It is important to note that critics of autoethnography as a methodological approach have asserted it is not empirical in nature. We feel, however, that though autoethnography does not have the same capacities and benefits as quantitative methods, it is essential to frame our understanding of the data we analyze within the contextual environments of our individual and shared experiences as authors. Both authors were raised in blue collar homes, where values of hard work, entrepreneurship, and creative problem solving were honored, and frequently required, by the exigencies of life. This is but one factor which may affect how we see the world over time and also analyze data, including the significance we have given to the signage analyzed in this study. We thus believe that it is important to both acknowledge and reflectively analyze our experiences. Though the authors feel that both methods used in this study are appropriate considering our research goals, our results are not generalizable to all small businesses.

Related to the process of reflexivity in autoethnography is the way our analysis applied VGTM and autoethnographic methods to many of the authors’ own photographs. In the composition of the photographic images themselves, we chose to highlight aspects of the images that other viewers might not emphasize. Each of the hallmarks of our photos—presenting signage comprising the full space of the shot, portraying colors in their full vibrancy, and ensuring the high definition of the images themselves—accords respect to its subject, a commitment in part influenced by the authors’ own heritage and intended to acknowledge the work that goes into the creation of such signage. This may be perceived as bias, but through reflexive discourse we can understand and defend the reasons for our decisions and articulate why we believe they are important to analysis.

In this stage of research, we focused on the content itself—the “mom and pop” signage. We did not, however, complete a conversation with those who actually created the signs. It would be beneficial to more thoroughly understand their motivations for sign creation, rationales for decision-making, and perceptions of the finished products, including perceptions of effectiveness. For example, being white, middle-class women, we do not claim to have a deep understanding of black-owned small businesses and associated cultural influences on the creation of their signage. The influence of demographic and cultural factors and how signage may differ accordingly is something we wish to investigate in future stages of our work.

Additionally, it would be helpful to understand how these small businesses are (or are not) making the leap into digital marketing. How do they determine whether or not to have an online brand presence, and how does this connect (or not connect) to their on-premise signage? How does the size and revenue of their business also influence this decision (i.e., do we
see a theme of “radical resourcefulness” appearing repeatedly in the digital space?) Again, the authors are planning future stages of this research to more thoroughly investigate these research questions.

DISCUSSION/RECOMMENDATIONS FOR TEACHING AND SERVICE

While acknowledging limitations and noting the need for future study, the authors aver that the findings of the present study indicate teaching and service opportunities that may be immediately considered and implemented. From an ethnographic perspective, we can use mom and pop signs (readily available in both urban and rural areas) to educate our students about the principles of radical resourcefulness, authenticity, humanity, and amateur aesthetic. One such assignment might include a “scavenger hunt” asking students to embark on a mission to photograph and then analyze and discuss at least five local mom and pop businesses’ signs.

Considering service possibilities brought to light by our study, we have found that small businesses are typically very open to partnership opportunities and welcome the benefits of student and faculty subject area expertise. Thus, student teams could be created to evolve signage in collaboration

Figure 9 / Bringing “Radical Resourcefulness” into the classroom. (Images provided by author.)
with small business owners in ways that adhere to the principles of radical resourcefulness, authenticity, humanity, and amateur aesthetic. Teams would work to create standardized signage that builds on the business’s current aesthetic approach and reaches out to customers in innovative ways, but still maintains a commitment to the core brand identity of the business. In this spirit of co-creation, the non-designer business owner acts as the “designer,” while the student-designer becomes the translator.26

Using the classroom as a lab, one author tested such a collaborative approach by partnering with the campus Department of Sustainability, addressing the design problem, “How can we raise awareness of eating local food in a campus that is a sea of printed propaganda?” The students designed a carnival-type event that coincided with the campus farmers’ market. Communicating the department’s culture and purposefully pursuing its goals of sustainability and education, the students’ work repurposed available materials in the spirit of radical resourcefulness and authenticity. Instead of the hardware store, the students went to campus surplus and found materials they could deconstruct and repurpose. They also collected remnant paints and used them to mix a custom palette. (See Figure 9.)

This farmers’ market drew more crowds, and ones who lingered longer, than such events in previous semesters. Because the students designed each project item to fold and store flat, the Department of Sustainability easily reused the pieces for other occasions. The success of this event—increasing visitor participation and satisfaction while deftly applying the core principles of sustainable design—illuminates rich possibilities of collaboration between design students and mom and pop businesses. Students develop design skills, but perhaps more importantly, they also learn to articulate and activate their commitments to an ethos of sustainability in their work. At the same time, financially constrained small businesses reap the material benefits of innovative sustainable design, employing radical resourcefulness to capitalize on the value of their own repurposed materials and building upon the authenticity, humanity, and amateur aesthetic in which they are already well versed. Thus, business owners may leverage the innovations brought by student translators to magnify the power of their signage, increasing business to attain their ultimate objective—sustainable prosperity.

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