

## Handmade *lambe-lambe* posters in the graphic memory of Rio de Janeiro: a case study on the production of Fernando Baranda

### *Cartazes de lambe-lambe artesanais na memória gráfica do Rio de Janeiro: um estudo de caso sobre a produção de Fernando Baranda*

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#### ABSTRACT

This article presents a case study on the graphic production of Fernando Baranda, a letterer, posterist and silk screen printer who, since the 1990s, has worked in the city of Rio de Janeiro producing and publishing *lambe-lambe* (paste-up) posters. The present work is located at the intersection between graphic memory and printing culture, understood, respectively, as a growing field of study and a set of practices and knowledge. The research is based on a collection of hundreds of images of posters, between 2008 and 2012, as well as interviews with the agent studied, carried out independently, in June 2010 and October 2024. In this sense, the article seeks to highlight the aesthetic values of the objects analyzed, the procedural characteristics, graphic solutions and the formal-informal adaptations in the face of sociopolitical and economic impacts and raise a discussion about the use(s) of the street as a visual apparatus.

**Keywords:** Wheatpaste posters. Print culture. Urban intervention. Silkscreen.

#### RESUMO

*Este artigo apresenta um estudo de caso sobre a produção gráfica de Fernando Baranda, letrista, cartazista e serígrafo que, desde a década de 1990, atua na cidade do Rio de Janeiro (RJ) produzindo e veiculando cartazes de lambe-lambe. O presente trabalho situa-se na intersecção entre a memória gráfica e a cultura da impressão, compreendidas, respectivamente, como um campo de estudo em ascensão e um conjunto de práticas e saberes. A pesquisa baseia-se em um acervo de centenas de imagens de cartazes de 2008 a 2012, além de entrevistas com o agente estudado, realizadas de forma independente, em junho de 2010 e outubro de 2024. O artigo buscou destacar os valores estéticos dos objetos analisados, as características processuais, as soluções gráficas e as adaptações formais e informais diante dos impactos sociopolíticos e econômicos e levantar uma discussão sobre o(s) uso(s) da rua como aparato visual.*

**Palavras-chave:** Cartazes de lambe-lambe. Cultura da impressão. Intervenção urbana. Serigrafia.

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This article presents a case study on the graphic work of Fernando Baranda, a lettering artist, poster designer, and screen printer active since the 1990s in Rio de Janeiro (RJ). Baranda specializes in creating and displaying *lambe-lambe* (paste-up) posters. The term *lambe-lambe* refers to a technique of affixing printed images with industrial or homemade glue (wheatpaste), typically applied in public spaces. This technique varies in method, size, and format: it may be handcrafted, produced at commercial print shops, or created by hand through writing or painting. *Lambe-lambe* posters can be black and white or colored, and take rectangular, square, or irregular shapes, adapting to the illustration or message conveyed. This traditional technique is employed for both advertising and artistic purposes (Navarro, 2016).

This study is part of the Visual Tactics Research Group, established in 2024, of which the authors are members. It arises from the convergence of investigations previously conducted by them: the doctoral dissertation *Street Graphics: Strategies and Tactics in the Visual Street Culture of Rio de Janeiro* (*Gráfica de rua: estratégias e táticas na cultura visual de rua do Rio de Janeiro*), by Pedro Sánchez Cardoso, completed in 2012 within the Graduate Program in Design at Pontifícia Universidade Católica of Rio de Janeiro; and the short documentary *Filme em Cartaz*, produced and directed by Alberto Pereira and Debora Herszenhut. The latter was supported by the Paulo Gustavo Culture Grant No. 05/2023, which funds audiovisual projects in the state of Rio de Janeiro.

The text is positioned at the intersection of graphic memory and print culture, understood respectively as a thriving field of study and a collection of practices and knowledge (Leschko *et al.*, 2014; Fonseca, 2021). This study aimed to highlight the aesthetic values of the analyzed objects, along with the procedural characteristics and graphic and design solutions inherent to the specific materiality of their technique and primary medium. Additionally, an effort is made to establish a connection with visual culture, focusing more specifically on what is referred to as street visual culture.

The aforementioned research group sought to investigate, introduce into the academic environment, and foster discussion around a range of cultural practices and objects that often extend beyond the formal configurations of established works and devices.

The visual manifestations discussed are, for the most part, primarily situated in the street, which functions as their privileged site of occurrence and interaction. The street is understood as a visual apparatus, that is, a device that shapes the experience of a visual event and its observer (Mirzoeff, 2000). As Mirzoeff explains, "When I engage with an apparatus, a medium or a visual technology, I undergo a visual experience. By visual experience, I mean the interaction of the visual sign, the technology that enables and sustains that sign, and the observer" (Mirzoeff, 2000, p. 20).

Michel de Certeau (2003), in *The Practice of Everyday Life*, presents an understanding of culture as an arena where social conflicts are continuously negotiated. He emphasizes a distinction between two types of operations — "tactics" and

“strategies.” The difference between these lies in the distribution of power. Tactics are the maneuvers carried out by agents who find in the deviations made in use — during the processes of reception and appropriation — their opportunity for action.

I call a “strategy” the calculation of power relationships that becomes possible when a subject of will can be isolated from an “environment.” It postulates a place that can be circumscribed as one’s own and, therefore, capable of serving as the basis for managing relations with a distinct externality. [...] I call, on the contrary, a “tactic” a calculation that cannot rely on a place of its own, nor, therefore, on a boundary that distinguishes the other as a visible totality. A tactic has only the space of the other as its place. [...] It lacks a base from which to capitalize on its gains, prepare expansions, and ensure independence from circumstances. [...] What it gains, it cannot keep. It must constantly play with events to turn them into opportunities. The weak must ceaselessly take advantage of forces that are alien to it (Certeau, 2003, p. 46-47).

In this context, the appropriation of the street as a visual apparatus is understood as a “tactical operation” (Certeau, 2003), involving the conquest of an alternative “means of publicity.” Through this medium, various agents are able to represent themselves both visually and discursively (Cardoso, 2012), engaging in a process of constructing counter-legitimacies (Bourdieu, 2009).

Thus, the street is understood not merely as a physical space or structural element of the urban fabric, but as a site for the construction of meanings, a place where alternative means of circulating images, objects, and cultural practices are sought. It constitutes an “autonomous cultural field” — a symbolic space in which meanings are contested and representations asserted (Bourdieu, 2009). This is the perspective from which the case under study is approached. Let us now return to it.

Fernando Baranda has worked as a poster artist for over five decades. A self-taught professional, he began as a teenager, hand-painting lettered posters for sound system crews in his neighborhood. Over time, he adopted screen printing as an efficient method of graphic reproduction and wheatpasting (*lambe-lambe*) as a powerful means of information dissemination. Since the 1990s, Baranda has provided services involving the creation, production, printing, and posting of informational posters throughout the city of Rio de Janeiro. Although he continues to use wheat-pasting, he began digitally printing his posters just over five years ago. This study focuses on the period preceding that transition. The material analyzed consists of *lambe-lambe* posters produced via screen printing, which were distributed throughout the streets of Rio de Janeiro — from the west zone to the south zone, including the north zone and city center. For nearly two decades, these posters formed part of the city’s “graphic landscape,” operating as a parallel system to the formal visual communication typical of this urban visual environment (Till; Segre, 2011).

The set of graphic elements in a city encompasses segments related to signage (of streets and public spaces, traffic, warnings/danger, services, construction, identification of buildings, places of interest, etc.); urban

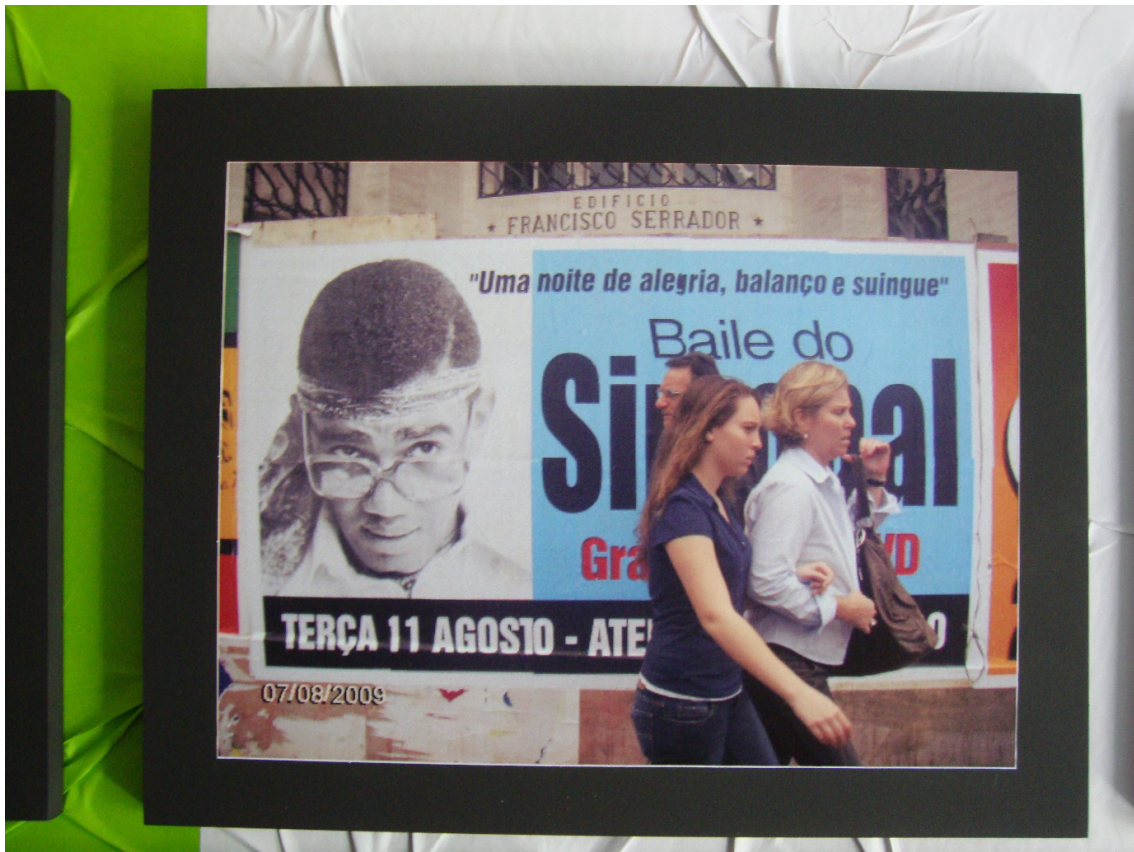
furniture and equipment; official advertising and that of public and private companies with local, regional, or international reach; interventions such as graffiti, tagging, mural paintings, or exhibitions; informal advertisements executed by sign painters or small-scale advertisers, among others. The information is supported by fixed or moving bases and can be permanent or ephemeral, integrating into the body of the city and creating a vast communicational texture, which we seek to better understand (Till; Segre, 2011).

Many individuals who lived in or visited Rio de Janeiro during that period, particularly those with an emotional connection to the field of visual design, to which most readers likely belong, can probably recall a mental image of those graphic objects. These posters, approximately human-sized, primarily promoted cultural events such as concerts, CD and DVD releases, festivals, or art exhibitions. They featured large typography in flat, vibrant colors, sometimes combined with photographic images, and employed a stylistic device in which the name of the neighborhood hosting the event replaced the name of the commercial venue. What is perhaps less widely known is that these posters were all produced by the same company, operating from the backyard of a house in the *Engenho de Dentro* neighborhood, located in the northern zone of the city. They were printed manually using the traditional technique of screen printing. The use of metonymy in identifying the event location was a deliberate strategy, intended to divert attention from potential legal infractions associated with their public distribution.

Hollis (2000) defines the poster as the simplest of graphic vehicles, merely a “loose sheet, without folds and printed on one side.” As a graphic design object, the poster falls within the category of presentation and promotion, where image and text must be economical and anchored to a single, easily remembered meaning. In the expanding cities of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, posters served as expressions of economic, social, and cultural life, competing in public space to attract consumers to products and audiences to entertainment. Hollis (2000) also notes that, across several centuries, three basic functions of graphic arts can be observed, functions that have changed as little as the Roman alphabet itself. The first is identification: stating what something is or where it originates. The second is to inform and instruct, indicating relationships between elements. The third is to present and promote, aiming to capture attention. Additionally, Moles (2004) characterizes the poster as the image of a visual game, one that engages the viewer through its power of seduction.

Baranda’s posters were composed of ten individual sheets, each measuring 96 × 66 cm, arranged in two rows of five. Each sheet was printed separately, with a few centimeters of margin reserved for overlapping during assembly. When assembled, the full composition measured 1.90 meters in height by 3.20 meters in width, a format well suited to the street environment in which the posters were displayed — the street —, ensuring clear legibility for both passing motorists and pedestrians (Figure 1). According to the artist, this format was adopted in 2005:





Source: Cardoso (2012).

Figure 1. Baranda's *lambe-lambe* pasted on the street.

*Before, I used to make smaller posters — one sheet, two sheets. But over time, I concluded that making one poster with ten sheets was much more interesting than making ten posters of just one sheet each. The poster is the height of walls, of fences. And also the size of the people passing by. Most fences are at most 2 meters tall. Nobody makes a 4-meter fence, so there's no point in wanting to make a poster 2.5 meters tall because you won't find a place to paste it. These things you learn through practice, really (Baranda, 2010).*

Each sheet was printed using silkscreens etched in the workshop itself, through a process that combined image vectorization software and a film-cutting printer — considered cutting-edge technology at the time — with a highly rudimentary application of screen printing techniques.

Ferreira (1994) characterizes screen printing as a “stencil engraving” process, in which the image is printed through a raised form of a film held in place by a mesh stretched over a frame. Unlike more modern techniques such as lithography, whose history is well documented, screen printing has been practiced for millennia, with origins that have been lost over time (Eichemberg, 1976). As such, this study does not aim to trace its historical development or provide a detailed procedural account. What is essential to emphasize is that, due to its high versatility, screen printing remains widely practiced today. In a polarized world, its application spans opposing ends of the technological spectrum (Santos, 2006). As geographer Milton Santos

(2006, p. 25) observes: “When a new family of techniques emerges, the others do not disappear. They continue to exist. But the new set of instruments starts to be used by the new hegemonic actors, while the non-hegemonic ones continue using the less current and less powerful.”

Today, screen printing is widely employed both by large industries — serving sectors such as fashion, electronics, automotive, and packaging — and by micro-entrepreneurs and creative producers who often rely on low-cost, and frequently improvised, technical solutions (Cardoso, 2008).

The technological arc involved in Baranda’s system, combining both high- and low-tech procedures, was physically embodied in the layout of his workshop. Beginning in the main office, where the graphic pieces were designed, vectorized, and the layers separated, and where the films used for screen exposure were cut and assembled, the workflow extended to the back of the house. This rear area served as the space for preparing and engraving the silkscreens. It was equipped with a handcrafted light table, consisting of a wooden box fitted with ultraviolet lamps, a glass plate, and a pressure system improvised from plywood sheets and bricks (Figures 2, 3, and 4).



Source: Cardoso (2012).

Figure 2. Screen exposure process in Baranda’s workshop.

If the poster featured only one color, the process required the engraving of ten silkscreens. However, for a poster produced by Baranda that included up to five color layers, as many as 50 screens could be necessary. Figures 5 and 6 depict the poster created for the Cat Power concert in Barra da Tijuca, Rio de Janeiro. This particular poster used three colors — black, yellow, and pink — and required a total of 30 screens: ten for pink, ten for yellow, and ten for black, which was printed as the final layer, overlaying the others. This poster exemplifies the type of composition Baranda considers ideal, primarily typographic in nature.



Source: Cardoso (2012).

Figure 3. Screen printing process in Baranda's workshop.



Source: Cardoso (2012).

Figure 4. Continuation of the screen printing process in Baranda's workshop.

*Most of the artwork I do myself, but a lot of help comes from my son. He's studying Communication in college, so when it's necessary to find a photo of the artist on the internet, for example, he handles that because he's more familiar with that kind of image editing. When I create the art, what I aim for is to simplify the information. Some clients want to pay very little but want a ton of things on the poster. If it were up to me, I'd work with just two colors. Street lambe-lambe posters shouldn't be cluttered with lots of stuff; that ends up hurting readability. You have to be straightforward: lambe-lambe is information (Baranda, 2010).*





Source: Cardoso (2012).

Figure 5. Baranda's *lambe-lambe* pasted on street 1.



Source: Cardoso (2012).

Figure 6. Baranda's *lambe-lambe* pasted on street 2.



In the early 2000s, shortly before the time frame covered by this study, Baranda began incorporating photographic images into his posters. For these cases, a color separation system was employed, in which the photograph was interpreted into the four colors of the CMYK model — cyan, magenta, yellow, and black. The photoliths required for this process were printed externally, and the corresponding screens were then prepared based on these prints. Figures 7 and 8, from the *Revelação* poster series, illustrate the use of CMYK color separation combined with Baranda's characteristic flat printed areas. In other instances, Baranda made use of halftone films, also printed externally and reserved for various purposes, to simulate gradient effects. This approach can be seen in the poster created for the band Jota Quest (Figure 9).



Source: Cardoso (2012).

Figure 7. Baranda's *lambe-lambe* pasted on street 3.

By combining three techniques — flat printed areas, color separation (polychromy), and halftone films — a range of graphic solutions was developed to meet the varied demands of Baranda's clientele. In the poster created for the band *Ponto de Equilíbrio* (Figures 10 and 11), which uses only two colors, black and green, the black fills the entire background, while the image of the lion is constructed through the vectorization of black and green layers, contrasted with the white of the paper. This approach eliminated the need for a photolith. In contrast, the poster for the event *FUNK-SE* relies exclusively on a photographic image engraved from a photolith, printed in two layers, with the textual information rendered as a cutout (Figure 12).





Source: Cardoso (2012).

Figure 8. Baranda's *lambe-lambe* pasted on street (detail).



Source: Cardoso (2012).

Figure 9. Baranda's *lambe-lambe* pasted on street 4.





Source: Cardoso (2012).  
Figure 10. Baranda's *lambe-lambe* pasted on street 5.



Source: Cardoso (2012).  
Figure 11. Baranda's *lambe-lambe* pasted on street (detail) 2.





Source: Cardoso (2012).

Figure 12. Baranda's *lambe-lambe* pasted on street 6.

*I've been working with screen printing for thirty years. It's not just about knowing how to do it and that's it. There are a lot of problems you run into while doing the job. For example, imagine a poster with all those colors the client asks for. If you do it properly, with a photographed screen for each color, you'll end up spending more on materials than what you charged the client. Most of the time, I cut the second color entirely by hand, because otherwise, if I make a film for each color, it gets way too expensive. Sometimes I work with overlapping colors: one color combined with another creates a third. So instead of having three print runs on the sheet, you work with just two (Baranda, 2010).*

The screens were never preserved. Once prepared and used for printing, they were set aside for reuse. A water compressor gun was employed to wash off the deposited emulsion, effectively cleaning the screen and rendering it ready for subsequent use. In contrast, the outsourced photoliths were archived and could be reused if the advertiser chose to reprint the same image at a later date.

An interesting example of creative reuse of materials is the posters for the *Tempo Festival*, a contemporary theater event presented by Oi, a telecommunications company. The graphic materials — invitations, folders, catalogs — created for the festival's visual identity used cutouts as a design feature, allowing the reading of graphic noise — images and texts — behind the main typography, which was designed to favor the cutout effect. To reproduce this effect, Baranda repurposed used photoliths, arranging them randomly as a lower layer in three color versions — cyan, magenta, and yellow —, overlaid by solid black in two bold lines: *TEMPO / FESTIVAL* (Figures 13, 14, and 15).





Source: Cardoso (2012).

Figure 13. Baranda's *lambe-lambe* pasted on street (detail) 3.



Source: Cardoso (2012).

Figure 14. Baranda's *lambe-lambe* pasted on street (detail) 4.





Source: Cardoso (2012).

Figure 15. Baranda's *lambe-lambe* pasted on street 7.

*There are a lot of solutions we come up with on the spot, handmade solutions. You don't learn this in courses; you get to know it over time. Over all these years, I've been understanding and cutting costs to get the best yield. Here, we use a specific technology for what we do. In serigraphy, you can use imported nylon, solvent-based ink, etc. But here we use domestic nylon and water-based ink, so it's cheaper and less toxic (Baranda, 2010).*

The solutions developed throughout Baranda's production process — from graphic design and screen preparation to printing and, ultimately, the act of pasting the posters — position him as a true “craftsman,” in the sense articulated by Sennett (2009). Observing his work in the workshop and listening to his accounts, one encounters a form of technical knowledge that has been developed, refined, and embodied through practice, shaped by setbacks, unforeseen challenges, and material and economic constraints.

Combining technologies that have been separated for millennia and outsourcing part of the production, Baranda established a circular production system, ideal for the type of use he intended. At the time the first interview was conducted, about ten employees worked directly with him, handling screen preparation, engraving, and printing. The printing took place at the back of the workshop in a covered porch where two huge paper dryers had been installed. The printed copies were hung in pairs, folded over a 1.5-meter-wide wooden rod, which was then placed into the dryers, which could hold around 180 prints in total (Figure 4).

In the case of multicolored posters, the prints would return to the printing table for the application of subsequent color layers. Once this stage was completed, the posters were assembled through a type of sheet imposition — arranged in the order in which they would be pasted, from left to right, beginning with the bottom row and progressing to the top. They were then folded, ready to be taken out into the streets.

*I like this outcome, people getting there... you know? Enjoying seeing it. There was an event at Fundação Progresso where they did a poll at the entrance to find out how people got to the event, since it was a group from Bahia not well known. So they asked, did you come through the newspaper, the radio, or the lambe-lambe poster? And I didn't go ask—they told me themselves that the lambe-lambe poster won by a landslide: "We came here because of a lambe-lambe poster on the street." That's cool, that adds up, you know? (Baranda, 2024).*

As in all other stages of the process, Baranda relied on assistants at this point, but he supervised and often personally handled the operation.

Various types of glue can be used for applying *lambe-lambe* posters — ranging from those made with pH-neutral materials that preserve the paper's chemical composition, such as carboxymethylcellulose (CMC), an additive derived from cellulose, water-soluble, used for various purposes including pharmaceutical and food industries as well as book and artwork conservation — to adhesives based on vinyl glue, and even very low-cost homemade glues like the well-known "wheatpaste" (*grude*), made from wheat flour and caustic soda. The latter was the one Baranda used. The pasting was (and still is) done exclusively at dawn.

*The posters stay on the street for about 10 to 15 days. The locations are chosen based on where the event will take place. If it's in the South Zone, we try to paste them nearby. The price is based on the number of posters produced, usually between 50 and 100. The minimum number I usually make is 50. Sometimes a desperate client comes by, and I end up making only 30. But that's not good business for me because I start from a high cost. I've made 100, even 200 posters for some clients... but those clients paste the posters even in Campo Grande.*

*When the quantity is larger, we can even replace the posters since they get torn up now and then, so we do a kind of maintenance. The average price is about R\$ 2,000 for 50 posters, including the pasting on the street. But if there is color printing involved, that price doubles because of the cost of the photolith and printing.*

*I have an employee who goes out photographing all the posters so I can send the photos to the client. Besides providing the route where the posters are pasted, we send these photos to highlight the service. The photos are also a way to supervise my employees' work (Baranda, 2010).*

An essential component of the service provided, the pasting of posters involved the appropriation of urban space as a medium for advertising. A form of mapping was conducted, organizing pasting locations by zones and neighborhoods. Upon completion of the service, a list of these locations was delivered to the client. This strategic territorial occupation was a key factor in attracting clients such as major

record labels, cultural producers, and concert venues in the city. It also afforded Baranda a significant degree of productive and financial independence. However, as this operation was carried out informally and operated on the margins of legality — barely legal<sup>1</sup> — it simultaneously positioned him in a marginal context.

In 2009, the newly inaugurated mayor of Rio de Janeiro, Eduardo Paes, created the Municipal Secretariat of Public Order, through which he launched the Operation Shock of Order. According to the official website of the Rio city hall:

Urban disorder is the main catalyst for the feeling of public insecurity and creates the conditions conducive to the commission of crimes in general. As one thing leads to another, these situations drive people and good principles away from the streets, contributing to the degeneration and abandonment of these public spaces and the reduction of economic activities.

With the goal of putting an end to urban disorder, combating petty crimes in the main corridors, and decisively contributing to the improvement of quality of life in our city, Operation Shock of Order was created.

These are operations carried out by the newly created Secretariat of Public Order, which in its first year of existence has been able to restore order to the city (Rio de Janeiro, 2009).

As part of a program to tighten control over the use of public space, Operation Shock of Order was an administrative and discursive strategy aimed at curbing a range of practices that came to be seen as urban disorder. These included activities that used public space as a visual platform, such as street posters, *lambe-lambe*, banners, signs, and flyers, which started to be classified as illegal advertising. This represented a decisive blow to the production system of our subject.

*Dude, they've been tearing down the posters nonstop, especially in the South Zone. The city hall, Operation Shock of Order, and [Companhia Municipal de Limpeza Urbana] Comlurb... they're ripping them down, painting over the posters... Even the clients have started complaining: "We put up the poster one night, and the next day it's already been taken down. How is that possible?" We go back and put them up again, but it's no use.*

*I don't see any chance of this becoming fully legal. There's a law for lambe-lambe posters, created by Cesar Maia in 1995. But it's unworkable. It allows street posters for cultural purposes to be pasted on construction site fences, only if the site owner gives you written permission. For example, in Barra [da Tijuca], there was that Riviera condo, which was our biggest spot for posters there. That place belonged to Sérgio Naya. How are you supposed to approach Sérgio Naya and ask, "Can I put up posters on your fence?" How would you even get in touch with that guy? And how much do you think he'd charge per poster pasted there? (Baranda, 2010).*

According to Baranda, the crackdown on his posters, primarily concentrated in the South Zone, occurred through their removal — either by tearing or scraping them off — or by defacing the information they conveyed. Both types of action

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1 Barely Legal Barely Legal was the name of the third major exhibition by the British anonymous artist known as Banksy, held in a warehouse in Los Angeles, United States, on the weekend of September 16, 2006 (Banksy Explained, 2006).





Source: Cardoso (2012).

Figure 16. Baranda's *lambe-lambe* crossed out by employees of the Municipal Urban Cleaning Company 1.



Source: Cardoso (2012).

Figure 17. Baranda's *lambe-lambe* crossed out by employees of the Municipal Urban Cleaning Company 2.





Source: Cardoso (2012).

Figure 18. Baranda's *lambe-lambe* crossed out by employees of the Municipal Urban Cleaning Company (detail).



Source: Cardoso (2012).

Figure 19. Baranda's *lambe-lambe* crossed out by employees of the Municipal Urban Cleaning Company 3.



Source: Cardoso (2012).

Figure 20. Baranda's *lambe-lambe* crossed out by employees of the Municipal Urban Cleaning Company 4.

were carried out by employees of Comlurb, the municipal cleaning company of Rio de Janeiro City Hall (Figures 16, 17, 18, 19, and 20).

From that point onward, a struggle of forces unfolded. Posters that were pasted were torn down or defaced, only to be quickly replaced, then destroyed again (*rateados*)<sup>2</sup>. Much of the archive documents this ongoing tug-of-war. Although exploring this conflict in greater depth exceeds the physical scope of this article, it is important to emphasize that this was a visually manifested dispute. Beneath the discourse of public order lay an underlying desire to manipulate, monopolize, and control urban space as an advertising medium. In other words, the stance of the new municipal administration implicitly recognized the political power of the street as a visual apparatus — a site where representations are constructed, affirmed, and contested.

The 14-year interval between the two interviews with Baranda reveals significant changes not only in the services he provided but also within the city's cultural event production chain. Regarding the company's operations, the most notable and symbolic shift was the sharp decline in the original production of screen-printed poster designs, which began in the 2000s and gradually diminished over the years. This trend, combined with new regulations, increasing pressures on the activity, and evolving market demands, rendered the traditional process financially unsustainable and impractical in terms of production speed. From 2018 onward, digital

<sup>2</sup> Originating from the *pixação* culture, "*rateio*" is the practice of crossing out the tag (mark, pixo) of an "opponent," thereby marking that territory (see Cardoso, 2012).



printing using plotters, also common in billboard poster production, became the predominant graphic solution.

*Regarding the switch to digital, it was probably about six or seven years ago, because screen printing required a lot of manpower, I needed 10 to 12 people to produce the specific quantities I had at the time. A lot of labor, a lot of hassle; labor is a complicated thing, you know? And then I made the comparison, also because digital printing sparked a lot of interest among clients in backgrounds with landscapes... In short, the art designs became more specific (Baranda, 2024).*

The second change lies in this new printing method and technology, which consequently demands investments, infrastructure, new work processes, machinery, training, agility, and a different relationship with the production and display time of the posters.

These changes led Baranda to adapt his activities, gradually modifying his services, which previously covered much of the production chain, including design, graphic production, mapping, distribution, and documentation, but now focus on a partnership model with print shops for poster production. Nowadays, the mapping and pasting operations are carried out by Baranda and a team of just two employees.

The workshop from 14 years ago has since been transformed into a leisure space, now featuring a bar, a dartboard, theatrical props, a small card table, and a large pool table covered in earth-toned mixed wool felt, where the team typically organizes the sequence of posters. In a smaller adjoining area that still retains some characteristics of the original workshop, one finds a sink, various work tools, a large cutting table, and, on the back wall, a work board referred to by Baranda as the “grid.” This board serves as a planning tool for mapping and arranging the pieces to be pasted for upcoming clients.

*The client sends the artwork, we prepare a grid, right? And that's what's going to be pasted on the wall. Once that grid is done, we move on to the next one. Everything is bound together so when we get there, all we have to do is paste. [...] One thing that surprises people is that there are only three of us and... it's a quick game, like Ayrton Senna (Baranda, 2024).*

The third change relates to the reconfiguration of the music industry in recent years and the nuanced impact this has had on Baranda's work. Over the past 14 years, the market has undergone substantial transformations in the consumption, commercialization, and distribution of musical works, leading to a commercial shift — whereas the majority of revenue once came from record sales, it now primarily stems from concerts, live performances, and festivals.

If in 2010, Herschmann (2010) pointed to about fifty independent festivals taking place nationwide, organized by artist collectives, associations, small record labels, and/or producers, from 2012 onward there was a boom of large national festivals, as well as international festivals of epic proportions in their Brazilian versions. These were no longer promoted by small producers but were consolidated by



a global shows and festivals industry, dominated by a few production companies that control a large part of the market and manage the national operation of these festivals, with annual revenues exceeding R\$700 million (Rosa, 2024).

A brief mapping of just Rio and São Paulo shows the first initiatives of *Queremos!* (2010), the return of Rock in Rio after a 10-year hiatus (2011), the arrival of Lollapalooza (2012), Coala Festival (2014), Tomorrowland Brazil (2015), the first editions of Rock the Mountain and *Festival Queremos!* (2018), as well as *Coquetel Molotov*, originally from Recife (PE), holding its first edition in São Paulo in 2018. Post-pandemic, in 2022, there were editions of the MITA Festival and *Primavera Sound* taking place in both São Paulo and Rio, in addition to the first edition of Arena Jockey (2023) in Rio de Janeiro. During the pre-production and filming scheduling process, Baranda worked on *lambe-lambes* at Marina da Glória (*Festival Clássicos do Brasil*), and later we followed his paste-up activities for Arena Jockey 2024.

*"Here we're already starting the refilling process, Rock The Mountain is happening in Itaipava and Ludmilla's Numanice tour in São Paulo. [...] Not to mention that we're there putting up posters and soon Djavan will be playing there. It's cool, it's something that's contagious"* (Baranda, 2024).

In addition to these socioeconomic factors and the structural conditions of the cultural industry, the persecution Baranda faced ultimately led him to abandon the silkscreen production system we've analyzed here, opting instead for digital printing methods. This shift came as his operating territory was increasingly restricted and his market opportunities were, in a sense, undermined. A victory for the monotonous, monochromatic, and one-track-minded urban sanitizers. A loss for us, lovers of graphic arts. Life goes on for our craftsman.

Despite the marginalization they were subjected to, these *lambe-lambe* posters printed in screen printing had a massive presence in the city. Oscillating between formality and informality, repressed by the municipal administration, contracted by the largest cultural producers in the country, easily identified by their format and graphic solutions used, these prints left a mark on Rio de Janeiro's graphic memory.

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