

THE VERNACULAR TYPOGRAPHY OF STREET VENDOR : MIGRANT CULTURAL IDENTITY IN SURABAYA

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Abstract : street vendors in Surabaya is part of the informal sector enterprises undertaken by migrants . The presence of migrant street vendors are often considered to reduce the beauty of the city as it occupies land that was not his . Nevertheless PKL recognized role in supporting the economy of the city . It is interesting marking the presence of street vendors stalls filled expanse design writing large and strikingly memorable . At night cover of stalls more visible because of the lighting in the shop , consequently writing the name of the shop striking . All vendors have this marker therefore typography on the stalls of street vendors into their identity . This design is called vernacular since birth and made by those involved in the activity itself vendors to meet the needs mereka. Tipografi cover of street vendors is a major element of the vernacular typography become a major topic of research . Visual culture that is very typical street vendors displayed because it is not found in other promotional media . It became an interesting phenomenon in terms of how their presence in the city that always dealing with city government officials . In the control condition was always a target they have developed a unique way of selling through writing on shop display . Hence this visual phenomenon will be studied as a cultural artifact by using visual methodology approach offered Gillian Rose , site of the image . Interesting side street vendors are believed to relate to the existence of design in the cover , then this visual phenomenon will also be approached by site of production , using discourse analysis of Foucault . This study shows that the stall vendors typography created by street vendors and artists collaborations . They are migrants who are both working in the informal sector to survive in the vernacular Surabaya. Tipografi developed is the result of adaptation to the Latin alphabet . Adaptation is known as one of the ways migrants survive . Pressure authorities and vendors need to exist has given rise to the formation of the letters are decorative and attractive as their identity . This is the hallmark of vernacular typography street vendors .

Keywords : street vendors , vernacular typography , visual culture , migrant

Street Vendor In Surabaya

Special stalls of street vendors (named as PKL) who sell food and drinks in Surabaya are easily found in many corners of the city. Most of them occupy the sidewalk or shoulder of the road which is actually intended for pedestrians. The street vendors selling from morning until night, and some open nearly 24 hours. A large number of street vendors in Surabaya shows a high public interest. PKL also has an important role in urban culture at Surabaya. Although the size of the PKL building tend to be small and cramped, it has become a medium of information that is typical and nowadays fighting with many kind of media informations to grab public attention. They have atrack public attention through their vendors cover list food menu in striking color. PKL buildings marked forms of expression that shows the graphic design realm of visual art. Sunarto, a scholar and practitioner of design, as quoted by Rustan (2010: i), emphasizing that the existence of street vendors stall proper to be tourist destination not only because of its existence as a small shop but more over it has its own artistic value. Construction of street vendors in Surabaya generally consists of iron poles, wooden or bamboo beams. Those materials are arranged in such a way to be able to support the tents that serves as a roof and cover. There are two models cover design stall that stand out. The first is the text and images generated by manual painting on fabric and the second is the text and images generated by digital printing process on vinyl.

Generally the stall design showed pictures of food menu, along with large font and dominates the whole fabric. So the PKL cover has functions as a menu list as well as sign board. Each stall has at least 3-4 pieces of cover that surrounds almost all sides of the stall. Therefore buyers who ate at the food stalls as if being surrounded by promotion media. That typical design was shown in all existing roadside stall at Surabaya.

PKL is important for Surabaya people for its ability to lure buyers from all levels of society. From times to times the street vendors have various experience of pressures. Economic instability experienced by the state directly or indirectly impact on their work cause they had to make adjustments in order to exist. In connection with the government's development policy, repeatedly they do dicipline toward street vendor. Eventhough, the control of the street vendor is a regular agenda, but the street vendors can never be completely removed from the presence of the city. Their action was moving from one place to another to avoid the government officials eventhough just for a while, and they will come back to sell at the same

place, as soon as possible, related to the assumption that the area was a profitable place. Those condition had contributed to shape PKL mobile stalls as it is today.

PKL has been considered as a social phenomenon that shows the existence of a unique visual culture. How migrant communities in Surabaya develops visual culture through street vendors stall becomes topic discussion, but the main focus is vernacular typography. How those design shapes visual culture identity of migrants in Surabaya.

Visual culture analysis in this research is using the Gillian Rose perspectives. these are site of image itself and site of production (Rachmaida 2012:43). Those two perspectives are great base for seeing the phenomenon as part of the design of the urban cultural phenomenon and subsequent discussion will focus on a production area that allows researchers to observes and interpretes the visual object in a wider context. What, who, where, why, when, and how the visual forms produced by a group of people and have meaning for those who are involved.

Surabaya it self is a metropolitan city and also a second largest city in Indonesia. Originally Surabaya was formed from a collection of villages (Hidayat 2010). The existence of the village was scattered in all parts of the city until now. These situation made Surabaya has a distinctive identity.

In Surabaya especially at villages area there is the urban poor population residing migrants who came from different regions. Most of them work in the informal sector, such as a street vendor who selling food and drinks. These profession have a low level of business security because they are often being the target of curbing abuse of authority, related to the uses of public spaces (Romdiati et al. 2007: 51-53).

Now, Surabaya has PKL centres whose set by city government for the food vendors with registration certificate. Such vendors are protected because they consider provide the community food for affordable selling price (Raperda No. 17, 2003, item b). But the biggest vendors in Surabaya are not registered yet. They do not have any license and usually occupying public areas that are restricted areas. They often have to deal with the municipal police, the agency who responsible for law enforcement. Therefore the street vendors equipment are mobile makes them easy move or simply avoid police officers. However, their presence seemingly are not decrease.

Basic of government policy towards street vendors are as set out in Surabaya Regulation No. 17 of 2003 concerning Settlement and Empowerment of Street Vendors. The first point is that the government saw the number of street vendors in Surabaya has been disruption to traffic movement, aesthetics and cleanliness of the city and city environmental infrastructure functions. Therefore the next point mentioned a necessary of empowering the informal sector in order to support the growth of the society economy such as provide public food for a relatively affordable price. The empowerment goals is that the street vendors have protection in doing bussines and create a harmonization between the street vendors with the city environment.

Visual Culture Manifestation

Graphic design is one form of culture based on the definition proposed by Kontjaraningrat. In line with Talcott Parsons, Kontjaraningrat defines culture as a course of action and human activity pattern (Koentjaraningrat 2002: 186). There are three cultural phenomenon that are, 1) the ideas, 2) the activities, 3) the artifacts. The third form is an interrelated social life. For example, the idea or ideas will produce a certain action, then also can produce a culture that is physical or material. Instead of physical culture can shape a particular environment which in turn will affect and determine patterns of human action, also change the way of thinks (188). Every society has norms and values that are related to being a form of social concepts and considered ideal which drives individual direction as part of a cultural community (190).

Visual culture is an area of research that focuses on visual images as well as the process in which meaning is produced within a social and cultural context (Dikovitskaya 2006: 1). Visual culture can be seen from many sides. One is being

viewed by Nicholas Mirzoeff (1998), he saw visual culture as an important subject that has historical value, based on the knowledge that continues to change shape and also influence the relationship with certain facts in the modern world. That an image appears to be dialectical, because it demonstrated the relationship between the present and the past, or a certain time period in which it represented. According to Mirzoeff, most of our visual experience based on when and how we encounter it. So, visual culture is talking about how someone interprets something, and that it is obtained through how he consumes mass culture through his daily experience (7). Understanding visual culture can be start from understanding the object representation and the subject interpretant.

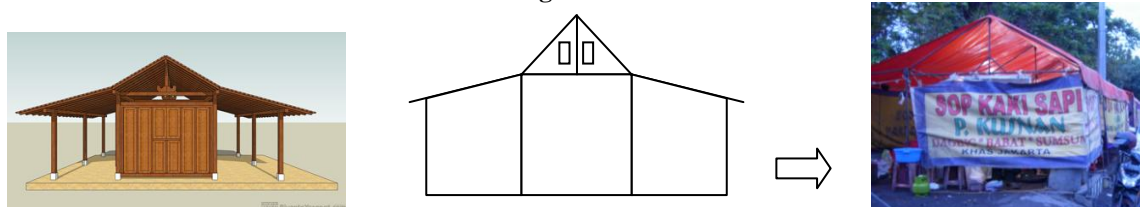
This research study area related on the cultural phenomenon that occurred in Surabaya, that has a high dynamics of urban problems. In this research the object is the types found on PKL stall. The functional value and aesthetic value translate a condition that is implied in a verbal communication. It effectiveness depends on the medium and composition especially when combines with other visual elements such as illustrations, photos or colors. Size and proportion of typography will greatly affect the messages. So all element that creates a letter is a visual expression that has a special meaning. When typography is arranged to form words and then forming sentences with a particular language structure, this can be readable for other people (Sihombing 58-59).

Design as a visual discourse is assessed based on Foucault perspective that all humans are related to the results of a particular process (being produced) and all subjectivity is currently the construction process than previously experienced (Rose, 2012: 189). There is a level of reality that seems to have been standard up to be the identity. Through discourse analysis can be known the power model of an institutions that have established the role of subjectivity and how knowledge is acquired and subsequently submitted to the truth value for the community. The area of production and reproduction of knowledge and the truth value which is circulated to many people depends on how knowledge and truth was delivered. Knowledge and truth are considered the property of an authority, and the power is everywhere (omnipresent), at all levels, and is expressed through relationships that is created to support it. Power itself operates through a variety of knowledge construction (Eriyanto 71). In other words, the truth depends on who is delivering or producing it. Received the truth finally come construct knowledge that helped shape the identity of the recipient.

PKL as Representation of Java Culture

Phisically the Javanese culture found on the street vendors groups position, lined up and faced each other like forms of villages in Java (Koentjaraningrat 331). PKLs' building form also shows the adaptation of the non aristocrat Javanese class namely Serotong or Srotong (333) . According to Heinz Frick (2001) construction of the roof on the traditional Javanese house show social position occupants (133).

Picture Serotong House and PKL Stall



(source : Koentjaraningrat 2007: 333 & source: author's documentation)

Furthermore the way of living as PKL shown a Javanese cultural philosophy which are characterize in Javanese aspects of live, those are : 1) Food : Eating activity for Javanese people means balancing the cosmos, so they have to be in a relaxing atmosphere with soft lighting. 2) Clothing : In Javanese philosophy people have to cover them selves when they are eating, therefore the PKL stalls are always covered by fabrics. This becomes their identity. 3) Housing : PKL stalls represent Javanese people's house, which is in the form of 'Serotong' (*Java : building=serotong, Gadri =private*)

Javanese people in their hometown usually lives in group, this habit is shown in the PKL area in Surabaya. The PKL location on the side walk uses as their temporary shelter is usually consist of several PKL. Because of their limited capital they created a unique covering fabric, which functions as protection and identity as well.

PKL, Profiles and Authority Relations as part of Urban Society

Most of Surabayas' migrant works in the informal sector. They are called as temporary migrants and they do not have Seasonal Resident Identity Card (KIPEM). Most migrants came from East Java area such as Gresik, Bangkalan, Mojokerto, Pasuruan, and Lamongan, especially from the village, as many as 95 percent (Romdiati , et al . 2007: 56-59). During stay in Surabaya they lives in rural area. Those migrants have an attachment to their hometown and usually make them members of their own ethnic community at the city. It is difficult to integrate with the urban culture and ultimately alienate them from the culture of Surabaya (151-152). That condition makes Surabaya face vary widely.

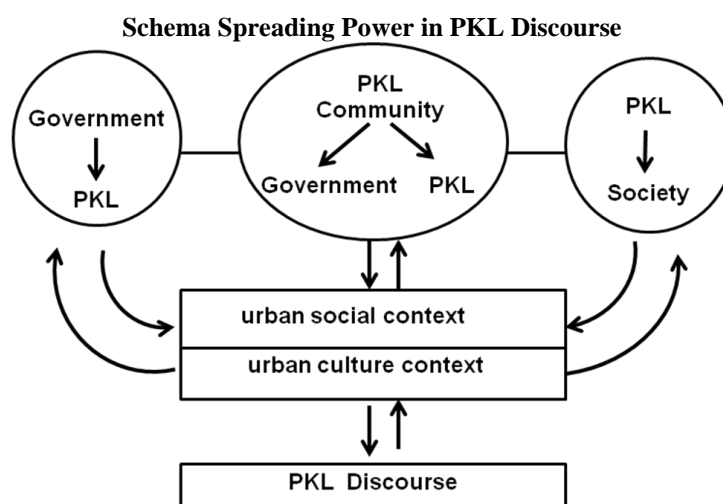
There is a modern metropolis filled with lots of tall buildings, or luxury residential complex side by side with disadvantaged areas, while each of these groups develop their own culture. However the government acknowledged this mixture has been mutually supporting economic activity in Surabaya.

Usually street vendors in Surabaya occupy border road without Government permission. Only some of them have legal licenses. Sometimes they occupy the space adjacent to the drainage as seen in Nginden and Jemur area. They also occupy the pavement as shown in Menur street. This place is a permitted by municipal government only for temporary use. Nevertheless in that area found street vendors have survived for more than 10 years. Related to the migrants live style as a street vendor, their focus attention are mostly at the front of the stall. They have less attention surrounding their environment as shown on Dharma Husada region, the front side looks neat but not so with the back side. It was one of caution PKL had a negative image in the perspective of Surabaya Government.

These situation generates a condition such as becoming a squeezed object of informal authorities. Those vendor don't have any power to protect them self even to know what are their rights. Through several interviews found that there are always a feeling of oppression and insecure. This condition stimulate PKL creates an informal organization who could bring their aspirations to the government so every area of street vendors has a community (Paguyuban PKL) and a leader. They are doing negotiation with the government for location permission or to administer the vendors license, but the other problem is sometimes the leader act as a government representative for their own benefit. Another kind of oppression is every day they often asked for money for various reasons by various actors who are considered their authority. Those payment is perceived by vendors as a mandatory contribution to security fees and permissions occupy locations fees.

The fact is until 2012 there has been no retribution governing legislation for street vendors. Officially the City Government did not collect any fees from the vendors, because they are considered as economic agents. Toward the case of street vendors increasing in Surabaya, municipal police are always restraint their spreading especially while occupy public areas. The main task of municipal police (called Satpol in Indonesia language) is to control the PKL activities. Due to the existence of the city they have been considered the most disturbing security and order, so that the vendors continue to be the target of law enforcement.

Therefore, spreading power within street vendors had involve government, PKL association and society. It has been grows up certainty as well as economy motivation to survive. It also creates a kind of truth among street vendor. As a visual culture, their stall artefact assumed was developed by groups of people that are migrants community. By the mobile stall and the fabric cover with those large fonts menu and picture in striking color they attract buyers attention. It is a distinctive identity especially when compared with other eating places like restaurants. They have develop a special vernacular typography. Therefore it can be concluded that PKL is one of cultural discourse that shows persistent effort to survive in urban area.

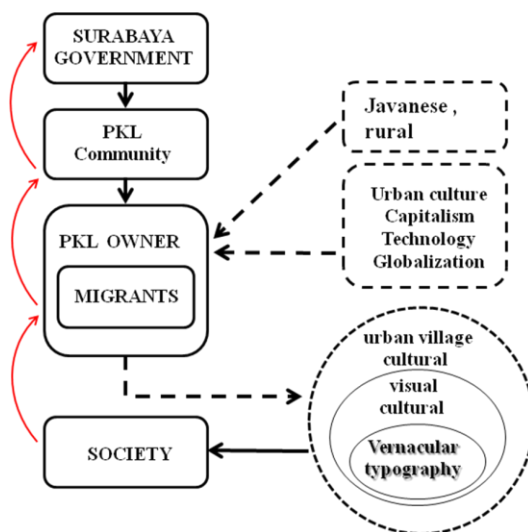


Vernacular Typography on Sreet Vendor in Surabaya

English Dictionary defines vernacular as distinctive local language used in a particular community. Derived from the Latin vernacular 'vernaculus', used in the early 17th century, which means domestic, native. A terminology informal language (dialect) used by certain groups to interact (oxforddictionaries.com) . Based on the second definition above it can be concluded that the design vernacular means a work of art that is domestic, which live and thrive in a community group. Then it can be interpreted as a vernacular typography letter form that develop in certain communities that used

by, and for their interests. Therefore on PKL vernacular typography can be referred to the communities identities. Vernacular art producing done freely, not constrained by any scientific theory. In the sense that vernacular typography on cover street vendor stalls understood .

Schema Street Vendor Vernacular Typography



PKL cover designs that seem simple without much ornamentation. All sides are dominated by fonts. The stall cover consist of the foods name and, or without the stall owners name. Sometimes it shows food drawings or paintings of varieties foods such as fish or chicken. Type of writing on a cover of stalls can be identified as follows :

1 . Foods name

Examples : ‘Nasi Bebek & Tempe Penyet’, ‘Soto Ayam Lamongan’, ‘Sate Kambing khas Jakarta’, etc.

2 . Stalls name

Example : ‘Sari Laut’, ‘Warung Jaya Abadi’, ‘Mr. Mustache’, etc

3 . Owner name

Example : ‘Cak Yadi’, ‘Cak Hary’.

4 . Supplementary information

Example : 'Prepared', 'Specials', name objects cuisine located below or above illustration as 'Chicken', 'Duck', 'Crab', etc.

Picture Variation of PKL Stalls Cover



(source: author’s documentation)

Those text and images are manual painting by Rose and Aga (commons paint brand in Surabaya). These two paint brands can easily found at low prices and it has special uniqueness that is creates striking color more than others. Illustrations on the cover are adjusted for the base ingredients of food. If the main dishes are grilled fish so the fish images would be there. There are no more images besides some small and simply symbols such as dots, stars, flowers, circle, or abstract frame which are placed at around the main text, or just to fill the empty space which serves to balancing or aesthetics layout. Uses of those images was not an obligation. Base on interview with the migrant artist and PKL owner respondents, it seems there are no specific rules for the graphic composition. Creation of a cover design

involved an owner and an artist idea as well. Usually their topic discussion are what kind and colors of fabric will used and how many images would be fill the space beside the main text. Every single font or images has their own prices. How a cover stall will look like is depend on the owner's budget and also the artistic style of the artist. Thus, the whole process of making a visual design of a certain groups community is called vernacular culture. Their needs are fulfilled by them selves.

The graphic composition of the landscape design is dominated by the two distinctive patterns of centered composition alignment, or the left-right alignment (justify). Overall arrangement of the text is horizontal. When there are fewer positions diagonal text usually occurs on additional information such as the uses of italic or script fonts. Typography always be dominant at the top of the cover. In particular it contains the name of the shop or stall owners name. Furthermore the space will filled smaller information base on appropriate level of information priority.

Picture : A Formal Composition

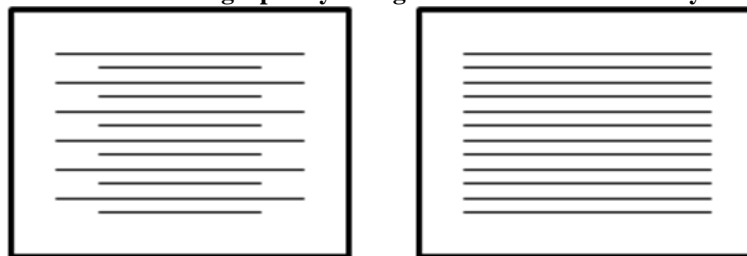


(source: author's documentation)

Hierarchically, the text elements on cover structured as follows :

- 1) Stalls name/ owner's name /food names
- 2) List of foods name
- 3) Images of food / cuisine object / ornament additional (if any)
- 4) Additional information, price information, the origin of the dish, telephone number etc.

Picture Pharagraph Style Alignment Center And Justify



The composition has shown the importance of an identity through it's formal and modern style. Composition of capital letters in that graphic styles is suitable for a newspaper headline that means something importance and a way to attract people attention. Street vendors cover get more dramatic impression through their limited interior lighting. Related to the street vendor attitude toward the government and all people whom they respect, those condition can be interpreted as a symbol of a maturity that came from of a serious proffesion.

According to the Lawson classification basic form of typeface, it is used the 'old style', 'modern' and 'slab serif' category (Rustam 46). But on the cover it has unique development style. Letters found are dominates by capital letters in fat and bold style. These letters are not original vendors property. Those style is adaptation of Latin letters (Roman). Examples of development typefaces as shown below :

Picture Variation of Capital Letters Effect on Sreet Vendors Cover











(source: author's documentation)

Most of those letters were made in outline style, shadow effects, 3-dimensional effect or giving texture on the surface by applying striking color. Sometimes it looks more expanded or condensed than the original family type. This development reinforces the impression of decorative and attractive typeface. Development and character of vernacular typography on street vendors are identified as follows :

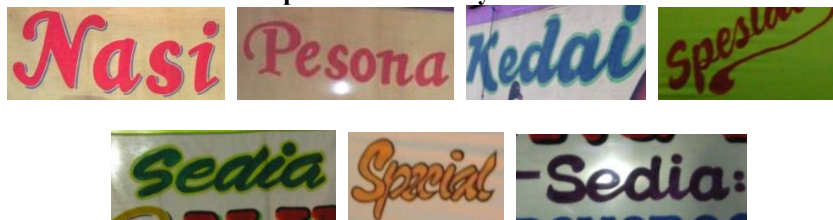
Table **Typography Identification**

No	Typography Style
1	 <p>The basic font is Helvetica (Hoffmann, Eduard.1957).This font is developed to become rounded terminal (round shape) which is similar to the Arial family (Nicholas, Robin and Saunders, Patricia .1982). When this font was adapted by street vendors then it was pulled to be condensed, and has dimensional effects.</p>
2	 <p>The basic font is Caslon (Caslon, William 1722), which is developed into a very thick and curved terminal culminate in Cooper Black (Cooper, 1921). When this font was adapted by street vendors then it appeared increasingly thick and thin shadow and outline. Visual strength is the flashy colored fabric base.</p>
3	 <p>The basic font is Clarendon (serif) (typographer : Besley, Robert, 1845) tend to be thick and short. Then it looks <i>condensed</i> at the Century font (typographer : Benton, Linn Boyd, 1894). On the street vendors the terminal becomes round and it has stem thick. The strong effect is made by putting orange <i>scot light</i> outline, so it looks more heavy.</p>

4	 <p>The basic font is Garamond (serif) (Garamond, Claude, 1540). The terminal of this font become simple likes Century (typographer Benton, Linn Boyd 1894). On the street vendors this font become thick and fat. Then the strong effect is made by putting shadow orange and green scot light</p>
5	 <p>The basic font is Bodoni (slab serif) (Garamond, Claude 1540). The serif look thick on Clarendon (1854). When this font was adapted by street vendors then it has three dimensional effects with heavy slab serif.</p>
6	 <p>The basic font is Bauhaus (san serif) (tipografer : Lazlo Moholy-Nagy, 1920). This font has many inovation in its family typeface, and become more thick by yhe orange scot light outline.</p>

Another application font is found in small amounts which is kind of script and cursive. Type characteristic of script seen in this font connects each other, whereas in cursive does not connect. These fonts resemble handwriting, or as brush strokes or calligraphy pen.

Picture Script and Cursive style on PKL's Cover



There ara also found decoratives style which textures by colours.

Picture Decorative Style



On the cover the x -height of main text is very large. Overall those letters fulfill the cover. Typeface that is often used is also known to display letters. Original purpose of creation a display letters for the title or headline on the print media is to convey information hierarchicly. Now, in the stalls of street vendors uses of such letters serve as a focal point for readability and legibility. Denotative letters comes with color projection optical disturbing and powerful to eyes, so inevitably eyes will glance at the text. This approach shows the typography functions not only to convey menu but also to attract maximum attention.

Regarding to the uses of the letter there are 2-5 different kinds of typefaces. Display style is made in such a way to accentuate the stall to stand out from a distance. This approaches is unique because hardly any other outdoor media such as outdoor advertising, signage, etc., which look like this, the media get light comes from the interior stall. There are a number of prominent characteristics of the vernacular typography as follows :

- Likely to have a major stroke which is fat / thick
- Tend to have a round terminal
- Tend to be wide and elevate font

- Tend to be decorative style (especially in the main text)
- Tend to dominate large expanse
- Favorable the coloring effects scot light
- Favorable the 3-dimensional effect
- Favorable the outline effect
- Favorable the shadow effect
- Favorable the texture effects or patterns of font
- Favorable prominent effects arising due to the contrast between the color of the letters with fabric base
- Favorable the incorporation of multiple types of font on a stretch
- Favorable formal composition (horizontal and the left-right)

All typography design development growing in the PKL group marks a distinctive vernacular style that has a strong character. As a graphic design style it can be conclude that the street vendor stalls has modern style, but the typographic vernacular style tent to be attractives decorative.

About the growing aesthetic distinctiveness among street vendors, some stall owners said their cover's stall is 'should be' look like that. They have a kind of conviction that the style can not be change to another style and share it among communities. They learn one to another as it shows everyday, and become their aesthetic standart to followed.

Various diversity of vernacular typography (and illustrations) found at street vendors above are answering function of graphic design, the function of social, cultural and economic site. It is closely related to how street vendor challenged in performs the entire practice, regard to a number of restrictions obtained as a consequence of its existence among the power relation authority. Knowledge that is accepted as truth led street vendors on specific actions. The style of street vendor promotion through the cover fabric which is typically typography is a unique way to exist. The types were developed from common fonts. Eventually it became the peculiarities of typography identity known to the public. Refer to Barnard (2005), then there are at least three major aspects of graphic design that stuck out there, namely :

1) Aspects of information. PKL design stall is formal style because it is designated for attract buyer and also intended to give the positive impression to the authorities in related to the existence. The impression revealed through visual characteristics as follows :

- Style of upper case type (capital letters) means something importance. The selection of typeface is also meant seriously, and not something that is playful, or trivial.
- The overall style cover is a simple but firm and strong. This marks the migrants character in struggling life, firmness and strength.
- Typography composition style are centered and the left-right alignment. This composition is a formal composition in academic writings. Typographically it means open to the public judgement, reliable, in a serious attitude.

2) Aspects of persuasion. This aspect is closely related to the decorative aspects into a visual unity. This aspect is addressed more to entice prospective buyers. This can be seen by the following visual characteristics :

- Font color made prominent, conspicuous, in contrast with its background. This is done to grab attention of potential buyers, mostly in mobile conditions in the motor vehicle. This fact is clearly correlated with the location of street vendors on the sidewalks, and sell mostly at night.
- Typography and illustrations and all other graphical elements on PKL made as attractive as possible. This is achieved in bright colors and graphic elements are done well by experts. Even then it seemed to be the arena of competition among vendors in an area of street vendors.

3) Aspects of decoration. This aspect aims to reinforce the nature of persuasion that is typical of the way to attract the attention of buyers. Surely it is intended that they still allowed to sell because its existence is quite neat and representative so as not interfere with the beauty of the city. Also implicitly suggests that PKL may be responsible in conducting its business. Visually seen through the things below :

- Picture a standard letter (Roman font) changed such as through the provision of motive/textures, giving an outline, shadow effects, or the effects of three-dimensional so it aesthetically more interesting.

Thus, the presence of a cover stalls here satisfy the above three aspects. So what is displayed on the street vendors stalls of is seen as a visual solution on a real needs of the owners. Those information developed on a light color fabric so it will more stand out when it gets interior light. PKL operational time is not long, it cause they have to find ways to attract buyers. Economic and political pressure on their existence makes their visual culture that can be seen as a sign of identity of migrants who work as street vendors.

Conclusion

PKL actors represent the social dynamics as a result of interaction of social groups that are distinctive. Javanese cultural roots who met urban culture in Surabaya indicated by street vendors stalls. Representation existence of urban village through street vendor stall shows an independent economic power.

Vernacular typography on street vendors serving a local visual culture and also perform an issues of interest (between authority and power orientation) creatively become their new identities. Dynamics of migrant life in the informal sector are also sticking through the phenomenon of visual culture that they developed has been proven an intention of the urban population living in urban villages.

All of these process clearly confirm how a writing culture produced and developed due to processes of social interaction that occurs in the community. Therefore as a medium the cover stall gave rise to vernacular typography of street vendors. PKL visual culture especially spawned a distinctive form of street vendors stalls and the vernacular typography itself becomes a medium communication to the authorities (or the government), to the potential buyers, or to the society.

Spreading power towards street vendor also influence the city appearance through adaptation of migrants origin culture and urban culture. Especially PKL supports the sustainability of the economic life of Surabaya. Those facts confirm a PKL discourse base on Foucault that the PKL actors (permanent or temporary migrants) who live in the urban village with a wealth of social and cultural backgrounds participating today are also taking part in the formation of urban culture uniqueness.

Visually all forms of expression typography on street vendors can be said also as a form of cultural aesthetics migrant offered and communicated to the public. Long period of time which proceeds as a migrant background has reveal a collaborative visual vendors and artists making the cover stall as a way to communicate. This is evident by the strong form of vernacular design brings a sense of authenticity and independence to grow and thrive among migrants. However, there are a lot of variations that occur in battle vernacular, which shows how unlikely breakaway firmly on a dichotomy, vernacular and not the vernacular. Therefore it is worth underscoring here that the understanding of the visual vernacular as cultural identity of migrant communities has such as local spirit of an independence that still feels strong, even survive in the current global economy. This condition would potentially be a bargaining power that will distinguish its existence as a product of local culture from other cultures around.

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