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## **FORA DO EIXO: CREATING ALTERNATIVE MODELS IN THE CULTURAL SECTOR** **Fora do Eixo: criando modelos alternativos no setor cultural**

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### **Abstract**

The case explores the emergence and strategies put in place by a network of cultural collectives to connect people and develop their objectives as well as explore the possibilities of devising better business models. It describes the emergence and evolution of a new way to promote the cultural industry.

**Keywords:** creative economy, cultural sector, business models

### **Resumo**

O caso explora a emergência e evolução de estratégias postas em prática por uma rede de coletivos culturais para conectar pessoas e desenvolver seus objetivos, assim como para explorar as possibilidades de invenção de novos e melhores modelo de negócios. Descreve o surgimento e a evolução de uma nova forma de promoção da indústria cultural.

**Palavras-chave:** economia criativa, setor cultural, modelos de negócio

My name is João, I am the singer of a local hip hop band. 24, unemployed, I enjoy music above all. I am considered a big hit among my friends, but my music is still unknown to the general public as no major label has ever agreed to sign me. I sound nothing like popular stars; I am a star in my own way.

In late 2015, in a little bar on the periphery of Sao Paulo, I was talking with Marcelo, my visiting cousin from the big city nearby.

*João:* "What should I do now? Will you help me find a job at your firm?"

*Marcelo:* "Certainly not! It'd be a shame for you to miss your passion. It'd be a shame for us to miss out on your talent."

*João:* "Come on, I have finally come to accept that I'm not worth my passions. I have to live up to everybody's expectations and find a decent job. Please help me."

*Marcelo:* "Did you hear about the FdE [people write FdE]?"

*João:* "Yes, I have already heard something about FdE, I do not know much about it, but recently

what I saw is not very good news. FdE became the target of accusations of exploitation of labor, failure to pay the artists and monopolization of the alternative cultural circuit."

*Marcelo:* "I'm not sure about this version of events. In my opinion, FdE aims to be a network to promote musical activities and other ways of expression such as audiovisual, theater and visual arts. It could be an interesting option to an emergent artist like you, trying to start a career..."

We looked at each other and decided to give it a try. So, the journey began.

### The first contact

Early the next morning, together with Marcelo, we took the car and left in the direction of a central area of the city. As we approached the house at the top of the hill, a sign on our left read "Casa FdE". The building was a two-storey 1950's house surrounded by a small garden (Figure 1). The living room's walls were filled with glowing post-its and cluttered pictures. It was messy, bright and colourful. Three women and a man were debating over a graph on a blackboard and a loner was diving into a magazine in the corner of the room. Around a half-dozen others were staring at their respective laptops on an extended desk in the room nearby. Echoes of Gilberto Gil's cover version of "Three Little Birds" were pouring down from the floor above.

Figure 1- Casa FdE São Paulo



When Martha realized our presence in the entrance of the house, she abandoned her discussion and welcomed us with customary heart-warming Brazilian hugs. She introduced herself as the youngest member of the crew – 19 years old - living in the house for over 5 months now. Right away, she tried to make us feel at home. She also asked us to introduce ourselves. Marcelo did a brief introduction about himself and asked me to talk, saying that I was the reason of our visit. A bit shy, I started:

I am João, composer, singer, I have a hip hop band ... we have fun ... but it is difficult to get some visibility and play outside Jardim Angela. Then I heard about you through Marcelo. We came here to learn more about FdE.

For the next three hours, they'd sit around and discuss extensively with all 17 residents present at the time. At a certain point in the conversation, I asked them about the controversy that the filmmaker Beatriz Seigner posted on Facebook. She wrote about her frustration after a year of

partnership because of practices she called "(post) modern slavery" due to the lack of compensation of artists and partners. For a few seconds (exhaustively long), there was a total silence. After that, many people began to talk at the same time, quickly and loudly. Each one wanted to express his point of view: some people in favour, others, less so.

Martha called us and showed a video about FdE:

FdE is a network of culture and communication that has spanned over 200 cities of Brazil. It has a university, a bank; it deals with music, literature, plastic arts etc. It has collective houses, an alternative currency and has spread to other countries in Latin America. In fact, it facilitates the movement and circulation of knowledge and information for new agents of (our) generation.

This is the concept, but it does not explain the controversy. To understand it, it is necessary to understand the origins of the FdE and how it works.

### Outside the axis

The next morning, I woke up early, impatient to dig deeper into the subject. It turns out that the Casa FdE we visited had been active for 1 year, attracting people from 7 different Brazilian cities and 2 non Brazilian ones – Santiago, Chili and Montreal, Canada. It was one of 18 dispersed Casas FdE around Brazil.

FdE's literal translation in English is "outside the axis" (i.e., Rio de Janeiro – Sao Paulo). Indeed, the FdE network was founded in 2005 with the objective of allowing amateur bands and musicians to tour around Brazil without having to first make it through the traditional music channels of "the Sao Paulo-Rio de Janeiro axis". Briefly, the SP-RJ "axis" covers around 0.5% of the national territory as the two cities lie a relatively close distance to each other (350 km or a one-hour flight) in the southeastern part of continental Brazil; however, the region's inhabitants make up around 22% of the Brazilian population and represent 60% of Brazil's industrial production. This region dominates most of the national industries - including the financial and cultural ones - and the biggest concentration of Brazilian and international corporations in the country have their headquarters there. Together with companies and organizations, this hub's infrastructure and financial resources attract artists from all over Brazil seeking better prospects.

Despite this aim of having houses outside the axis, São Paulo has its own Casa FdE. It was established in 2011 when Pablo Capilé and other founding members of the Espaço Cubo from Cuiaba, along with members from other FdE collectives, moved there in order to establish the national headquarters of FdE. When criticized for getting inside the axis – i.e., also being located in Sao Paulo – Capilé responds that even in São Paulo, there are many people and artists alike who are outside of it and would like to be integrated in it.

### The creation of FdE

The Espaço Cubo – one of the early collectives that helped form FdE – was launched in 2001 with the objective of allowing Cuiaba's (Mato Grosso) musicians to learn about music, practice and create their own compositions instead of remaining "cover bands". For a start, by being provided with a studio and equipment at a cheap price, the artists would be able to learn, improve musically and engage fully in their hobby/passion.

In order to alleviate the financial burden on the organization and keep its fees low, Espaço Cubo introduced the Cubo Card: an alternative social currency that facilitates the exchange of services between members of the community and helps the organization deal with its own needs. During their free time, in exchange for \$FdE (cultural currency of FdE), artists could help organize

the CUBO concerts, work as technicians, write articles to promote the organization, etc. They could also give a hand to other artists if needed. For instance, a designer could offer to design the cover picture of an album in exchange for a place to sleep at the musician's house. The latter could help build the stage of the festival in exchange for time at the recording studio, etc. As a way to sponsor festivals or the organization itself, restaurants, shops or anyone could also agree to deal with the Cubo Card system when transacting with artists and members of the FdE community.

In 2005, founding members of Espaço Cubo and cultural producers from other states (Acre, Minas Gerais and Paraná) collaborated to create the FdE circuit with the objective of allowing the circulation of bands that were "formed" there. With time, the circuit expanded and it has now spread to almost every Brazilian state.

The Cubo Card has since become widespread and is still being used by the FdE organization. There are 30 similar social currencies being used among the different collectives in the different regions of Brazil. Examples are Marciano (Massa Coletiva, Sao Carlos/Sao Paulo) and Goma Card (Goma, Uberlandia/Minas Gerais). These alternative currencies formalized the exchange of services and made it easier for committed members of the community not to feel exploited by less committed ones. It promoted the birth of various projects and initiatives and contributed to increasing the amount of exchange of services, thus helping to improve the musical production process. At the same time, artists from other sectors (cinema, literature, theatre, etc.) joined the circuit seeking to benefit from its infrastructure while also strengthening it through their labor and activism.

It is no surprise that FdE has tried to add as many cities or "nodes" as possible to its circuits of festivals. Various regions now hold their own microcircuits (i.e., North Eastern circuit of festivals, Amazon circuit of festivals etc.). By doing so, the FdE audience has grown, the circuit has become more cohesive and, very importantly, travelling expenses decreased for artists since travelling by plane was not necessary anymore. Hence, FdE is mainly a network composed of collectives of cultural production that allow artists and information to circulate through its well organized circuits. The various Casas FdE help maintain this network by making sure that the various internal tasks are attended to: communication between the collectives has to be fluid, every aspect of the organization of the festivals must be taken care of, the CDs of FdE artists need to be distributed to the other collectives in order to be sold at the various festivals, etc. A list of the various tasks expected of people wanting to join the collective Casas FdE can be found in a document widely distributed across the network.

In numbers, in 2012, FdE was directly involved with 2,800 partners, 2,000 agents and indirectly with 20,000 persons. It had welcomed 30,000 bands in its 6,000 shows, 107 festivals and 25 tours. Between its various collectives, it has received R\$ 1,700,000 from public resources, R\$ 500,000 from private donors and gained R\$ 2,800,000 from services offered, personal donations and ticketing, etc. 62,000,000 \$FdE have circulated within the network. Its presence on social media was solid through its 600 twitter accounts and 100 directly related Facebook pages. Furthermore, indirectly, the social media activity of members of FdE is mostly related to the network and to the promotion of its artists and activities. It is apparent that FdE's young community has created a digital culture that has become an integral part of the network's formation, growth and development.

I started to feel a kind of excitement about all these stories and descriptions, but I needed to learn more about the organization. It has a bank? A university? Why? How did the artists feel about the whole thing? Would it be safe for me embark on this journey? How would I sustain myself? The next morning, Marcelo, my cousin, needed to return to his town. I remained with my thoughts ... my curiosity pushed me to follow through on my research.

### **A second visit to the house**

Later that afternoon, I visited the casa a second time. Now, with much more information in

my head, I was ready to fully appreciate the particularities of this house. The least I could say is that life there is original. Clothes, space, rooms, cleaning tasks and food are shared among all members of the house. In fact, everything's for everybody. I have been told that some time ago, news pointed out the birth of Benjamin Juvêncio, the first child born inside one of these collectives.

FdE are living and connected spaces that comprise, among others, the campuses for the FdE University, the agency database, music studios, galleries and free stages. FdE members are free to live on their own or in a Casa FdE. The average number of members in a Casa FdE is around 20-25. Producers are often the main residents of the casas and additional rooms are often reserved for visiting bands and/or guests from the network.

At the moment of my visit, twenty-three young individuals were living in the house. Indeed, in addition to the seventeen regular residents, six FdE members from two other Casas FdE around Brazil were there for a week in order to learn about and debate the casa's best practices concerning a "Tecno-Arte" initiative. Figure 2 shows an example from these best practices. When returning to their city, they might implement some of those best practices in their own collectives. This is a regular practice among collectives, especially for the São Paulo Casa FdE.

Figure 2 - Interested in joining the Casa FdE São Paulo?



### A foreigner's point of view

Then, I met Sasha Garand, a girl from Canada. While backpacking around South America last year, she attended an unforgettable, enlightening open-air concert – the shout rock festival - that was organized by FdE. For the next 2 months, she would participate in the informal FdE University and attend the FdE congress: a summit held in a different city every year where FdE members meet to exchange information, debate and discuss the organization's future in a relaxed atmosphere. She was hosted by three different members of the solidarity program "Hospeda Cultura": during the year, the regional Casas FdE try to partner and obtain the registration of local households willing to freely host artists and travelers alike, mainly during festivals, in an effort to promote culture and exchange.

Three months ago, she graduated from her university back in Montreal and moved back to Brazil in order to learn more about FdE and later try and implement a similar version of the network

in her home country. She said it had become her “raison d’être” and preached FdE’s “potential and massive responsibility to artists and citizens alike.” She recounted how committed she was to it and expressed her anger at all the critics who depicted its “heads” as a “band of communists, exploiting artists for their own profits and prestige.”

She said it’d be hard for anyone to fully grasp FdE’s business model as it has evolved into such a complex network, entangled into so many fields, but she would still try to answer my concerns. This might not come as a shock but my first question was about ways to sustain myself. In other words, money.

### **Money and salaries**

No member of the casa receives any salary. Each casa has its own “caixa” and any time a resident requires money, he would need to write down the amount withdrawn. To fill their caixas, each Casa FdE has various sources of income, especially: promotion of events, salaries of agents, money sent by parents, and sponsoring and cultural bids from the public and private sectors. By managing the resources coming from each individual in a collective manner, the ties between members of the collective are strengthened. When I asked what would happen if someone joined a collective and decided to leave after a while, I was positively surprised to learn that he would be able to take with him all the resources he had personally added to the caixa and even those acquired during his time there.

Regarding artists’ salaries, I learned that, recently, many critics have attacked FdE producers for not paying them the usual salary for touring on their circuits. However, Sasha argued, FdE’s propositions differ from traditional producers’ in that, as mentioned earlier, it offers many benefits to debuting artists that traditional producers do not. First of all, FdE’s main objective is to plainly act as a window for artists to become known to the largest number of people around Brazil. At the same time, the network offers them a platform to sell their CDs to the largest number without having to pay the bulk of their profits to the record companies and producers. Once a band affiliated with FdE has produced its CD, their Casa distributes it to the largest number of Casas FdE around Brazil. During every festival organized, the CD will be available to the public at a FdE stand. In this case, 60% of the sales of the CD go to the band, 20% to the Casa FdE itself and 20% to the FdE organization. Another option would be for the band to build their own stand and personally sell their CDs at the festivals they play in; in that case, they’d receive 100% of the profits.

On another note, deals are often made between the bands and the producers whereby the latter would often cover the travel, lodging and eating costs of the former. If the festivals turn out to exceed the producers’ expectations, some of the bands could also share the profits with the organizer. Finally, and most importantly, once those artists have made their mark and built a solid fan base around Brazil, they would go on tour by themselves and get produced by mainstream record companies.

I needed time to better think about it but it all seemed exciting and somehow fair to me. In order to quench my thirst for information, I then asked to learn more about FdE’s structure and way of functioning.

### **A messy organizational structure**

When questioned about it, Sasha smiled and said she admired my ambitious request. She told me that even persons truly involved in the organization confess to having trouble understanding it. I thus felt the urge to leave the Casa and the young lady in order to return home and perform my own research. I knew I would visit my new friends sooner than expected. The graph is the first item I came across when looking for an answer on FdE’s website.

Many fronts need to be taken into account to understand FdE’s organizational structure. The

two most important are the thematic and the productive. “Thematic fronts” represent the artistic, cultural and social languages adopted by FdE that congregate cultural agents and capture projects to be implemented in the network. Thematic fronts have the strategic role of defining the action of the network and of mobilizing permanent new agents. “Productive fronts” are responsible for carrying out the work requested by “thematic fronts“. They are converting the project on paper into practice, transforming ideas into reality. Each producer front is directly related to one or more thematic front and may be linked with all of them. Briefly, the productive fronts are the operation of the business and relate to the main tasks that need to be achieved: Distro (distribution and selling points for FdE and partners’ products), agency (exchange of experiences between artists and producers), tecnoarte (hub of creating technologies for production of cultural arts), headquarters (production space) and events (shows and festivals for artists).

In addition to these fronts, four basic nodes are at the center of the organization: FdE University, FdE Bank, FdE Media and FdE Party.

### The FdE University

The FdE University was created in order to promote the transfer of knowledge among members of the collectives, to manage social technologies and network processes and diffuse initiatives and to create new projects articulated in networks. Joining the FdE University is free and spontaneous. “Students” are offered accommodation, food and access to the collective caixas for their basic needs during the learning period.

According to FdE’s website,

FdE University promotes free nationwide training activities, involving and seeking new experiences and agents that connect and participate in the construction of this laboratory of learning, thus creating a vast free circuit of knowledge and technologies in constant motion.

In 2012, the university received R\$ 590,000.00 from its sponsor Petrobras (Brazil’s largest company). “Students” can join in online or be physically present at one of its 150 permanent campuses around Brazil (mainly held in the Casas FdE and in the partners’ collectives) and 300 temporary campuses that are created during the various *FdE* events and festivals (Figure 3). The “faculty” can be members of FdE or external “experts” that are invited to participate in the educational process. The teaching approaches are numerous and range from collaborating in a wiki, to touring Casas FdE in order to understand the circuit, to workshops, debates, observatories etc.

Figure 3 - FdE Congress



[http://www.select.art.br/article/da\\_hora/congresso-FdE](http://www.select.art.br/article/da_hora/congresso-FdE)

### **The FdE Party**

The FdE Party is set to consolidate FdE's structures through the implementation of social technologies and to promote the organic configuration of socializing rhetoric and everyday practice. Similar to the FdE University, whose programs are mainly focused on FdE's organization, the Party is specifically concerned with the internal politics among members of the organization. It has as its main objectives to expose problems and suggest solutions that would be carried out by the political and institutional decisions of political parties, candidates and elected holders of public office in the cultural domain. I understood it would act as a cultural think tank, generating ideas and initiatives that could be adopted by the government.

### **The FdE Bank**

FdE doesn't have a central bank that coordinates the various accounts of the different Casas FdE. Each Casa FdE is responsible for the financial management of its own resources and participates in contests for public or private funds on its own. FdE seeks to decentralize the actions of its collectives in order to offer more autonomy to each one of them. This helps to explain the existence of 30 different FdE social currencies instead of a single one. Indeed, according to FdE's website:

The logic of networks is to gather a series of small, connected components that can achieve scale production and lower costs through corridors that are open for the movement of people (artists, producers and journalists), the distribution of products, the training of professionals involved in the chain, and especially, the communication and reporting of activities that are performed.

Through exchanges, debates and collaborative projects, unexperienced collectives can learn from others and implement best practices at home. Each collective has the responsibility of preparing its accounting statements on its own and members of the FdE Bank can help it in this task. The FdE Bank, which operates under the principles of solidarity economy, is a council composed of different collectives. It facilitates the flow of methodologies and the development and improvement of solutions, called the network of "applications", which stimulate the exchange of the vast economic resources among the collectives, and helps each collective in its own management.

### **The FdE Media**

The unit taking care of the media is the node that connects all the network in terms of communication. It supports FdE points in developing networks of local independent media. The FdE communication encompasses the Social Network Hub, Radio, TV, Writing, Consulting, Design and FdE Media institutional network projects. It also incorporates, with the same method and in each FdE hub, the development of local actions connected to the cultural scene. The network treats culture both in its artistic sense (with music, theater, audiovisual, literature) and in its behavioral sense (environmental, political, social and technological).

I realized that, in fact, apart from music and culture, FdE is involved in various matters such as economics (making a different proposal about how to deal with money, time etc.), education (in order to let people understand what FdE is doing), politics (internal politics - human relationships, social technologies etc.) and communication through social networks, media, etc. Indeed, by organizing themselves around the four nodes mentioned above, FdE was able to create a scheme of self-government through its own banking system, its informal university, its party and its exclusive communication channels.

### **The controversies involving FdE**

I now wanted to learn more about Pablo Capilé - one of the founding members of Espaço Cubo and FdE – and the main criticism he faces. He is often criticized for acting as a guru who imposes his desires on everyone in the organization. His response is that it isn't true and it's only through his dedication that he has acquired such an important role in the organization. As mentioned earlier, he actually lives in the Casa FdE São Paulo and shares everything with the other residents. On the other hand, I fell on this enlightening section from Shannon Garland's work on FdE:

While FdE emphasizes “horizontality” in its structuring, both as a network and within each individual collective, it is also organized into national, state, and regional networks such that actions taken at each respective geographical level are coordinated and carried out by relevant collectives. Moreover, certain members act as leaders within FdE subareas and for the network as a whole, while some individual collectives command more power within the network, by their elevated capacity to produce events and “articulate” other parts of the network. In this sense, the most powerful collective is the national headquarters, the Casa FdE São Paulo.<sup>1</sup>

Shannon Garland has Ph.D in Ethnomusicology and FdE was the subject of her article for a special issue of the Journal of Popular Music Studies on music, labor and value.

FdE was too multifaceted and I knew I had a lot more to learn about it. Nevertheless, I felt positively about the whole thing, but I'm still hesitant. FdE proposes an alternative way of business for the cultural sector. How to make sense of such an alternative and innovative model before embarking on it? What could be my best strategy: to leave the periphery and to stay a period in time in the house right now; to be prudent and to further investigate the positive aspects but also the accusations before embarking on this enterprise; or to give up and to follow in my attempts to succeed in the mainstream cultural sector?

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<sup>1</sup> Garland, S. (2012) - “The Space, the Gear, and Two Big Cans of Beer: FdE and the Debate over Circulation, Remuneration, and Aesthetics in the Brazilian Alternative Market”, Journal of Popular Music Studies 24 (4): 509-531.

## Appendice A: A closer look at a FdE Event



**Date:** 19th of April 2014 – 5:00 PM

**Location:** At the Casa FdE Amapá (Northern Brazil)

**Tickets:** \$10 – At the door

The event is organized by the independent producers Rataria Produções, in partnership with Zombie Produções and the Casa FdE Amapá. The Casa fora do Eixo Amapá offers its facilities in the southern part of the city to host the event.

The main band, Surra, is a hardcore band from São Paulo, for whom this event will be part of its North-North Eastern tour of Brazil. Surra will be playing in three other states in the region. The various Casas FdE will be helping in touring and promoting these artists in the visited cities.



The rest of the bands playing at the Amapá event are from the state of Amapá itself. CDs and T-shirts of the various bands and other FdE bands will be sold on the day of the event.

The event is promoted on Facebook by Rataria Produções. One month before the event, a total of 2,161 people were invited and 154 guests confirmed their attendance.

## Appendice B: The Beatriz Seigner Controversy

Beatriz Seigner is a Brazilian cineast who has contributed to FdE. On the 7<sup>th</sup> of August 2013, she posted a virulent note on Facebook attacking FdE and its head, Fabio Capilé. In it, she describes FdE as a brand, and a sect that exploits its volunteers, misappropriates the work of the artists and has no interest at all in art or culture. Here are some translated excerpts of her long Facebook note.<sup>2</sup>

Talking about her first encounter with members of FdE who invited her to tour in various cities to display her recently released movie “Bollywood Dream – O Sonho Bollywoodiano” and debate it with cineclubs around Brazil, she says:

*“With respect to compensation they explained to me that it was still an embryonic project without resources, but they could pay me with “Cube Card”, (...). I can already say that I have never seen even one penny of this “cube card”, or platform with a ‘menu of services’ where this currency is exchanged.”*

*And when did the project go awry? Or when did I become scared of FdE?*

*My first shock was when they asked if they could place their logo on my film - to be a ‘FdE Production’ in their catalog. I said the film had been realised without any public resources and that the minimum quota for a sponsor to have its logo on it was 50,000 reais. They gave up.*

*The second shock occurred in a debate with the SESC São Paulo state, when I received the contract from the SESC, and saw that Fora Do Eixo was receiving money for that session, in my name, and had not consulted me about it. I signed the contract minutes before the display and I said to FdE that the value described there is my salary, something they gave me after 9 months because I charged them publicly.*

*The third shock came when they took me to dinner at the marketing director of Vale do Rio Doce’s house, in Rio de Janeiro, where they spoke of the fabulous numbers (always inflated) and the amount of people who were attending the sessions of the films and festivals music, and the power of FdE to gather all those people in all these cities. They spoke of the public who attended these exhibitions and shows as being their supporters.*

About Pablo Capilé:

*“It was there that I first met Pablo Capilé, founder of the brand / network FdE, a little before this dinner. Until then I had been told that the network was decentralized, and I had believed it, but immediately when I saw the reverence with which everyone listened to him, obeyed him, did not contradict or criticize him, I realized that he is the leader of those young people, and that around him orbited the so called “Summit” or “First echelon” of FdE.*

*(...).And he was against paying paychecks to artists, because if they did, they’d encourage the person ‘at the far end of the chain, as they say, to be artists and not “PIPES” as he needed it to be. I asked what he meant by “PIPES”, he said unceremoniously: “PIPES, the pipes through which the sewer passes.”*

*(...)*

About Money Making and Quest for Public Funds

*“That is, he wants to make shows, display movies, plays, dances, simply because these*

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<sup>2</sup> <https://pt-br.facebook.com/beatriz.seigner/posts/10151800189163254>

*cultural / artistic actions gather lots of people anywhere and will allow him to take photos and then tell sponsors and public and private officials how they mobilize "so many people", and that, therefore, they want more money, or political privileges.*

*Look how smart, if Pablo Capilé says he will talk on a stage, he would not get even half a dozen people to hear him, but if they say that the Creole will give a concert, thousands will appear. That is Creole that mobilizes, not him. But then he takes photos of the show's Creole, and goes on to the Cultural Ministry saying it was him and his network that mobilized those people. And so on consequently with all the artists who are participating in any event connected to the FdE network. I believe that, like me, most of these artists do not know how much Pablo Capilé capitalizes on them, and their public.*

#### About the Culture of FdE

She adds that members who work in the casas are so into their work and adhere to the "Work is life" mantra, that they do not have time to enjoy the various cultural acts, they do not receive any salary but still feel endowed to the collective account (Caixa) of the Casas.

*"Yes, they are like a collective sect"*

#### Capilé and FdE's response to the allegations:<sup>34</sup>

When asked about these allegations, Capilé denies all of them. He says the "Pipes" bit has been distorted since it was the term used to refer to the platforms for the circulation of cultural material. He wouldn't reply to the personal attacks, but his partner Bruno Torturra defended him in a Facebook note<sup>5</sup>, emphasizing the fact that he lives in a collective casa, mainly out of a collective account.

Most interestingly, concerning the demand to place the FdE logo on the film, Capilé replied:

*"The investment made by FdE in the diffusion of the film "Bollywood Dreams" would cost more than R \$ 100,000 if it were calculated and charged by a standard company. (...) Despite her refusal, we understood that it was important to proceed with the diffusion to strengthen our partnership and foster the independent audiovisual scene."*

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<sup>3</sup> <http://foradoeixo.org.br/2013/09/04/faq-perguntas-frequentes/>

<sup>4</sup> <http://mariafro.com/2013/08/13/polemica-fora-do-eixo-a-nota-do-coletivo/>

<sup>5</sup> <https://pt-br.facebook.com/bruno.torturra/posts/10201623820543095>