

The Contemporary Art Market in Brazil: Five Current Barriers to Progress

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Abstract

Through examining the current state of the Brazilian art market inside and outside the country's borders and especially the main obstacles for its progress, the author finds the following fact there are five barriers holding the Brazilian art market back: corruption and money-laundering scandals, daunting taxes, censorship, over-dominance of the primary market over the secondary one and education.

This dissertation is therefore an attempt to investigate how an emerging art market is affected by political and economic turmoil and how its actors react to it and try to improve the situation.

List of abbreviations

- ABACT: Associação Brasileira de Arte Contemporânea (Brazilian Association for Contemporary Art)
- APEX-Brasil: Brazilian trade and Investment Promotion Agency
- CCBB: Centro Cultural Banco do Brasil
- EAV: Escola de Artes Visuais do Parque Lage (most commonly known as “Parque Lage”)
- MAC USP: Museu de Arte Contemporânea da Universidade de São Paulo
- MAM Rio: Museu de Arte Moderna do Rio de Janeiro
- MAM SP: Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo
- MASP: Museu de Arte de São Paulo (São Paulo Museum of Art)
- MoMa: Museum of Modern Art New York
- SESC: Serviço Social do Comércio

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Between September 2017 and March 2018, the exhibition 'Troposphere' brought Brazilian contemporary art to Beijing, China. For the first time, artworks by 21 Brazilian contemporary artists were displayed in dialogue with 21 artworks by Chinese artists. With highly regarded artists such as Tunga, Leda Catunda and Abraham Palatnik to name a few, the exhibition is part of the Beijing Mingsheng Art Museum's BRIC art project.¹ Coined by Lord O'Neill, the UK Treasury Minister and former chief economist at Goldman Sachs, the acronym reunites four developing economies: Brazil, Russia, India and China. In 2001, he noted that the real GDP growth among the quartet had surpassed that of G7 group of mature economies.² In fact, it is a radical change acknowledged by Austrian artist, curator and theoretician Peter Weibel as so far Europe and North America were the ones able to define who was included or excluded in terms of national, economic or military alliance.³ The same thing is true for the art market where it was only in 1989 with French curator Jean-Hubert Martin's exhibition *Les Magiciens de la Terre* at the Centre Pompidou that artworks from regions outside the Europe/North America axis were finally displayed alongside their Western counterparts for the first time.⁴

¹ Silas Martí, 'Mostra em Pequim busca dialogos entre artistas brasileiros e chineses', Folha de São Paulo, 01/01/2018, <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/ilustrada/2018/01/1947274-mostra-em-pequim-busca-dialogos-entre-artistas-brasileiros-e-chineses.shtml>, consulted June 22nd 2018.

² Gillian Tett, 'The Story of the Brics', FT Magazine, 15/01/2010, <https://www.ft.com/content/112ca932-00ab-11df-ae8d-00144feabdc0>, consulted June 22nd 2018.

³ Hans Belting, Andrea Buddensieg, and Peter Weibel, *The Global Contemporary and the Rise of New Art Worlds*, (Cambridge : the MIT Press, 2013), p. 20

⁴ Lucy Steeds ed., *Making Art Global, Part. 2 'Magiciens de la Terre' 1989*, (London: Afterall Books, 2013).

Nowadays, the Brazilian art market is thriving rapidly and definitely part of the new forces at play in the art world alongside China. According to the *Art Collector Report 2014*⁵, almost a third of collections are less than 15 years old in Brazil whereas 45% of Chinese collections were established between 2001 and 2012, in other words exactly when the term BRIC was created.

China's being the first commercial partner of Brazil since 2009⁶, the exhibition is part of a logic of exchange between the two countries. This major cultural event answers the call of Chinese President Xi Jinping and Brazilian President Michel Temer earlier this year, to expand cooperation in cultural and tourism areas. Not only this exhibition is a significant step in terms of diplomacy and promotion of both countries art scenes, it also has a fundamental political role as it shows the discomfort among artists living in countries where art struggles to develop freely and independently despite being two of the biggest emerging art markets. The Brazilian art market journalist Silas Martí pinpoints how much the visual echoes between Chinese and Brazilian artists are put forward whereas the political dimension is relegated in the background as if it was "invisible". However, this is the most interesting point of this exhibition. The artist André Komatsu, who represented Brazil at the 56th Venice Biennale and a virulent critic of the actual Brazilian government, said very bluntly that being in a country like China where the artworks need to be approved from the censorship bureau is a "very hard reality". Even though, he was not censored in Beijing, he doesn't hesitate to compare this situation with Brazil: "there is another type of control, a control more brutal, older [in China].

⁵ Art Collector Report 2014 edited by Larry List (New York: Publishers for Modern Art, 2014), <http://www.sammlung-wemhoener.com/img/press/2014/Art-Collector-Report-2014.pdf>

⁶ Jean-Pierre Langellier, 'La Chine est devenue le premier partenaire commercial du Brésil', *Le Monde*, 08/05/2009, https://abonnes.lemonde.fr/economie/article/2009/05/08/la-chine-est-devenue-le-premier-partenaire-commercial-du-bresil_1190539_3234.html, consulted June 22nd 2018

In Brazil, we live in a contemporary totalitarianism.” His work reflects this idea perfectly: he constructed a labyrinth with materials such as steel plates, glass and mirrors projecting the visitor into a frightening reality. “It is a voluntary jail, we live in a corrupt and hierarchical structure”, he adds.⁷

This dissertation is not a comparison between the Chinese and Brazilian market, however it is interesting to see how Brazil fits within the global context and other emerging markets. In fact, this exhibition reflects the current increasingly global paradox of the contemporary Brazilian art world: an increasingly global art scene but that is still struggling internally with an economic and political crisis mirrored then in its artistic production. This dissertation aims at analysing critically which are the challenges facing the Brazilian market in the midst of the country’s political and economic turmoil in order for it to continue to thrive in the following years.



Fig 1. André Komatsu, *Autômatos*, steel, glass and mirrors, 2015, Minsheng Art Museum, Beijing.

⁷ Silas Martí (2018).

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The author decided to choose the subject 'The Contemporary Art Market in Brazil: Five Current Barriers to Progress' for several reasons. The first one is to understand how do art markets emerge and especially come from, how it is possible that in many countries all over the world, art markets that did not exist a few decades or even years ago are now flourishing? Galleries districts sprouting, art fairs being created, new economies changing cities or even countries profoundly in economic, political and sociological terms. The author was introduced to numerous literature on the subject as she specialized during her MA with a major on Emerging Markets. First, in his book *The A to Z of the International Art Market: the essential guide to customs, conventions and practice*, Tom Flynn explains that the term 'Emerging Markets' "denotes art markets 'emerging' in newly developing economies around the world. The so-called BRIC nations of Brazil, Russia, India and China are commonly regarded as typical of emerging or 'frontier' markets, but more recently the economies of Brazil, the Middle East and some African nations have started to attract attention, their own art markets starting to flourish as new wealth is generated and the economic benefits deriving from the cultural industries are recognized"⁸.

However, two books stand out during the research of this dissertation regarding emerging markets. The first one compiled and edited by Anna M. Dempster is *Risk and Uncertainty in the Art World*, which investigates the specific types of uncertainty that exists in the art market. As it will be discussed later in this dissertation, Brazil is a country shaped by uncertainty may

⁸ Tom Flynn, *The A to Z of the International Art Market: the essential guide to customs, conventions and practice*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), pp. 58.

it be political, economic or sociological. To capture the influence of these external factors on the Brazilian art market, these books has allowed the author to draw necessary information for her understanding of this special environment. After all, it is not a coincidence if the German curator Jochen Volz coined the São Paulo 32nd Biennale *Incerteza Viva* (Live Uncertainty)! ‘The impact of globalization on the contemporary art market’ essay written by Olav Velthuis shows the challenges for emerging markets, that despite their sudden growth, might “be considered especially problematic”. For instance, he argues that “dealers [...] complained about problems with the customs department, which in China needed to be bribed to get the artworks released at the borders”.⁹ This essay led me to question in a deeper way, not only the positive aspects of globalization that one might usually find reported in the economic press or the Scene & Heard section of ArtForum, but also on the dysfunction of the market and in particular the specificities of a country’s culture (bribery for the Chinese example above), that might get in the way of its art market growth and internationalization.

The second book seminal book is *Cosmopolitan Canvases: The Globalization of Markets for Contemporary Art* edited by Olav Velthuis and Stefano Baia Curioni. To begin with Olav Velthuis points out how the common assumption that the globalization of the art market is a recent phenomenon created at the same time as the word BRIC was coined.¹⁰ This principle is reiterated by Amanda Brandallero in her essay where she discusses the fact that before the Brazilian art market took off at the turn of the millennium, there was already a strong art

⁹ Olav Velthuis, ‘The impact of globalisation on the contemporary art market’, in *Risk and Uncertainty in the Art World*, ed. Anna M. Dempster (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), pp. 95.

¹⁰ Olav Velthuis, and Stefano Baia Curioni, *Cosmopolitan Canvases : The Globalisation of Markets for Contemporary Art*, (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2015), pp.5.

scene there.¹¹ The embryo of the Brazilian art market is the São Paulo Biennale that was created in 1951, the oldest Biennale after Venice. It is the cornerstone in creating an arts hub in São Paulo and essential in contextualizing this dissertation. This topic is fascinating for several reasons, including the fact that it was sponsored and conceived with MoMa's director Nelson Rockefeller and one of the first event outside the Western United States/Europe traditional route to see and experience art from art all over the world. There is an enormous amount of literature on Biennials nowadays and this is no exception as it has been an example for other biennials created afterwards. Thus, I have based my research on the following books: *Biennials, Triennials, and Documenta, the exhibitions that created contemporary art*¹²; *30xBienal, Transformações na arte Brasileira da 1ra a 30a edição*¹³; *Biennials and Beyond-Exhibitions That Made Art History 1962-2002*¹⁴ and *Showtime: The 50 Most Influential Exhibitions of Contemporary Art*.¹⁵

When one researches data about the art market, the first reaction is to look at the art market reports. For this dissertation, I will look into the Art Basel & UBS The Art Market Report 2017 but also at the previous TEFAF art markets reports as they all have in common the fact of being headed by the economist Claire McAndrew. Indeed, the data available in the last 2017 Art Basel report shows the importance of the Brazilian collectors in the global art market: Brazil represents 2% of the most important nationalities of buyers for dealers, 2% of the global share

¹¹ Amanda Brandellero, 'The Emergence of a Market for Art in Brazil', in *Cosmopolitan Canvases: The Globalisation of Markets for Contemporary Art*, eds Olav Velthuis, and Stefano Baia Curioni (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 215-237.

¹² Charles Green and Anthony Gardner, *Biennials, Triennials, and documenta: The Exhibitions that Created Contemporary Art*, (Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell, 2016).

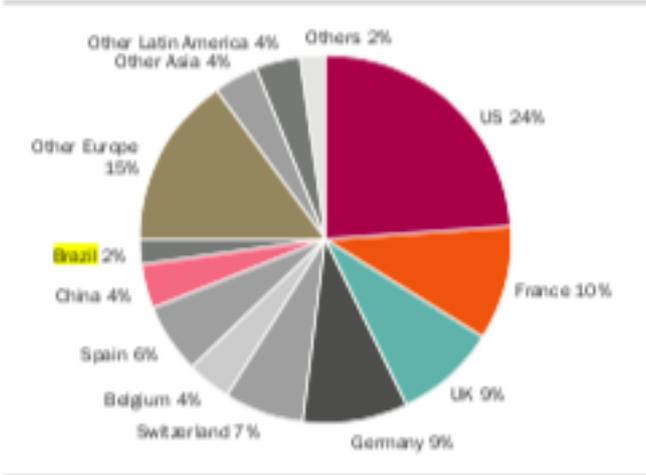
¹³ *30 x bienal: transformações na arte brasileira da 1a a 30a edição* (exhibition catalogue, Bienal Pavilion, 21 September 2013 - 8 December 2013), ed. Paulo Venancio Filho (São Paulo: Bienal São Paulo).

¹⁴ Bruce Altshuler ed., *Biennials and Beyond: Exhibitions that Made Art History: 1962-2002*, (London: Phaidon, 2013).

¹⁵ Jens Hoffmann, *Show Time: The 50 Most Influential Exhibitions of Contemporary Art*, (London: Thames & Hudson, 2014).

of Brazilian Billionaires and finally, 5% of the top 200 collectors are located in Brazil in 2016 (Fig. 2,3 & 4).¹⁶

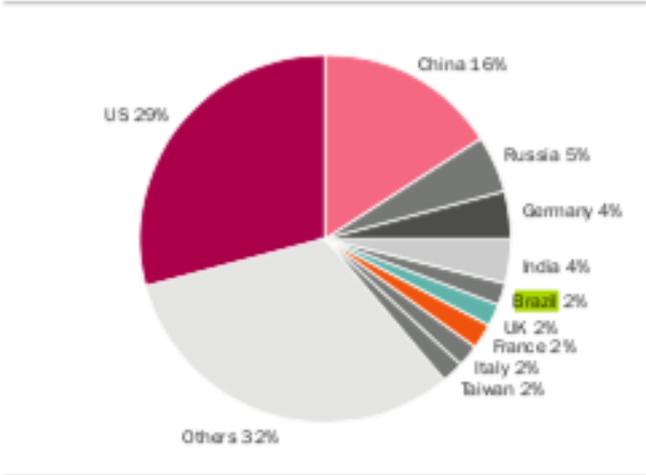
Figure 2p | Most Important Nationalities of Buyers for Dealers in 2016



© Arts Economics (2017)

Fig. 2: (Resource: Art Basel 2017)

Figure 6h | Global Share of Dollar Billionaires in 2016



© Arts Economics (2017) with data from Credit Suisse

Fig. 3: (Resource: Art Basel 2017)

¹⁶ Dr. Clare McAndrew, *The Art Basel & UBS Report 2017*, (Basel: Art Basel, 2018).

Table 6h | Location of Top 200 Collectors

	1990	1995	2006	2016
US	114	94	106	97
Canada	1	7	5	3
North America	58%	51%	56%	50%
Brazil	1	1	2	5
Argentina	2	4	1	2
Mexico	3	4	3	3
Other Latin America	2	3	3	2
Latin America	4%	6%	5%	6%
China	0	0	0	7
Hong Kong	6	4	0	3
Japan	12	8	2	4
Other Asia	0	1	2	7
Asia	9%	7%	2%	11%
UK	12	11	14	12
France	10	17	11	9
Germany	10	17	12	11
Italy	5	9	4	3
Other EU	5	14	18	12
Switzerland	9	4	14	11
Europe	26%	36%	37%	29%
Russia	0	0	0	3
Middle East	0	1	2	4
Other	8	1	1	2
Other	4%	1%	2%	5%

© Arts Economics (2017) with data from ARTNews

Fig. 4: (Resource: Art Basel 2017)

The reference for the Brazilian art market is the report established by Latitude, the organization regrouping the Brazilian galleries abroad. The 2015 Latitude report's main findings are the following figures: the galleries featured in it sold 5, 750 artworks in 2014 and the price range of the works is located between R\$ 300 to R\$ 1.4 million with an average price of R\$30,836.¹⁷ However, not only the last one dates back from 2015, it also has many flaws as

¹⁷ Dr. Ana Letícia Fialho, 4a Pesquisa Setorial: O Mercado de Arte Contemporânea no Brasil', 4a edição (São Paulo: Latitude, 2015), pp.10.

Ana Leticia Fialho, who directs this report, told the author that the Brazilian galleries gave the data themselves...for a report about them, not to mention that no report is available regarding the turnover of the Brazilian auction houses. This bias cannot be ignored and raises questions about the opacity of the Brazilian art market and the difficulty of giving accurate data when writing a research about this subject. This is the focal point of 'Brazil's Booming Art Market: Calculations, Images, and Promotion of a Market of Contemporary Art' in *An Anthropology of Contemporary Art*.¹⁸

The reports provide the researcher with data but no deep analysis. Unfortunately, scholar literature about the Brazilian art market is very scarce, especially in English where only two books are available. The first one is *Contemporary Art Brazil*¹⁹, edited by Hossein Amirsadeghi, that maps the main actors of the Brazilian art market by categories (collectors, galleries, curators, artists). An attempt reproduced in the book *Art Cities of the Future*²⁰, focusing this time on the São Paulo art scene, but again just presenting these actors them instead of giving a thoughtful investigation about the mechanisms behind this particular market. This has been finally addressed by a group of researchers at the FGV (including again Ana Leticia Fialho, who's work cannot be overlooked), one of Brazil's best universities, and reunited into a book *Art & Market in Brazil*.²¹ Different topics are analysed such as the 'Institutions and the Dynamics of the Art Market and the Internationalization of Brazilian Contemporary Art and Market Trends' just to name the most relevant text for this dissertation. However, as good as

¹⁸ Dayana Zdebsky de Cordova, 'Brazil's Booming Art Market: Calculations, Images and the Promotion of a Market of Contemporary Art', in *An Anthropology of Contemporary Art: Practices, Markets, and Collectors*, eds Thomas Fillitz and Paul van der Grijp (London: Bloomsbury, 2018).

¹⁹ Hossein Amirsadeghi, ed., *Contemporary Art Brazil*, (London: Thames & Hudson, 2012).

²⁰ Kiki Mazzuchelli, 'São Paulo', in *Art Cities of the Future: 21st Century Avant-Gardes*, (London: Phaidon, 2013), pp. 219-223.

²¹ Cunha Campos, Cesar ed., *Art and Market in Brazil*, (Rio de Janeiro: FGV Projetos, 2016).

this book might be, the scarcity of secondary sources about these topics speaks volumes about the lack of academia in Brazil and of a long-term vision when it comes to analysing the country's art market. It also highlights how recent is the development of this art market is and how much has to be done in order to improve it. There are, of course, several articles in the country's main newspaper the *Estado de São Paulo*, *Folha de São Paulo* and *O Globo* and in other publications specialized in contemporary art *ArtReview*, *The Art Newspaper*, *Frieze* and so on, but most of the time, these are exhibition reviews, records at auction and the pieces that sold for tremendous amount of money at an art fair. Very few articles produce a deeper reasoning about the Brazilian art market mechanisms, strengths and weaknesses. This urged me to address this issue, contribute to the Brazilian art market study and hopefully deepen this analysis.

To pinpoint the barriers and weaknesses of the Brazilian art market, I had to open my research horizons and look into cross-disciplinary research about the Brazilian economy and sociology. Two American journalists have written remarkable books about the Brazilian society. Larry Rohter, culture reporter for the New York Times, wrote *Brazil on the Rise: the story of a Country Transformed*²² in 2010 where he gives useful insights about the evolution of the country in the last decade and especially how the popular culture of '*jeitinho*' can infuse corruption in the Brazilians everyday lives whereas Alex Cuadros, Bloomberg's Brazil correspondent, inquires the lives of Brazil's wealthiest people in *Brazillionaires: The Godfathers of Modern Brazil*²³ and shows how these individuals ties with politics and CEOs involve common illegal practices that have several impacts on the country's population as a whole. One of this practices that have the most impact on the art market and the Brazilian

²² Larry Rohter, *Brazil on the Rise: The Story of a Country Transformed*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010)

²³ Alex Cuadros, *Brazillionaires: The Godfathers of Modern Brazil*, (London: Profile Books Ltd., 2016).

one is no exception is money laundering which is widely explored in Brazilian judge Fausto Martin De Sanctis *Money Laundering Through Art: A Criminal Justice Perspective*²⁴. A topic also explored in Hito Steyerl 'Duty Free Art' essay in her book *Duty Free Art, Art in the Age of Planetary Civil War*.²⁵

Thus, the literature read for this research helped the author understanding the historical, economical and sociological aspects of Brazil and the country's art market mechanisms. However, as most of the events dealt in this dissertation are set between 2016 and 2018, the majority of information they contained proved to be outdated in the light of the country's history twists. As a consequence, the dissertation is mainly based on secondary resources coming from newspapers and magazines articles, quicker to deal with the current events shaking Brazil, but also videos online such as the one found on Artload, not to mention, obviously, the primary sources interviews detailed in the methodology.

Chapter 3: Methodology

After looking into the secondary sources cited above in the Literature review, the author decided to conduct her primary research in the tradition of the human sciences by asking a sample of contemporary art market professionals dealing with the Brazilian art market in the country or abroad to find open questions in order for them to give their opinion on this

²⁴ Fausto Martin De Sanctis, *Money Laundering Through Art: A Criminal Justice Perspective*, (Heilderberg: Springer, 2013).

²⁵ Hito Steyerl, *Duty Free Art: Art in the Age of Planetary Civil War*, (London: Verso, 2017).

emerging art market and especially what is holding the market back at the moment. The lack of literature concerning the Brazilian art market and the immediacy of the recent events that have shaken Brazil may them be political (the impeachment of President Rousseff), economical (the *Lava-Jato* operation) or related to the Brazilian art scene (the censorship of the 'Queermuseu') made these interviews the cornerstone of this dissertation. As the aim was to have opinions from a wide range of actors, so the author chose to interview artists, collectors, gallerists, contemporary art specialists, academics and publishers, each of them playing a different but crucial role in the development of the Brazilian art market. The interviews of the following art market professionals were all conducted during the month of June 2018:

- **Lucas Simões**, Brazilian artist, participated in a group exhibition about Brazilian art at the Hauser & Wirth gallery in Los Angeles last year (interviewed 26/06/2018).
- **Moky May**, Publisher & Responsible for the Latin American sector of Art Review magazine (interviewed 06/06/2018)
- **Vivian Gandelsman**, Founder of Artload, one of the main specialists of the Brazilian art market (16/06/2018).
- **Ines Coelho Keutgen**, collector, actually lives in Belgium with her husband Nicolas Keutgen but she launched the first art club in Brazil 4 years ago and she is responsible for bringing the VIP collectors in Brazil for the SP-Arte Fair (07/06/2018).
- **Romain Vicari**, French & Brazilian artist, he will have a solo show in July at the Palais de Tokyo (05/06/2018).
- **Felipe Hegg**, gallerist, he is known for showing the best of photography in Sao Paulo & represents Martin Parr in Brazil (06/06/2018)
- **Thiago Gomide**, founder of the Bergamin & Gomide gallery, specialized in the secondary market and one the very few galleries to do all 3 Art Basel (Basel, Miami & Hong Kong). He is also the co-founder of the new art fair Semana de Arte with the Luisa Strina gallery in order to continue bringing international collectors to Sao Paulo (05/06/2018).

The aim was to have a diverse range of points of view and not write a dissertation based on a bias that could be produced by only interviewing a particular profession in this sector, for instance only gallerists.

The open-questions asked to the interviewees where the following:

1) What do you think are the most positive aspects of the Brazilian art market? (keys to its success, specificities)

2) What could be improved and how? What would you do?

3) Which are the barriers do you think are holding the market back?

4) What do you think about the lack of public policy in the cultural field? Do you think corruption has an impact on the Brazilian art market?

5) Why do you think the secondary market struggles to develop in Brazil compared to other regions like China (where the situation is the opposite)?

6) Do you think the Brazilian art market is developing more abroad? (with fairs and galleries opening branches or offices, the last one being Fortes in Portugal)

7) What do you think of the most talked about events of this year in the Brazilian art world:

- the censorship of 'Queermuseu' exhibition

- the new tax on imports for works of art indexed on their market value and not their size and weight as it used to be before

- the importance of the Sao Paulo Biennial in bringing an international audience & the symbol of freedom of speech it represents especially in this time of crisis as it used to be during the dictatorship

The speed in which the art market evolves nowadays, and its globalisation and digitalisation created new paths to record the evolution of the art market and especially the Brazilian one, in a country where art books are scarce. By creating the Artload, Vivian Gandelsman gave worldwide (and free) access to more than 200 videos of the key players of the art market all over the world. As she grew up in the cultural sector, starting to work with her father Thomas Cohn, the first Brazilian gallerist to participate to Art Cologne, Artload is an incredible source of knowledge to delve into as she interviewed almost all the key players of the Brazilian art market. As this dissertation is a snapshot of the Brazilian art market at a particular moment, the study of her videos allowed it to be more accurate, in particular the interviews of gallerist Luisa Strina and collector Frances Reynolds. The creation of DADO talks by Mrs. Gandelsman also shed light on the complex issues surrounding the place of Brazil in a globalized art market.

Five themes stand out mainly from these interviews: corruption and money-laundering in Brazil, over-dominance of galleries over the secondary art market, daunting taxes, censorship and education. Thus, the author decided to organize the dissertation in five parts, one for each barrier perceived to be constraining the Brazilian art market.

Chapter 4: Findings and Analysis

Barrier 1: Corruption and Money-Laundering in Brazil

“Billions of dollars looted from the public coffers. Scores of powerful politicians and wealthy businessmen ratting on each other in hopes of avoiding prison terms. A small but valiant team of prosecutors and investigators trying to bring the white-collar crook to justice”, it may sound like a great scenario filled with plot twists to keep the audience hooked and it is, indeed, the new series available on Netflix this year... apart from the fact that it is, too, the story of the still-unfolding money-laundering scandal that has turned Brazil upside down and led to the impeachment of former President Dilma Rousseff in 2016. With a former President of Brazil - Lula- threatening to sue him for his TV show²⁶, Jose Padilha, the producer of *The Mechanism*, explains to the *New York Times* the word after which the streaming show has been named: “the fact that the mechanism has no ideology is fundamental. My thesis is that the mechanism operates in all elections at all levels of government in Brazil, everywhere. Companies that are big clients of the government, usually construction companies but also big commercial banks, finance them all, either legally or through secret slush funds.” In return, whoever is in power

²⁶ ‘Brazil : Lula Decries Violent Protest, Threatens to Sue Netflix Over ‘The Mechanism’, TeleSur, 29/03/2018, <https://www.telesurtv.net/english/news/Brazil-Lula-Decries-Violent-Protests-Threatens-to-Sue-Netflix-Over-The-Mechanism-20180329-0001.html>, consulted June 30th 2018.

“hires those companies to perform services, and the companies inflate the contracts heavily with kickbacks either to politicians or their parties”.²⁷ This tendency that politicians, bankers, business-men and judges have allegedly conspired to steal vast sums from the state, regardless of who is in office is so deeply rooted in the Brazilian society that it rubs onto other sectors including culture.

First, it is important to remind ourselves that money-laundering and corruption are rife all over the world in the art market, not only in Brazil. In his book, *The A to Z of the International Art Market*, Tom Flynn emphasizes the role played by the new participants from the realms of banking and finance in the art market. Even though, he insists on the fact that art has been associated with banking for centuries giving the example of the Medici patronage in Florence, collectors and speculators have been increasingly attracted to the acquisitions of artworks after the 2008 financial crisis. Indeed, he lists the advantages that art can provide to these individuals: “security, confidentiality, attractive investment potential, cultural cachet and access to a privileged social circle”.²⁸ However, one asset is intertwined with corruption and money-laundering: “the relative lack of oversight in high-end business compared to the stricter regulatory framework that govern more conventional financial markets”.²⁹ French contemporary art market specialist Thomas Blonski goes even further in the analysis by comparing the action of the French State in the financial and art sectors.³⁰ He gathers, in a

²⁷ Larry Rohter, ‘Brazil’s Jaw-Dropping Corruption Scandal Comes to Netflix’, *The New York Times*, 18/03/2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/16/arts/television/mechanism-netflix-brazil-jose-padilha.html>, consulted June 30th 2018.

²⁸ Tom Flynn, *The A to Z of the International Art Market : the essential guide to customs, conventions and practice*, (London : Bloomsbury, 2017), pp.xxi

²⁹ Tom Flynn, (2017), pp. xviii-xxi.

³⁰ Thomas Blonski, *L’État de l’art*, (forthcoming 2019), pp. 80. This author was given privileged access to the manuscript.

table (Fig. 5), the fundamental articles of the protection of financial markets and essential criminal provisions to protect the investor from malicious acts or that would break the equality between the investors. It is thus disturbing to see that not only the rules investors have to follow in the financial market to comply with the criminal law are not applied in the art market but that these despicable behaviours are encouraged or even rewarding in the art market! For example, the asymmetry of information is a criminal offense, with a sanction of five years of imprisonment including 100 million euros fine, in the financial market whereas in the contemporary art market there is a valorisation of the asymmetry of information.

	Financial Markets	Contemporary Art Market
Market manipulation	Criminal offense	No control
	Sanction: 5 years of imprisonment, 100 million euros fine	Manipulation resulting from the organization of public events (exhibitions, etc.)
Asymmetry of information	Criminal offense	No control
	Sanction : 5 years of imprisonment, 100 million euros fine, (In case of use of privileged information)	Valorisation of the asymmetry of information
Independence of the board	Incentives to independence	No control

	Legislation : regime of regulated agreements (cancellable contracts)	Valorisation of interpersonal skills
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Fig.5: Comparative table of State action in the financial markets and the contemporary art market.

The financial boom and the globalisation have led to one of the main current trends happening in the art market: the “duty free art” stored in freeports, sprouting all over the world and especially in places such as Geneva, Singapore, Monaco, Luxembourg and soon Shanghai. The artist and writer Hito Steyerl underlines again the link between finance and art comparing freeports, inside which the artworks are stored, to offshore financial centres as both have these features in common: “security and confidentiality, not much scrutiny...and an array of taxes advantages [...] thus, becoming an offshore or extraterritorial museum”.³¹ Financial Times journalist Georgina Adam even starts her book with a dinner in a freeport facility in Luxembourg. She is worried too about the way art has turned into a commodity and notably an investment opportunity, with the result that so many major works of art and artefacts sit in storage, hidden away. She adds that “[she] finds difficult to believe that most artists started out creating artworks, gaining value while sitting in crates”.³² Even though, the whole art market cannot be reduced to this “duty free art” tendency, it is important to mention it within the corruption and money-laundering context in Brazil to better understand the impact of globalization on the emerging markets.

³¹Hito Steyerl, *Duty Free Art : Art in the Age of Planetary Civil War*, (London : Verso, 2017), pp.80

³² Georgina Adam, *Dark Side of the Boom : The Excesses of the Art Market in the 21st Century* (London : Lund Humphries, 2017), pp. 194.

The link between corruption and culture is not just the creation of a series about the biggest political scandal in the country's history, it is multiple. The first impact is to be found in the funding of the Brazilian cultural sector. The mistrust of the Brazilian people towards the government after the military dictatorship (1964-1985) and the entry of Brazil in a neo-liberal economy resulted in the financing of culture by the private sector. In his MA dissertation 'Cultural policy and Art Institutions: Challenges for Brazil's visual contemporary art world', Alix Detour analyses in details the uniqueness of the cultural policy system in Brazil and especially the Rouanet Law created in 1991 to attract the market in the cultural sector. She describes the operating method of the law: "to benefit from 100% deduction of its investment through the Rouanet Law, the public or private body has to apply to the Ministry of Culture. Once the proposal is approved, the project owner may seek resources with individuals or businesses. The latter are known as 'incentive provider'. It can be done through donation or sponsorship [...] institutions are using both donations and sponsorship to raise funds and be able to function properly. An important aspect of the law is that it allows in the case of sponsorship the displaying of supportive advertising identifying the sponsor. The law also works the other way around, with the system of 'editais'. Editais are a call entry for cultural projects. Many companies put out editais for artists, curators to apply for the opportunity to create an exhibition and finance all aspects of the production".³³

The Lava-Jato investigation revealed that several companies involved in the corruption and money-laundering scandal such as Petrobras and Odebrecht regularly made donations

³³ Alix Detour, Cultural policy and Art Institutions: Challenges for Brazil's visual contemporary art world, (MA Dissertation). Retrieved from the IESA archives.

through the Rouanet Law to museums and other cultural institutions, thus shaking the trust the cultural actors had for their sponsors or even in some cases members of their boards. The effect on the Rouanet Law was immediate: for instance, the investment of Petrobras in the cultural sector through the law fell by 96%. In fact, in 2006, the oil company spent R\$ 232, 3 million, a fortune compared to what it spent ten years later with only R\$ 7,5 million. During the decade 2006-2016, the *O Globo* newspaper estimates that Petrobras spent a total R\$1,1 billion in corporate sponsorship through the Rouanet Law.³⁴ An anonymous source told the author: “if the government doesn’t invest in culture because it is corrupted and then now the private sector, through the Rouanet Law, is also implicated in these scandals, how are we going to finance culture in Brazil? No cultural actor wants to be sponsored by a corrupted company and have their reputation and image splashed by it”. The corruption and money-laundering are not confined only to the national market but also has a repercussion with foreign investments in the Brazilian art market. A European director of a major gallery, part of the ArtReview Power 100, makes a confidence to the author: “We thought of opening another gallery in Brazil a few years ago and Odebrecht offered to sponsor us by offering us a building in a prominent location. Thank god, we did not get ourselves in this mess!”. He also adds that is it not surprising that, with all the corruption and bureaucracy in Brazil, several prominent galleries such as Gagosian, Lisson and White Cube decided to leave the country after having opened an office or a gallery in São Paulo.³⁵ Brazilian art market specialist Ana Leticia Fialho writes that the exhibition *Brazil, Body and Soul* at the New York Guggenheim (10

³⁴ Ancelmo Gois, ‘Lava-Jato teve efeito também sobre a Lei Rouanet: caiu em 96% o investimento da Petrobras, *O Globo*, 19/02/2017, <https://blogs.oglobo.globo.com/ancelmo/post/lava-jato-teve-efeito-tambem-sobre-lei-rouanet-caiu-em-96-o-investimento-da-petrobras.html>, consulted June 30th 2018.

³⁵ Silas Martí, Galeria britânica White Cube fecha filial em São Paulo depois de 3 anos, *Folha de São Paulo*, 04/07/2015, <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/ilustrada/2015/07/1651743-galeria-britanica-white-cube-fecha-filial-em-sao-paulo-depois-de-3-anos.shtml>, consulted June 30th 2018.

October 2001 - 29 May 2002) was done to pressure the Brazilian government to build a Guggenheim branch in Rio de Janeiro. She also recalls the fact that this project was finally suspended by judicial force as a result of the action brought by the Public Ministry, when it had already cost the city of Rio de Janeiro the sum of \$200, 000. She adds that the museum's total cost was supposed to reach a few million dollars and would be mainly financed by private and public Brazilian investors.³⁶ Finally, after spending three years and \$20 million on its Rio outpost, Casa Daros brutally closed in 2015 leaving the Brazilian art world flabbergasted.³⁷

The Brazilian gallerist Felipe Hegg, co-founder and director of the Galeria Lume, told the author that he believes the corruption of the Brazilian art market is mainly due to “the trickery deeply rooted in the Brazilian culture”. It is the famous “jeitinho” described by New York times journalist Larry Rohter: “One of the basic organizing features of daily life is the *jeito*, perhaps even more commonly known by its diminutive, the *jeitinho*. In its most literal sense, to have *jeito* is to be adroit at something or to have an aptitude, knack, or talent. It can also mean to fix things, but it's usually used figuratively to describe the skill required to maneuver around the laws or social conventions that prevent you from achieving an objective.”³⁸ Vivian Gandelsman's comment to the author seems then logical: “Before creating Artload, I used to work for Brazilian galleries. Until 8 years ago, there was no declaration made for the artworks. I would ask the gallerist for one when I sold an artwork to a client and he would tell me, it was not necessary. We did not have such thing. Nowadays, almost every artwork is sold with a

³⁶ Ana Leticia Fialho, *As Exposições Internacionais de Arte Brasileira : discursos, práticas e interesses em jogo, Sociedade e Estado, Brasília, v.20, n.3, set./dez. 2005, pp. 694* <http://www.scielo.br/pdf/se/v20n3/v20n3a07>

³⁷ Silas Martí, ‘Once Thought Immune from Economic Woes, Brazil's Art Market is Now in Full-Fledged Crisis’, *Artsy*, , 11/02/2016, <https://www.artsy.net/article/artsy-editorial-brazil-s-art-market-and-museums-are-in-full-fledged-crisis>, consulted December 9th 2017.

³⁸ Larry Rohter, *Brazil on the Rise: The Story of a Country Transformed*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp.34.

declaration as the *Receita Federal* (the Brazilian Customs Department) is paying attention to this matter. However, this creates a complicated situation as the artworks bought earlier than eight years are still not declared as their owners are afraid to have their works taken away or fined an astonishing sum if their works are regularized". She also adds that the fact that the Brazilian art market was during a long time very local feeds a feeling of belonging to a small community, thus leading some to behave as if there was no impunity whatsoever as "we are between us". Finally, she surprisingly acknowledges the fact that "if corruption has negative effects, (for example, MASP almost went bankrupt because of it), it also had positive ones. The corruption sponsored the Brazilian art scene and was very important for the 2000s boom of the art market. People who laundered money also created incredible institutions such as Inhotim or the São Paulo Biennale. [Edemar] Cid Ferreira played a key role in the development of the biennale. The ones he organized were the best ones I ever saw." Edemar Cid Ferreira is notorious for its corruption and money-laundering feats in Brazil. Former president of the Banco Santos, M. Cid Ferreira served as the president of the Biennale of São Paulo from 1993-98. Not only the cultural institution almost went bankrupt, as some believe he stole money from its budget, but last year the US returned 95 artworks from the banker's collection to Brazil, works smuggled out of the country.³⁹ Seeing the bewildered reaction of the author, she explains: "We live in a *Terra de Ninguém*, a no man's land, nobody respects the law in Brazil". This fatalism is also shared by Thiago Gomide who declared in an interview about the Inhotim money-laundering case: "Thank God, [Bernardo Paz, owner of Inhotim] didn't pay his taxes, because the park might not exist otherwise. Better for them to have a museum than to have

³⁹ James H. Miller, 'US returns 95 works from money laundering banker's collection to Brazil', *The Art Newspaper*, 12/11/2017, <https://www.theartnewspaper.com/news/us-returns-95-works-from-money-laundering-bankers-collection-to-brazil>, consulted June 25th 2018.

10 times the money, which will be poorly spent”.⁴⁰ Another event that highlighted this issue was the exhibition in Curitiba of works recovered from the Lava-Jato “Car wash” operation. In the Oscar Niemeyer museum, the exhibition featured 27 modernist and contemporary works from the 270 in total used for the malevolent scheme. It is not the first exhibition of custodial art in Brazil since the money laundering law was extended to the art market in 1999.⁴¹ However, as the Lava-Jato scandal metastasized into a national crisis and the exhibition is housed in one of Brazil’s most important museums, it has caught the public attention on the aftermaths corruption and money-laundering have on the Brazilian art market and on how culture is managed (or mis-managed) by the government.

However, Mrs. Gandelsman remains optimistic: “the situation is improving. MASP report was created recently [the first one dates from 2015] based on what other museums such as the Centre Pompidou and Tate are doing in order to improve the transparency of the institution. I hope the other Brazilian museums will follow this initiative. This opinion is also shared by the collector Frances Reynolds. Collectors will donate much more to the museums if they see that their money is well spent, and the artworks are properly taken care of.” In fact, if Brazilian cultural institutions are struggling financially between the government cultural budget cuts and the flaws of the Rouanet law, several private museums have opened this year in Brazil: the latest additions to the Brazilian cultural art scene include the Galpão inaugurated by Andrea and José Olympio Pereira -M. Pereira is the CEO of the Crédit Suisse Group in Brazil-

⁴⁰ Alex Cuadros, ‘The Crimes that Fueled a Fantastic Brazilian Museum’, Bloomberg, 08/06/2018, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/features/2018-06-08/the-financial-crimes-that-fueled-brazil-s-inhotim-museum>, consulted June 25th 2018.

⁴¹ Mac Magolis, ‘Brazil’s Museum of Stolen Beauty’, Bloomberg, 22/07/2016, <https://www.bloomberg.com/view/articles/2016-07-22/dirty-money-makes-beautiful-art-in-brazil-exhibit>, consulted July 2nd 2018.

housing their collection at Vila Anastácio in São Paulo while the heir of the founder of TAM airlines Marcos Amaro opened his FAMA – Fabrica de Arte Marcos Amaro in the outskirts of São Paulo in Itu.

During an interview with the author, ArtReview’s associate publisher and Latin America specialist Moky May argues that as a result of this climate of corruption, the Brazilian government policy is not unified but decided by individuals according to their tastes. He cites the Dora Longo Bahia’s exhibition “Cinzas” recently on display at the Galeria Vermelho. The artist selected paintings from different moments of her career to be covered with the same grey paint that the city government has been using to cover the urban art around the city of São Paulo during the operation Cidade Linda, an initiative of the current mayor João Doria. “Cinzas”, ashes in Portuguese, refers to the layer of concrete-grey paint six paintings received, preventing the appreciation of the works that previously occupied the canvases (Fig. 6).



Figure 6. Dora Longo Bahia, *Sem titulo (paisagem Suíça) [Untitled (Swiss Landscape)]*, acrylic paint over oil on canvas, 2001/2017, Galeria Vermelho, São Paulo, 190x150x3 cm.

This situation is also denounced by Marcelo Mesquita and Guilherme Valiengo in their movie *Cidade Cinza*⁴² (Fig.7), which means grey city, where one can see the damages caused by this urban cleansing policy. For example, in the movie trailer, one of the walls that were painted over was a 700 meters long mural that had been painted by several artists, including Os Gêmeos (The Twins in Portuguese). The acclaimed duo is known for their large format paintings of yellow figures blending Brazilian folklore, hip-hop culture and political commentary. At some point in the documentary, a street artist laments the fact that “the few public works of art available for Brazilian citizens are being destroyed”.



Fig. 7. “*Seu dinheiro transformado em cinza*” (Your money being transformed into grey/ashes), graffiti by Os Gemeos in the movie *Cidade Cinza* (2013) by Marcelo Mesquita and Guilherme Valiengo.

⁴² Link to the trailer on Youtube : <https://youtu.be/7NpppZaGfJo>, consulted June 30th 2018.

The disappointment of the city's inhabitants is even more justified as these are artists exhibited in the most prestigious museums, fairs and biennales around the world such as the Hangar Bicocca in Milan, the Art Basel Miami fair and the 2014 Vancouver Biennale. Their last record at auction was the 2009 *Untitled* painting hammered \$310,000 during the Latin America sale at Phillips New York in 2016.⁴³ After declaring that "Graffiti bombers should be in prison",⁴⁴ the public outcry was such that João Doria decided to take step back in April 2017 and initiated a new project called MAR (Museu de Arte de Rua) in which eight artists will be selected for the commission of an urban artwork each and awarded the sum of R\$ 40.000. However, the previous mayor of São Paulo Fernando Haddad had already paid R\$2.000 to each of the 450 graffiti artists that painted the murals on Avenida 23 de Maio, the very same murals that Doria's administration decided to erase in the first month following his election. Furthermore, the works commissioned by MAR cannot be political neither religious and the artist will need the authorization from the city council to perform the work in a public space. The graffiti artist Mauro Neri draws attention on the hypocrisy of the mayor Doria as he and his peers do not have any freedom regarding their works in the city anymore. He also got arrested in 2017 trying to remove the grey concrete paint recovering one of his works on the Viário João Jorge Saad, in the south of the city.⁴⁵ In the meantime, the punishment of the American court against Jerry Wolkoff, who deleted urban art might be a milestone. In fact, on February 12th, 2018 he was condemned by the Brooklyn judge Frederic Block to pay \$6,7

⁴³ <https://www.phillips.com/detail/OS-GÊMEOS/NY010916/3?fromSearch=os%20gemeos&searchPage=1>, consulted June 30th 2018.

⁴⁴ Alvaro Campos and Eduardo Laguna, 'Lugar de pichador é na prisão', O Estado de São Paulo, <https://sao-paulo.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,lugar-de-pichador-e-na-prisao-diz-doria,70001648437>, consulted June 30th 2018.

⁴⁵ 'Projeto de Doria para grafites pagará até R\$ 40,000 e vetará ações políticas', Folha de São Paulo, 10/03/2018, <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/cotidiano/2017/03/1865518-projeto-de-doria-para-grafites-pagara-ate-r-40-mil-e-vetara-acoes-politicas.shtml>, consulted June 30th 2018.

millions to the twenty-one street artists whose works he erased. This decision is unprecedented and is based on a provision of American law that protects works of art of recognized value, even in cases where they have been created on other's people property. For the first time, law was used to punish those responsible for the destruction of a graffiti, an artistic style, whose works are in general, temporary.⁴⁶

This battle between two São Paulo mayors Haddad and Doria shows the incoherence of the public cultural policy and how the money allocated to it is wasted. It also demonstrates the desire of Brazilian politicians to literally erase what their predecessors did without realizing the economic and cultural impact this has on the country's citizens. It sends the wrong message at a national and international level, which is that culture is not valued by the government and badly managed.

The previous example showed how much there is a lack of dialogue between the government, the people and the cultural actors. However, the problem is that there is also a lack of dialogue between the cultural actors themselves regarding the cultural policy. Indeed, the lack of cooperation between museums is damaging an already fragile cultural landscape for the visual arts. Coincidence or not, the São Paulo Museum of Art (MASP) announced the exhibition of 40 paintings and drawings of the New York artist Jean-Michel Basquiat exactly when Mayor Doria was covering São Paulo's street art with grey paint. The non-profit museum had planned to spend R\$ 2.5 million (\$770,000) to organise the show with loans from international galleries

⁴⁶ André Cabette Fabio, 'Por que a punição da corte americana contra quem apagou grafite é um marco', Nexo, 14/02/2018, https://www.nexojornal.com.br/expresso/2018/02/14/Por-que-a-punição-da-corte-americana-contra-quem-apagou-grafite-é-um-marco?utm_source=socialbttns&utm_medium=article_share&utm_campaign=self, consulted June 30th 2018.

and museums. However, the Centro Cultural do Brasil (CCBB) decided to organise its own Basquiat exhibition with loans of mega collector and art dealer Jose Mugarbi, leading the MASP to drop its exhibition after an unsuccessful attempt to reach an agreement with the CCBB to postpone the date of its exhibition. Questioned about this matter by the newspaper Folha de São Paulo, Heitor Martins, the president of MASP, stated that having “two shows of the same artist at the same time would be a misuse of public resources in a country where they are scarce”, adding that Basquiat is just “too trendy at the moment”. His interpretation is questionable for several reasons. First, Basquiat is not “too trendy”, it is the 30th anniversary of his death (in 1988 at 27 years old), so it is understandable that several art institutions would like to do a survey of his works. This is also a shame in a country where the last exhibition of Basquiat’s works dated from more than twenty years ago. In fact, solo shows by foreign artists are scarce in Brazil and it is unlikely that such an exhibition will be re-scheduled with so many loans from across the Atlantic.

Moreover, Brazilian exhibitions are often featured in the top exhibitions worldwide ranking of the Art Newspaper. For instance, ‘Los Carpinteros: Vital Object’ (3 May-2 August 2017) attracted daily 4,450 visitors and in total 351, 574 visitors at the CCBB Rio de Janeiro.⁴⁷ So, it was more likely to have been a success than not and the practice of doing partnership or at least a dialogue between museums to show the same artist at the same time in the same city is done regularly all over the world. The latest example being the two Martin Margiela museum shows on display in Paris: the Hermès years at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs while

⁴⁷ ‘Ranked : the top ten shows in their categories from around the world’, The Art Newspaper, 26/06/2018, <https://www.theartnewspaper.com/feature/top-10-exhibition-and-museum-visitor-figures-2017>, consulted June 25th2018.

a bigger retrospective is exhibited at the Palais Galliera.⁴⁸ Finally, *the Art Newspaper* coined the Barbican exhibition ‘Basquiat: Boom for real’ (September 2017-February 2018) ‘the most popular show in the museum’s history’ revealing an attendance of more than 7000 visitors on the closing weekend of the exhibition and final figures are estimated at more than 215,000 (Fig.8).⁴⁹ The CCBB Basquiat show draw more than 3000 visitors on the opening day in São Paulo before travelling to the others CCBB hubs based in Brasilia, Belo Horizonte and Rio de Janeiro. Vivian Gandelsman regrets that this battle of egos, may it be between the mayors or the museum directors, gives a poor image of the public cultural policy of Brazil abroad and may refrain future loans if the Brazilian museums are seen as ‘unreliable and disorganized’.

Daily	Total	Exhibition	Venue	City	Dates
* An asterisk indicates that entrance to the exhibition and the museum was free					
7,509	833,490	*Painters' Painters	Saatchi Gallery	London	30 NOV-16-22 MAR 17
6,714	518,893	Yayoi Kusama: My Eternal Soul	National Art Center Tokyo	Tokyo	22 FEB-22 MAY
6,388	597,702	Ken Jacobs: the Guests	Guggenheim	Bilbao	27 JUL-12 NOV
6,229	710,995	Bill Viola: a Retrospective	Guggenheim	Bilbao	30 JUN-09 NOV
6,161	534,221	Georg Baselitz: the Heroes	Guggenheim	Bilbao	14 JUL-22 OCT
5,788	620,945	David Hockney	Centre Pompidou	Paris	21 JUN-23 OCT
4,729	628,924	*Sugar Spin: You, Me, Art and Everything	Queensland Gallery (GoMA)	Brisbane	03 DEC-16-17 APR 17
4,450	351,574	*Los Carpinteros: Vital Object	Centro Cultural Banco do Brasil	Rio	03 MAY-02 AUG
4,346	478,082	David Hockney	Tate Britain	London	9 FEB-29 MAY
4,344	406,435	Pierre Huyghe: (Untitled) Human Mask	Guggenheim	Bilbao	30 MAR-16 JUL

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Fig. 8: Top ten 2017 contemporary art shows in the world (source: The Art Newspaper)

To continue to grow in a challenging political and economic context, the Brazilian art market is having to adapt itself to these new circumstances. One of the solutions that is gaining more weight is the tendency to collaboration. An idea recently confirmed in an article in the *Art*

⁴⁸ Suzy Menkes, ‘Martin Margiela: deux expositions parisiennes dédiées à son travail personnel et à son oeuvre pour Hermès’, *Vogue Paris*, 26/03/2018, <https://www.vogue.fr/suzy-menkes/la-chronique-de-suzy-menkes/story/martin-margiela-paris-heritage-hermes-musee-des-arts-decoratifs-palais-galliera-exposition/1612#5-5>, consulted June 30th 2018.

⁴⁹ Anny Shaw, ‘Basquiat : Boom for Real is most popular show in Barbican’s history’, *The Art Newspaper*, 29/01/2018, <https://www.theartnewspaper.com/news/basquiat-boom-for-real-is-most-popular-show-in-barbican-s-history>, consulted June 30th 2018.

Newspaper by Laurie Rojas mentioning initiatives such as Condo Unit in São Paulo, where galleries, instead of having to bear the extravagant price of an art fair booth can be hosted by one gallery with maybe another colleague and “share” their artists’ works and collectors for one week.⁵⁰ This have been proven in the past by guaranteeing the gallerists to assert their rights after reuniting themselves in the Brazilian Association of Contemporary Art (ABACT) association. Gallerist Felipe Hegg, member of ABACT, tells the author that the association has grown into 51 members in the last decade that regularly reunite to discuss the profession main challenges and how those could be tackled.

This leads to one of the most important findings of this research the fact that the development of the Brazilian art market and thus of the Brazilian art scene too is only taken into consideration and supported by the government when it is an organization that is attached to the Industries Ministry such as the Latitude project or the SESC. The budget allocated to these organizations is a sharp contrast from the one allocated from the ministry of culture. According to the website *Cultura e Mercado*, in 2012, SESC’s annual budget reached R\$1,5 billion consolidating a higher amount than that of the cultural secretariats of the city of São Paulo (R\$ 400,000), the State administration (R\$1 billion) and that of the Ministry of Culture (R\$800 millions).⁵¹ Finally, it is interesting to see how much Brazil’s cultural budget is a paltry

⁵⁰ Laurie Rojas, ‘As Brazil turns a corner, will local market follow?’, *The Art Newspaper*, 10/04/2018, <https://www.theartnewspaper.com/news/as-brazil-turns-a-corner-will-local-market-follow>, consulted June 25th2018

⁵¹ ‘Danilo Miranda fala sobre SESC, Lei Rouanet e Ministério da Cultura’, *Cultura e Mercado*, 05/04/2012, <http://www.culturaemercado.com.br/site/noticias/danilo-miranda-fala-sobre-sesc-lei-rouanet-e-ministerio-da-cultura/>, consulted June 25th2018

amount, which would be in dollars around \$205,000, compared to the French Ministry of Culture, which had a record of \$3,2 billion allocated for this year.⁵²

A certain number of questions arise from this: does the government only want to support profitable initiatives? Does the culture of a country, its identity, be commercial to be promoted such as art fairs and galleries with APEX-Brasil⁵³? Is it more valuable than the artistic legacy contained in the museums? This might also explain why there is no interest from the government in having a unified and long-term cultural public policy: if the aim is only to make more profit, the idea of investing on the long-term in projects that might not generate a dime seem less attractive. This profit-oriented mindset also drives the Brazilian tax system, thus making it difficult for the professionals working in the cultural sector to disseminate and democratize knowledge.

Barrier n°2: The tax system, is the Brazilian art market local or global?

In April 2018, Foreign and Brazilian galleries that brought works from abroad to participate in SP-Arte, the São Paulo contemporary art fair, were forced to bear an extra cost charged by the Brazilian airports. In fact, the government changed its customs policy so that the tax is no longer indexed to the weight and size of the work but to its market value. Journalist Marcos Augusto Gonçalves gives the example of the gallery Nara Roesler that had to pay R\$17,000 instead of \$200 for a work by Argentinian artists León Ferrari because of this change. Gallerist Marcia Fortes said to him that “what was already extremely difficult will get even worse- to

⁵² Henri Neuendorf, ‘France Announces Unprecedented \$3.2 Billion Culture Budget’, Artnet, 05/10/2016, <https://news.artnet.com/art-world/france-culture-budget-686645>, consulted June 25th 2018.

⁵³ APEX-Brasil is the acronym for Brazilian Trade and Investment Promotion Agency.

expose and sell works of art imported into Brazil, even if made by Brazilian artists. It is impressive to see the willingness of most of our public agents to withdraw Brazil from the competitive [art] markets".⁵⁴ Museums also have gotten into trouble: the Campinas airport attempted to charge MASP R\$ 243,000 per day to store six paintings coming from Europe instead of the former tariff of R\$ 130. *The Art Newspaper* reports that the museum won the court fight on Tate modern loans. As a result, the ministries of culture and transportation are now setting up a commission to create clear guidelines for objects coming into the country for cultural events.⁵⁵

In a talk he gave at Sciences-Po university in Paris in 2016, Marc Spiegler, director of Art Basel, reminded the audience that these tax issues are also happening in other European countries. He mentioned the "Kulturgutschutzgesetz verabschiedet", a new German law enacted to make it more difficult for works who are in Germany to be sold outside the country and worries that "it will drain all the great works out of Germany before they hit 75 years-old, as they would need to be approved to leave the country by a federal panel. We know the impact of this law as Italy has the same one, but the artwork age limit is 50 years-old [...] What is happening is that if you have an Italian collector in this situation that does not sell his work before it reaches the age limit, the work is likely to lose half or a third of its value or becomes impossible to sell".⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Marcos Augusto Gonçalves, 'Galerias de arte contestam novas tarifas de aeroportos sobre obras', Folha de Sao Paulo, 4/05/2018, <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/ilustrada/2018/04/galerias-de-arte-contestam-novas-tarifas-de-aeroportos-sobre-obras.shtml?loggedpaywall>, consulted June 25th 2018.

⁵⁵ Gabriele Angeletti, 'São Paulo museum wins court fight against Brazilian airports steep cargo fees on Tate Modern loans', *The Art Newspaper*, 21/05/2018, <https://www.theartnewspaper.com/news/sao-paulo-museum-wins-court-fight-against-brazilian-airport-s-steep-cargo-fees-on-tate-modern-loans>, consulted June 25th 2018.

⁵⁶ Art Basel and the Artworld : The Transformative Decade, talk on Sciences-Po website at <http://www.sciencespo.fr/ecole-management-innovation/en/news/art-basel-and-artworld-transformative-decade> (Accessed 03.07.2018)

Unfortunately, this kind of embarrassing situation is not new for the previous generation of Brazilian art market professionals. Legendary gallerist Luisa Strina, the Brazilian equivalent to Leo Castelli, tells Artload how the baffling taxes and complex bureaucracy have already prevented substantial foreign investments: “my international career began in 1978, when Banco do Brasil invited me to do some exhibitions, as they were opening branches all over the world. So, I did exhibitions in Vienna, Singapore and Venezuela. In Venezuela we had tax issues. The exhibitions were funded by the bank and the Brazilian embassy. The bank refused to pay taxes to release the artworks from the customs, so they remained there for three years. I promised myself to never leave Brazil again as it caused me such a headache! Those were all valuable works from artists like Sergio Camargo, Suede and so on. I had a hard time recovering them”. In the same interview, he adds that politics have also been a drag to business: “In 1986 or 1987, with the end of the dictatorship and the opening of the art market, the late Peter Ludwig, owner of the Lindt chocolate factory and founder of the Museum Ludwig in Cologne, came to Brazil and approached me and João Sattamini, from the former gallery Subdistrito. [Peter] Ludwig told us he had been to Brasília to meet former President José Sarney because he wanted to open a museum of Brazilian art there, and he was willing to buy \$5 million worth of Brazilian artworks, which at that time meant everything that was available. His only requirements were a piece of land onto which he could build his museum and that it should be named Ludwig. But Sarney did not accept it.⁵⁷ Gallerist Felipe Hegg told the author that the current President of ABACT, gallerist Luciana Brito, has planned to travel to Brasilia with the association’s lawyer to negotiate with the government a possible solution to this tax

⁵⁷ Gallerist Luisa Strina interviewed on the Artload website at <http://artload.com/pt/video/luisa-strina>, (Accessed 27.06.2018)

issues. Gallerist Thiago Gomide confirms to the author too that lawyers hired by MASP are also fighting for artworks to be recognized as cultural goods and not luxury goods as they are currently registered under the Brazilian law. However, the consequences on the Brazilian art market are already being felt as the next ArtRio art fair scheduled in September 2018 will be deprived from international galleries. Brenda Valensi, the director of the fair, said to a Globo News journalist that, as a consequence this year the international art fair would be much more local with international collectors coming still and qualified the government's cultural policy of "disastrous" for the country's art market.⁵⁸

Even though all the art market professionals interviewed by the author for this dissertation regret this new law, their opinions differ when asked about of how global the Brazilian market is nowadays. In fact, the gallerist Thiago Gomide, whose gallery is one of the few to participate in the three Art Basel fairs around the globe thinks that "the most important and expensive artist are being sold much more abroad than inside the country in my opinion, or at least that is what I see. We sell around 70% of our artworks abroad." Moky May agrees that "it can only be a good thing if galleries are selling more [abroad]. It is also a global matter: the art world is global nowadays and the art fairs play a pivotal role." The artist Romain Vicari, who grew up between Paris and São Paulo and will have a solo show at the Palais de Tokyo, adds that "the public is more receptive [abroad], which is much more educated [than in Brazil]. Not only there is an important support from the public but also financially, intellectually [they are more

⁵⁸ Taxa dos aeroportos sobre valor de obras de arte preocupa expositores, TV report on the Globo News website at <http://g1.globo.com/globo-news/jornal-globo-news/videos/v/taxa-dos-aeroportos-sobre-valor-de-obras-de-arte-preocupa-expositores/6817415/>, (Accessed 27.06.2018)

open-minded] and socially. Thus, it is less risky to invest abroad, may it be to sell works or organize an exhibition, in these circumstances.”

In contrast, the contemporary art market specialist Vivian Gandelsman strongly disagrees: “I still think that the market is local and that it is a lie that some galleries might sell 70% of their works abroad. I really don’t believe that galleries are developing more abroad than internally. Luciana Brito just closed her gallery in New York. Even though Nara Roesler has a tiny gallery in a good location in New York, they are trying to get a piece of the Latin American cake and not of the international one. Indeed, selling [abroad] and being representative of a real internationalization are two different things to me and I think they are still behind on that matter. To my mind, Mendes Wood DM is the gallery that gets more done in these aspects and represents artists that are not only Latin American: the French Neïl Beloufa, the British Michael Dean, the Japanese Kishio Suga, the Romanian Iulia Nistor, the Swedish Runo Lagomarsino and Nina Canell, etc”. She concludes that some galleries “brag they are selling more abroad to sell this false idea that a huge internationalization is occurring. If we could have the names of the collectors buying artworks of Brazilian artists such as Adriana Varejão or Beatriz Milhazes, I am sure that they would probably all be Brazilian or Latin American collectors”. The collector Pedro Barbosa is on the same page and tells the author that the only thing missing to improve the art market is a consistent cultural public policy and that the Brazilian art market is already “here” and goes “beyond the Brazilian galleries present at Art Basel”.

A compromise is found between these pros and cons when the author asked the Brazilian artist Lucas Simões about this issue. In fact, between exhibitions and solo shows at art fairs,

the artist counts eight times, the moment he displayed his works abroad in 2017: twice with Brazilian galleries and then once at the gallery Hauser & Wirth in Los Angeles, gallery Marcio in Mexico, Laura Reynolds in Texas, Patron in Chicago and finally, the gallery Gabrielle Maubrie in Paris. For the fairs, he lists his participation at Zona Maco in Mexico, ArteBa in Buenos Aires, SP Arte in São Paulo, Untitled in Miami, Arco in Madrid, Art Basel Miami and Artissima in Turin. However, when it comes to the volume of sales of his artworks, he evaluates the sales as 50% sold abroad and 50% of the works sold in Brazil.

It is thus not so surprising to see this kind of Kafkaesque situation at the Brazilian airports develop as it is the case nowadays with this tax battle between the government and the art world and their struggle to find an agreement. In an interview to the Artload online platform, the Argentinian collector Frances Reynolds based in London and São Paulo deplors how these fiscal barriers are making it more difficult for the galleries to play “their diplomatic role, both culturally and economically”. They take on this function by showing the best of Brazilian art at the art fairs which are a challenge for them as they are increasingly expensive. She also observes that major exhibitions of Brazilian artists are often not shown in their home country after being displayed in prestigious institutions, the latest example being the exhibition ‘Tarsila do Amaral: Inventing Modern Art’ (February 11-June 3, 2018) at the MoMa. “Imagine, that there is a work by Tarsila [do Amaral] abroad. If the owner lends it to Brazil, and Brazil appropriates it, no one will want to borrow their works to an exhibition in Brazil out of fear that the works might be considered cultural property of the Brazilian State.” She envisions that with legal insurance in place, more people will lend works and “not only the ones that are already in an exhibition but also works from private collections”. This risk of appropriation of works by the Brazilian state reinforces the argument of Mrs. Gandelsman about the lack of

legal declaration for works bought before 2010, mentioned in the first part of the dissertation. Mrs. Reynolds warns about the damages these continuous fiscal and bureaucratic barriers bear on the Brazilian art market and especially the dissemination, promotion and democratization of culture in Brazil. "For instance," she says, "I have heard of a new law that says that when publishing a new book or document that contains the image of an artwork, it must be published in the government gazette (*Diario Oficial* in Portuguese). So, if the book has 400 images, all of them must be published in the government gazette. This is so much bureaucracy! And a tremendous waste of time and money. What for? A book contains the country's memories and it improves education".⁵⁹

Barrier n°3: The over dominance of galleries and art fairs in comparison to the secondary art market in Brazil

The third barrier to the development put forward by the primary sources of this research is the over dominance of galleries, and as a consequence art fairs, in comparison to the secondary art market in Brazil.

According to the gallerist Felipe Hegg, there are four noticeable evidences implying that the primary market highly dominates the current Brazilian art market. 1) The lack of habit from the Brazilian population; 2) galleries are more discreet places to buy artworks; 3) the risk of falsification; 4) the daunting taxes.

⁵⁹ Contemporary art collector Frances Reynolds interviewed on the Artload website at <http://artload.com/video/frances-reynolds>, (Accessed 27.06.2018)

To begin with, Mr. Hegg insists on the fact that “the Brazilian population is less familiar with auctions than their American or European counterparts as it is not very popular and there are no ‘big auction houses’ like Christie’s and Sotheby’s to communicate about it”. He cites the example of Jeff Koons’ giant ballerina in front of Christie’s New York at the Rockefeller Plaza that attracts passerbys.⁶⁰ Secondly, as Mrs. Gandelsman previously noted the avoidance of declaration for artworks in Brazil, it would be logical that these same persons turn themselves towards the galleries instead of the auctions houses as “all the items would have to be declared”, reminds Mr. Hegg to the author. This discretion also goes hand in hand with the tendency for money-laundering of some high-profile collectors cited above such as Edemar Cid Ferreira or Bernardo Paz. Thirdly, Mr. Hegg explains that “some auctions could be rife with falsifications, so when a gallery client asks me for recommendations regarding auctions, I tell him or her to go only to pair of them that I consider reliable”. He adds that “it is not really a surprise when one knows we are in the country where trickery reigns”, a nod to the “jeitinho” cited previously in the dissertation.

On the other hand, he admits that as the Brazilian auction houses have less affluence, he knows some collectors who bought “incredible artworks for a bargain, as sometimes no buyer is even found for the lots”, “it can be a good place to make incredible deals” he adds.

The weakness of the secondary market in Brazil ends up hurting the primary one as people do not have a public reference when it comes to the price of an artwork. This function of the auction houses seemed to be replaced by the galleries. Although, Vivian Gandelsman insists

⁶⁰ Sarah Cascone, ‘Jeff Koons Returns to Rockefeller Center With Inflated ‘Seated Ballerina’ Sculpture’, Artnet News, 11/05/2017, <https://news.artnet.com/exhibitions/jeff-koons-seated-ballerina-rockefeller-center-891545>, consulted July 1rst 2018.

on the fact that “if [she] went to four different galleries [of the secondary art market] and asked for the price of an artwork, [she] would end up with four different prices as there is nowhere to have a reference, in contrast to the European or American countries where the prices in auction are online or just a call to Sotheby’s away”.

As there is no strong secondary art market and especially auctions houses in Brazil, the galleries control everything including the pricing of the artworks. The Portuguese and Brazilian collector Ines Coelho, founder of the arts club Tofiq House in São Paulo, told the author that she assumes it is a positive aspect of the Brazilian art market as “the Brazilian artists reach a higher price much earlier in their career than their European or American counterparts where the price have a tendency to progress at the same rhythm as the artist’s career”. However, some artists and gallerists do not share this point of view, the gallerist Felipe Hegg sees this price inflation as an inconvenient, especially when it comes to sell works from the artist abroad, notably if the Brazilian gallery “shares” the artist with another foreign gallery: when the time comes to sell the work at a fair, the discrepancy between two different prices for the same artist’s body of work can generate a great confusion. He tells the author “both galleries have to find an agreement on the prices to avoid an embarrassing situation in front of potential clients”. The Brazilian artist Lucas Simões, who exhibited last year at the Los Angeles Hauser & Wirth gallery, agrees with M. Hegg and goes even further complaining to the author about the “big” discount Brazilian galleries are used to give to their clients, “between 15 and 20% of the price of the artwork”, he specifies. This practice has become so widespread between the Brazilian galleries that one of them is even making fun of this situation. In fact, Camila Siqueira, director of the Galeria Leme, decided to customize her shoes with a “10%” written on her left foot and “20%” on her right foot (Fig.9). During fairs, the shoes are a hit

among collectors, who easily get the message, and the fairgoers who flood Instagram with images of it and thus, indirectly promoting the gallerist and the gallery. The only ones that are not amused are the artists. Lucas Simões, adds that “this attitude harms the value of an artist’s work as the gallerist tends to put the price extremely high having already the 10%-20% discount in mind”. In accordance with what was previously said by M. Hegg, this also generates confusion when selling the work abroad as curiously they will only apply this discount to a Brazilian collector and not to a foreign one, which means that the same artwork will not be sold at the same price depending on the collector’s nationality. This unusual situation was noticed by the author when working for the booth of a Brazilian gallery at the FIAC art fair in 2014. When the author protested to the gallerist that this practice was shameful, unethical and unfair to the Brazilian collectors, the gallerist replied that the Brazilian were used to pay for a certain price for the artist and that they would be disappointed if they were not given a discount. To prevent this from happening, Lucas Simões told the author that he had to refrain his gallery from inflating the prices of his works, even though he acknowledges that the price of his work usually grows, more often than not, because of an increase in sales than “manipulation” from his gallery. He goes even further declaring that “an artist cannot be the victim of his gallery and have a blind faith when it comes to pricing”. He confessed to the author that he knows several artists that saw their prices increase too quickly, because of their gallerist’s greed, only to find themselves alone with artworks too expensive when the gallery closes or decides to leave the artist. One the interviewees, who wishes to stay anonymous on this fact, revealed to the author that a similar situation happened with the Brazilian artist Adriano Costa who saw the prices of his work skyrocketed at the beginning of his career by his Brazilian gallery Mendes Wood DM catching the eye of the British gallerist Sadie Coles. After a while, Mrs. Coles decided to stop representing M. Costa as his prices were too high in

comparison to other emerging artists in Europe and thus had trouble finding a buyer. This put the remaining galleries representing M. Costa, Mendes Wood DM and the Portuguese Nuno Centeno, in hot water as they had to justify the expensive prices to high-profile collectors, who saw the artist rejected by a prominent British gallerist and thus putting the value of the artist's work to test.



Fig. 9: Gallerist Camila Siqueira's "discount" shoes at the SP-Arte Foto art fair in 2015 (source: Instagram)

Even though, he acknowledges the absence of foreign auction houses, Thiago Gomide, co-founder of the most powerful secondary market gallery in Brazil, does not agree with the fact that the secondary market is weaker than the primary one in Brazil. He argues that the secondary market generates more money than the primary market in Brazil. "It looks like it is

the opposite”, he explains to the author, “as the primary one looks more glamorous and thus, appears in the press. It is essential not to mix marketing and volume of sales, which are two different things”. He continues affirming that “[his] gallery is in the secondary art market but has the profile of one in the primary market, in other words: younger, doing [art] fairs and exhibitions”. In fact, when asked about the secondary art market in Brazil, the reference, all the art professionals the author interviewed for this dissertation had, was always “Bergamin & Gomide”. Interestingly, they never named an auction house, neither Brazilian nor international, when speaking about the secondary art market in Brazil, which speaks volumes about how little the Brazilian art market agents have interest in them and their lack of significance to them.

In 2016, a fellow student of the author, Chloe Yanhan Guo, wrote an MA dissertation ‘An Investigation into the Imbalance between the Primary and Secondary Art Market in Mainland China’. In fact, as the title suggests there is an imbalance of the Chinese art market, however, this one is the opposite of the challenges Brazil faces: the auction houses reign in the Middle Kingdom while the primary market performs poorly, even though the country has the third largest market share in the global art market in 2015.⁶¹ In fact, she notes that “the secondary art market alone accounts for 26% of global share with China’s Poly Auction listed as the third largest auction company worldwide.”⁶² Furthermore, her research demonstrates that the reasons between this discrepancy are historical, political, sociological and cultural factors. Brazilian art market specialist Vivian Gandelsman also offered another explanation to the author: “In China, not only they have the biggest auction house in the world, but they also

⁶¹ Clare Mc Andrew, TEFAF Art Market Report 2016, (Helvoirt: The European Fine Art Foundation, 2016), pp. 15.

⁶² Chloe Yanhan Guo, An Investigation into the Imbalance between the Primary and Secondary Art Market, pp.9

Christie’s and Sotheby’s have headquarters there. The Chinese market generates much more money, the taxes are also cheaper that is why these auction houses are all in Hong Kong. What sells in these auction houses is very international nowadays, even though there is a lot of Chinese art. If you take the Brazilian auction houses, they are all very national, local. It’s again the same old problem of taxes”. In fact, (Fig.10) and (Fig.11) show the gap between the two country’s secondary market: the turnover in Brazil is in millions whilst the Chinese one is in billions for roughly the same period, the years 2000s.

Both Brazil and China respective imbalance of the primary and secondary market show how the globalisation of an emerging art market can be hindered by internal factors even though they are among the top performing countries of the global art market as it is still the case for China.

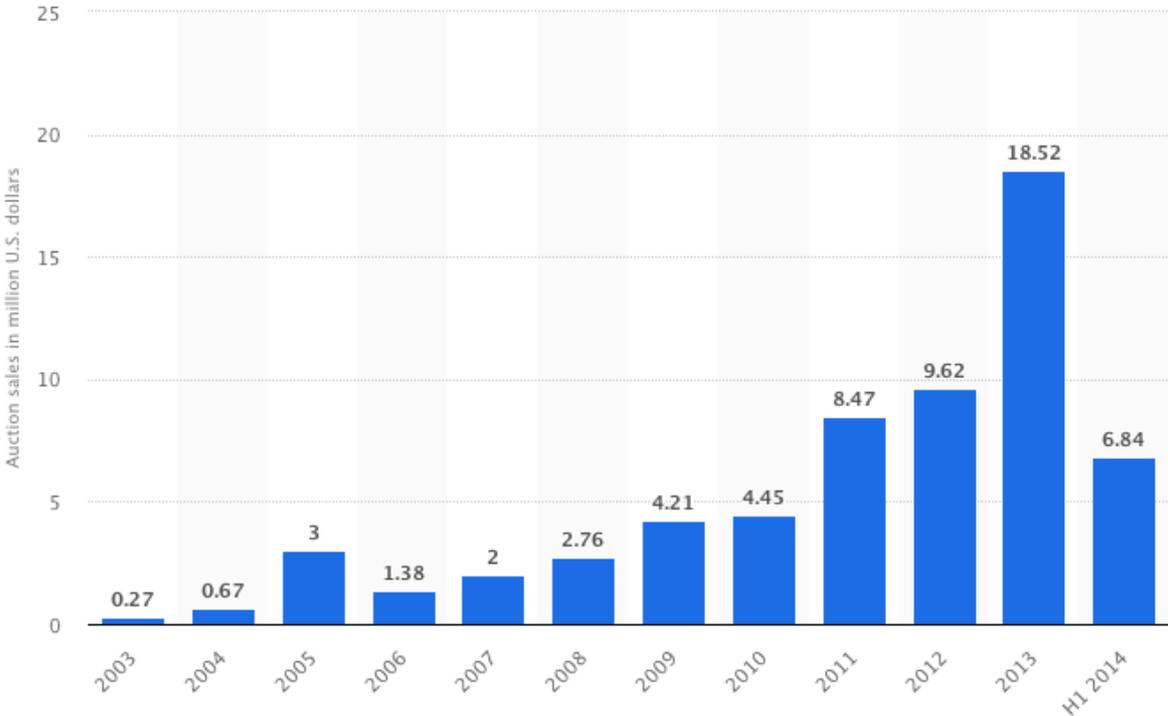


Fig. 10: Modern and contemporary art sales at auction in Brazil from 2003 to 2014 (in millions of U.S. dollars) (source: Statista)

Figure 1g Auction Sales in the Chinese Auction Market 2005-2015

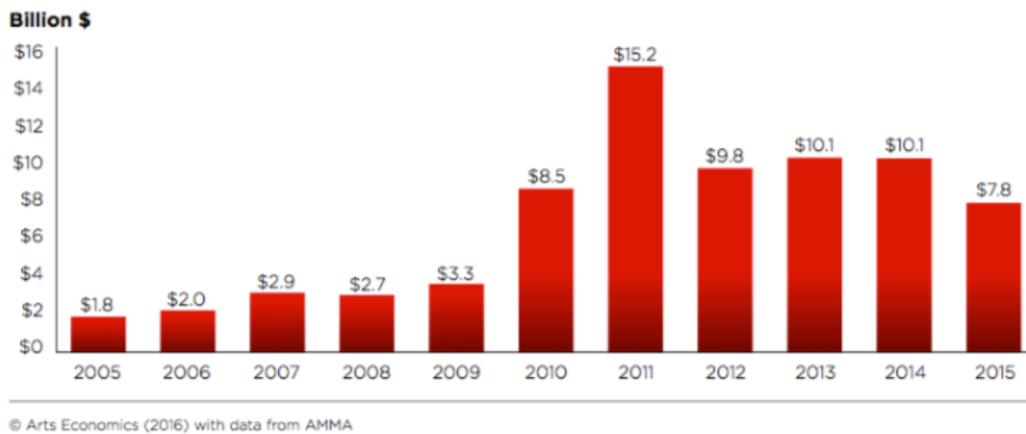


Fig. 11: Auction Sales in the Chinese Auction Market 2002-2015 (in billions of U.S. dollars) (source: TEFAF)

Barrier 4: Censorship

One of the most talked about topics of the Brazilian art scene in 2017 was the censorship of the exhibition 'Queermuseu- Cartografias da diferença na arte brasileira' (Queer museum: Cartographies of Difference in Brazilian Art). The exhibition gathers 263 artworks of 85 artists that deal with gender identity and expression, diversity and difference. Banco Santander financed part of the exhibition with the Rouanet Law and thus obtained R\$ 800,000 from the government.⁶³ The carioca newspaper *O Globo* reports that the controversy began when some works such as *Criança Viada* (by Bia Leite, *Cena Interior II* (1994) by Adriana Varejão and *Cruzando Jesus Cristo com Deusa Shiva* (1996) by Fernando Baril (Fig.12) were taken out of

⁶³ Lucas Simões, 'Queermuseu: quando a estupidez silencia a arte', *O Beltrano*, <http://www.obeltrano.com.br/portfolio/queermuseu-quando-estupidez-silencia-arte/>, consulted July 3rd 2018.

their contexts and shared on social media, where they were accused respectively of promoting pedophilia, zoophilia, and being disrespectful towards religion.⁶⁴



Fig. 12: Fernando Baril, *Cruzando Jesus Cristo com Deusa Shiva*, 1996, 'Queermuseu', Centro Cultural Banco Santander, Porto Alegre

Initially, scheduled to be shown at the Banco Santander's cultural centre in Porto Alegre, the exhibition 'Queermuseu' was cancelled on September 10, 2017, a month earlier than scheduled, after protests coming from organized groups accusing the its content to be "obscene and blasphemous".⁶⁵ However, even if the Museu de Arte do Rio (MAR) was willing to host the exhibition, new attacks regarding Wagner Schwartz's performance *La Bête* at the MAM São Paulo (where its staff was even assaulted) made the MAR stepped back (Fig.13). Indeed, on October 1rst, 2017, protests erupt at the MAM after a video circulates on social media of the artist's performance during which a four-year-old girl -accompanied by her

⁶⁴ Fatima Sá, 'Análise: Afinal, o que é a exposição 'Queermuseu'?', O Globo, 31/01/2018, <https://oglobo.globo.com/cultura/artes-visuais/analise-afinal-que-a-exposicao-queermuseu-22347631>, consulted June 25th 2018.

⁶⁵ 'MAR decide não trazer 'Queermuseu' no Rio', O Globo, 03/10/2017, <https://oglobo.globo.com/cultura/artes-visuais/mar-decide-nao-trazer-queermuseu-ao-rio-21902600>, consulted June 25th 2018.

mother, an artist- approaches the naked artist and touches his hand and foot. In fact, the audience was allowed to touch M. Schwartz naked body and he would then change positions, a reference to one of Lygia Clark's most emblematic works *O Bicho* (The Beast) made to be manipulated by the visitor. The reaction of mayor of São Paulo João Doria was without delay and he accused M. Schwartz of "pedophilia" and threatened to cut funding from the museum.⁶⁶ As a result, three hundred members of the creative industries reunited in support of the museum a few days later holding banners "Somos todos MAM" (We are all MAM) and shouting slogans such as "Censura, não!" (No to censorship!) and "Arte não é crime" (Art is not a crime!) but also "Abaixo Doria!" ("Doria out!") referring to the mayor's harsh comments.⁶⁷ The mounting pressure from right wing groups and local authorities continued as on October 20, 2017, the MASP museum restricts entrance to those of 18 years of age. The measure is disapproved by the artists participating in the exhibition, who read a manifesto, signed by more than 1200 professionals from the cultural sector protesting against the museum's policy. On November 2017, it was the American philosopher and gender theorist Judith Butler's turn to be molested by reactionary conservative activism on her way to a seminar at the SESC São Paulo. Protests, threats and a petition, which gathered more than 370,000 signatures, called for the cancellation of her talk 'The End of Democracy' about the dangers that democracy faces globally at the beginning of the 21st century.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9sbMf-SUogE>

⁶⁷ Guilherme Genestri, 'Ato reúne 200 pessoas em apoio ao MAM após polêmica com artista nu', Folha de São Paulo, 01/10/2017, <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/ilustrada/2017/10/1923396-ato-reune-200-pessoas-em-apoio-ao-mam-apos-polemica-com-artista-nu.shtml>, consulted July 3rd 2017.

⁶⁸ Daniel Steegmann Mangrané and Michelle Sommer, 'Looking Back 2017: Judith and Holofernes in Brazil', Frieze, 18/12/2017, <https://frieze.com/article/looking-back-2017-judith-and-holofernes-brazil>, consulted June 25th 2018.



Fig.13: Wagner Schwartz, *La Bête*, São Paulo Museum of Modern Art, 2017.

Rio de Janeiro's mayor Marcelo Crivella even shared a video of anti - 'Queermuseu' groups protesting on social media before declaring that the carioca population did not want to receive the exhibition in their city and added that it would never be hosted by the MAR museum: "Only if it is at the bottom of the sea. Because at the MAR, it will not" making a pun on words with the name of the museum which also means 'sea' in Portuguese ("Só se for no fundo do mar. Porque no Museu de Arte do Rio, não.")⁶⁹ Marcelo Crivella's comments are not surprising given the background from he comes from. He is a bishop who also serves as senator in Brasília, but he is mostly the nephew of Edir Macedo, founder of the Universal Church of Kingdom of God and controversial billionaire whose cult has more than two million followers in Brazil.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ 'MAR decide não trazer 'Queermuseu' no Rio' (2017)

⁷⁰ Alex Cuadros, *Brazillionaires: The Godfathers of Modern Brazil*, (London: Profile Books Ltd., 2016), pp. 108, 119.

Fábio Schwartzwald, director of the Escola de Artes Visuais (EAV) at the Parque Lage, decided to bring the exhibition to Brazil's most famous art school by launching the first crowdfunding campaign to finance an exhibition in the country's history. The campaign ended on the March 29th, 2018 raising more than R\$ 1 million (\$255,550) and thus becoming the largest crowdfunding campaign ever realized in Brazil so far. This amount included the sums gathered on the online platform Benfeitoria, the sale of artworks donated by 70 artists and the tickets for the Caetano Veloso show hosted by the Parque Lage earlier in March. The initial target was R\$ 690, 000 was secured before the end of the online campaign.

The surplus, of R \$ 375, will be invested in the expansion and renovation of the Cavalarias (Cavalry in English), a space where the exhibition will be reassembled. Debates around freedom of expression and against censorship will be held there and the public and curatorial program will organize guided visits with educators who are part of the LGBT social movement.⁷¹

All the art professionals interviewed for this dissertation were appalled by the censorship of the 'Queermuseu' exhibition. However, the reaction to the notion of a generalized censorship of the Brazilian art scene and the impact it can have on the contemporary art market varies greatly depending on the interviewees role in it. All the interviewees were protesting in person or on the social media about the censorship of the 'Queermuseu' and supporting the MAM but when it comes to join these two art related events to the dramatic assassinations of

⁷¹ Crowdfunding da 'Queermuseu' passa de R\$ 1 milhão e se torna o maior do Brasil, O Globo, 02/04/2018, <https://oglobo.globo.com/cultura/artes-visuais/crowdfunding-da-queermuseu-passa-de-1-milhao-se-torna-maior-do-brasil-22548292>, consulted June 25th 2018.

activists for democracy and LGBT rights like Marielle Franco⁷² and Matheusa, that they mourned too and shared outrage with posts on Facebook and Instagram, they act as if these facts were completely diverse notions, not linked at all. Most of them minimized the censorship happening in Brazil comparing it to other countries such as Turkey, Russia and the Trump administration in the United States. ArtReview associate publisher Moky May concedes that “people are very worried about this trend”, adding that “ArtReview and all media have a role to play in trying to stop censorship”. However, he says that “it is a global trend” citing the example of the censorship ArtReview suffered in China when Chinese artist Ai Weiwei was featured on its cover. Mrs. Gandelsman insists that “[censorship in Brazil] is not a local matter. We are living in a moment of extremes”. Besides, gallerist Thiago Gomide agrees with this idea: “I think there is an anti-liberal, conservative wave all over the world” and then continues telling the author the pivotal role social media is playing “by giving a voice to a lot of people who could not make themselves heard in the past”. Gallerist Felipe Hegg shares the same point of view: “I think a problem like « Queermuseu » had is still rare; what I think is much more significant sociologically is to analyse this through the social media prism where people can or cannot engage one click away than to think that Brazil is like this. I don’t think Brazil is prudish. I think that Brazil is more foolish than prudish because we see naked bodies every day since we were born.” In fact, the outcry caused by the naked performance by Wagner Schwartz is in sharp contrast to the advertisements created in 2015 to attract a younger audience at the Musée d’Orsay on which it was possible to see the slogan “Emmenez vos enfants voir des gens tout nus!” (Bring your kids to see naked people!) (Fig.14). One can only

⁷² Ernesto Londoño, ‘Killing of Rio de Janeiro Councilwoman Critical of Police Rattles Brazil’, The New York Times, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/15/world/americas/killing-of-rio-de-janeiro-councilwoman-critical-of-police-rattles-brazil.html>, consulted June 25th 2018.

imagine the tremendous riot that would be created if this kind of advertisement was done by a museum in the land of Carnaval in 2018!



Fig. 14: Advertisement created for the Musée d'Orsay in Paris, 2015.

However, M. Hegg, almost lived a moment of censorship in his gallery: “I work with the Brazilian photographer Gal Oppido and in our second year as a gallery, we decided to exhibit his works. At that moment, 2012 or 2013, my PR said to me « I think it is better to write that there is an age limit [to enter into the gallery] as there are naked bodies [on Gal Oppido’s photographs]. I looked at her and asked if she had gone crazy. We see naked bodies every day since we were born on TV, on the cover of the magazines and we should put a censorship for an art exhibition? My face was red from anger, I was revolted and thank god we had zero

problems then. I think that we live in the social networks moment, with a lot of people that do not think and see a movement and start pressing on the « like » button”.

Only the artists and curators seem really worried about this situation and fear for the Ministry of Culture and for the creative industries at large in Brazil. The artist Romain Vicari told the author: “I know well Wagner [Schwartz], the dancer of the MAM polemic. He had to move to Paris after living hell in Sao Paulo. In fact, he received dozens of death threats. There is even a video of him talking about it in the popular talk show of Jo Soares on the internet. We are living in a modern dictatorship, [where] everything is concealed”. In an interview to Artnet News, in April 2018, Fernanda Brenner, the director of São Paulo’s non-profit Pivô, is alarmed of the repercussions of the next presidential elections due in October 2018 might have on the cultural sector: “We don’t know who to ask for protection anymore. Every artist who is not a lunatic is concerned about how unfair the situation is and the conservative movement that’s growing by the day, especially with the elections approaching”. She bluntly adds: “If this guy [far-right wing populist Jair] Bolsonaro wins we are all screwed, the cultural field is going to suffer an immediate impact – I’m terrified of persecution”.⁷³ Her fear may be well-founded as Jair Bolsonaro is leading the polls according to a survey made by DataPoder360 with 25% of voting intentions for the 2018 Brazilian presidential election.⁷⁴ Coined “Trump of the tropics”

⁷³ Henri Neuendorf, ‘Every Artist Who’s Not a Lunatic Is Concerned’ : Brazil’s Art Scene Struggles to Find a Unified Response to Political Turmoil’, <https://news.artnet.com/art-world/brazil-art-scene-struggles-to-find-unified-response-1264439>, consulted July 2nd 2018.

⁷⁴ ‘Jair Bolsonaro lidera pesquisa com intenções de votos’, Investimento e Noticias, <http://www.investimentosenoticias.com.br/eleicoes/jair-bolsonaro-lidera-pesquisa-de-intencoes-de-votos>, consulted July 2nd 2018.

by the Guardian⁷⁵, Bolsonaro is known to be a fierce advocate of torture and nostalgic of the Brazilian dictatorship era (1964-1985).

Barrier 5: Education

One key issue that comes up time and again talking to the professionals of the Brazilian art market sector for this dissertation is education in Brazil, or rather the near absence of it, especially when it comes to the arts sector.

The gaps in education are staggering. Centuries of neglect in the educational field leave terrible disparities. According to a World Bank report on the Brazilian educational system, in 1994, a six-year old child born into the bottom of the income distribution was likely to live in the rural area and have a mother who has never gone to school.⁷⁶ If the situation was a little bit better in cities, it was still alarming if one compares to European or American standards at the time. Brazil may have progressed in the PISA's results in 2009, the data available is still distressing especially outside the wealthy neighbourhoods that can afford a world class education to their children. As stated in *the Economist*, only 10% of the universities in Brazil are offering free tuition for very limited and sought-after spots. Moreover, students in Brazil are still whiter and richer than average and much more likely to have been privately schooled.

⁷⁵ Tom Phillips, 'Trump of the tropics: the 'dangerous' candidate leading Brazil's presidential race', *The Guardian*, 19/04/2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/apr/19/jair-bolsonaro-brazil-presidential-candidate-trump-parallels>, consulted July 2nd 2018.

⁷⁶ Barbara Bruns, David Evans and Javier Luque, *Achieving World-Class Education in Brazil, The Next Agenda*, (Washington: The International Bank for reconstruction and Development/ The World Bank, 2012). <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/993851468014439962/pdf/656590REPLACEMENT0Achieving0World0Class0.pdf>

Finally, in 2012, only 12% of the population of working age has a degree.⁷⁷ To make matters worse, one discouragement to reading is that books are expensive. At a São Paulo bookstore, a book such as *The Da Vinci Code* by Dan Brown was on sale for R\$32, which is more than tenth the monthly minimum wage. Slavery but also years of dictatorship means that libraries and bookshops have not yet caught up. “The electronic experience came before the written experience” laments Marino Lobello of the Brazilian Chamber of Books.⁷⁸

In Brazil, illiteracy is still so widespread that during the test to obtain her driving license, the author was controlled twice to see if she could read and write properly. A situation completely unthinkable in European countries such as France for example.

New York Times reporter Larry Rohter points out the historical reasons behind the country’s lack of education. For instance, in 1789, Brazilian students still had to go to Lisbon if they wanted to attend a university. This constraint results from the fact that Brazil was still Portugal’s colony until its independence on September 7th, 1822. However, until Goulart’s presidency in the 60s, literacy tests were required to have the right to vote thus excluding a large part of the Brazilian society. Education was not emphasized so the oligarchic families remained in power.⁷⁹ Unfortunately, when education is valued in Brazil, it is paradoxically only to maintain inequalities: “until recently, any person with a university degree who was accused

⁷⁷ The mortarboard boom, *The Economist*, 15/09/2012, <https://www.economist.com/node/21562955>, consulted July 2nd 2018.

⁷⁸ A nation of non-readers, *The Economist*, 16/03/2017, <https://www.economist.com/node/5636369>, consulted July 2nd 2018.

⁷⁹ Rohter (2012), pp.22.

of a crime was automatically kept out of cells holding “ordinary criminals” and placed in more comfortable surroundings”.⁸⁰

The lack of resources of the Brazilian museums, previously discussed in this dissertation, has a profound impact on the quality of the art professionals’ education and in particular, the artists. Secondary art market gallerist Thiago Gomide deplores that the Brazilian museums small budget is keeping them from displaying a permanent collection of Brazilian modern and contemporary art to the author: “If you want to see [works by] Lygia Clark, Lygia Pape, Sergio Camargo, Helio Oiticica and Mira Schendel, in which Brazilian museum do you go to? Just like when you go to MoMa, any day you can see Rothko, Pollock Picasso and so on in a permanent collection. Which Brazilian museum has this? If you go to MAM, it is a temporary exhibition, Pinacoteca is the same and a little permanent collection of the 19th century, more or less. If you go to the MASP, it is a *gringo* permanent collection of European artworks. Every museum has a thing or two [Brazilian contemporary artworks] but they don’t have important works and the space to display it permanently. Well, MAM might have a *Bicho* of Lygia Clark. I am the appraiser of the MAM collection and from what I remember there is none. If there is a *gringo* collector that arrives here [in Brazil] and you want to take him by the hand to show him Brazilian art, where do you go? There is no such place, you have to take him to a collector’s house. You can show him Cézanne, Picasso and Tintoretto at the MASP, Pedro Alexandrino etc. at the Pinacoteca and what will be on display that day at the MAM, as their small permanent collection is all in storage because of their tiny space of 300 meters square. MAC USP has a bit more [of artworks] but you need to check that, and MAM has a beautiful

⁸⁰ Rohter (2012), pp.42.

collection, but they do not have the space to show it. There are always a few works on display, but the vast majority is kept in storage". If Beatriz Milhazes was lucky enough to have a mother, Glauce Milhazes, who was also an art historian, she still had to wait for her first trip to Europe, as an adult, in 1985, to admire in person the works of artists such as Matisse and Mondrian, that she heard so much about as a young child.⁸¹ At an event held the MASP director Juliana de Sá's home for the MASP Young Patrons, the author witnessed the artist Leda Catunda emphasizes the importance the museum had for her artistic education as "it was the only place in Brazil where one could swoon in front of a Monet or a Van Gogh and as an artist, it was absolutely essential to be able to study these art history masterpieces". Ricardo Kugelmas, who runs Auroras, an independent art space, regrets that "Museums have almost no works by international contemporary artists because the import taxes are so high. Nobody has a Jasper Johns". Coincidence or not, he complains that "there are painting students who have never seen a Jackson Pollock in person"⁸² when the MAM in Rio de Janeiro wants to sell Brazil's only Pollock on public view, the painting *No.16* (1950), in order to fix its finances (Fig.15). Indeed, as a private non-profit institution, MAM receives no state or city government funding and its budget deficit is estimated at R\$ 1,5 million (\$450,000). The museum hopes the work will bring in around \$25 million and thus fund three decades of operation and development.⁸³

⁸¹ Renata Gonçalves Piza, Beatriz Milhazes : a arte transforma, Vogue Brazil, 09/10/2017, <http://vogue.globo.com/Inspire-se/noticia/2017/10/beatriz-milhazes-arte-transforma.html>, consulted July 2nd 2018.

⁸² Henri Neuendorf, 'Brazil's Art Market Isn't Even Close to Its World-Class Potential. Here's Why, Artnet News, 05/04/2017, <https://news.artnet.com/market/brazil-art-market-international-916565>, consulted July 2nd 2018.

⁸³ Gabriele Angeletti, 'Museum of Modern Art in Rio de Janeiro to sell Brazil's only Pollock on public view', The Art Newspaper, 24/03/2018, <https://www.theartnewspaper.com/news/museum-of-modern-art-in-rio-de-janeiro-to-sell-brazil-s-only-pollock-on-public-view>, consulted June 25th2018.

In April 2018, a petition was signed by more than 179 art professionals (artists, critics, curators and dealers) to stop the sale. The group defends a "management shock" in the museum, and "to convene an active administration, with a strategic vision and governance plan, attuned to the contemporary art so that MAM goes back to be the most important museum in the city."⁸⁴



Fig. 15: Jackson Pollock, *No.16*, 1950, oil on canvas, 22 ½ x 22 ½", MAM Rio de Janeiro collection.

Moreover, M. Kugelmas denounced the lack of philanthropy of his countrymen as « there's no incentive to be philanthropic, people pass the works to their children or grandchildren.

⁸⁴ Paula Autran and Alessandro Giannini, ' Manifesto de artistas e marchands critica venda de Pollock pelo MAM', O Globo, 04/04/2018, <https://oglobo.globo.com/cultura/manifesto-de-artistas-marchands-critica-venda-de-pollock-pelo-mam-22556555>, consulted July 2nd 2018.

There is a lot of problems for Brazilian legislators and art just isn't a priority ». This opinion is also shared by Mrs. Gandelsman and Mrs. Coelho, who both works with collectors, when interviewed by the author. Mrs. Coelho, a collector and patron herself, insists on the fact that “there are not enough patrons in Brazil. Being culturally engaged is still something that has to be improved culturally speaking. There is an awareness, but it has to be nurtured”.

Nevertheless, a few actors of the Brazilian art market are not giving up in the face of adversity and are doing their best to improve the education of their fellow countrymen. Small contemporary art libraries were created at the galleries Fortes D'Aloia & Gabriel, Nara Roesler and Vermelho and are open to visitors. Indeed, not only books are expensive in Brazil but foreign books about contemporary art in English are rare. The author had even gone so far as asking the help of gallerists such as Antonia Bergamin to borrow books about the contemporary art market in order to write an essay for her graduate course as they were not available in the São Paulo libraries. It was possible to order the book on Amazon but not only it would take several weeks or even months to arrive to Brazil, there was also the risk of huge shipping costs. This is all the more worrying when the author went to the FAAP art school, one of the bests in the country where several established artists studied, only to find that she had more books about the contemporary market than them and no books in English were available. Moreover, the director of a prestigious museum in São Paulo called the author asking her if she had any books about the French artist Toulouse-Lautrec as the curator of the museum – featured in the ArtReview Power 100 – had trouble finding some to organize the upcoming artist's exhibition.

Established artists too decided to tackle the source of the problem: early childhood education. Acclaimed worldwide, Brazilian artist Vik Muniz grew up in one of the poorest neighbourhoods located in the outskirts of São Paulo. During a talk at the MASP museum in April 2016 that the author attended, he even told the audience that the nearest bus stop was named 'Cata Louco', which would mean 'Pick up Mad [People]' in a rough translation from Portuguese. In 2015, he decided to open the Escola Vidigal school named after the favela where it is located. The aim is to give the opportunity to destitute children to attend free classes combining education and art. Developed as a partnership with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) with BWArchitects, the Escola Vidigal is a tremendous success and was even selected to represent Brazil in the 2016 Venice Architecture Biennial.⁸⁵ His friend, the French artist JR, also opened the Casa Amarela, which means Yellow House, situated at the Morro da Providência, another favela in Rio de Janeiro. The school provides cultural activities to the children living in the surroundings and features a moon-shaped inhabitable sculptural installation, an open-air cinema and a children's library.⁸⁶ These initiatives are key to the development of artistic education in Brazil as it is often accessible only to well-heeled children. Gallerist Felipe Hegg tells the author: "I studied at Santo Amerigo, a very good private school in São Paulo, and we had an art history course once a week. There is a lack of investment to support art in comparison to the music [industry]. There should be more interest in educating visual arts to people. However, the reality is that Brazil is much more the "school of the streets", which

⁸⁵ Carol Kino, 'Brazilian artist Vik Muniz Builds a School In Rio', The Wall Street Journal, 18/05/2016, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/brazilian-artist-vik-muniz-builds-a-school-in-rio-1463581385>, consulted July 2nd 2018.

⁸⁶ Nicholas Forrest, 'French artist JR Erects Moon Studio on Casa Amarela in Rio', Blouin Art Info, 15/08/2016, <http://www.blouinartinfo.com/news/story/1487000/french-artist-jr-erects-moon-studio-on-casa-amarela-in-rio>, consulted July 2nd 2018.

means that, for instance, “a child will learn how to play the guitar in the square near his house or samba and so on”.

The wealthy are not immune to this educational problem. Art classes, even in private schools, remain at a lower level compared to the ones held in countries with a longer academic tradition such as European, American or some Asian countries such as Japan and China. In fact, galleries realized that well informed and thus open-minded collectors were more likely to buy challenging pieces of art such as conceptual ones or performance art but also pieces from artists they have never heard of, especially foreign ones whose culture they are not familiar with. In the last five years, conferences and classes about art history and the art market have started to sprout all over the city to educate potential buyers and art enthusiasts. However, even though these conferences and classes are given by established curators and artists alike, the author has realised during her research that most of these classes are biased as they usually follow the galleries’ agenda. For example, if a gallerist is exhibiting an artist who turns out to be a woman, the conference will be about ‘Art & Feminism’. Another example, that the author witnessed, is a conference about the São Paulo Biennale that had, of course, a lot of slides containing artists present at the Biennale but also represented by the gallery where the conference was set.

In her interview to Artload, collector Frances Reynolds insists on the “important role of Brazilian gallerists in educating collectors and potential collectors”. She recalls that “Marcantonio [Vilaça, deceased in 2000 and founder of the Galeria Fortes Vilaça, renamed Fortes d’Aloia and Gabriel since last year] was a great example [...] I often travelled with him. When he was setting up his booth at a fair or when we were at an art biennial, he would take

the floor plan of the event and mark it with a cross the booths that had the best works of art. This was very rewarding. It wasn't about the artists he represented but the artist he considered to be good. So, having this generosity and great spirit is vital. Galleries must do that. If the gallerist educates the collector about what is happening in the Brazilian or foreign market, the collector or potential collector will respect him even more, will learn much more and will enjoy much more the process of artistic growth".⁸⁷

This brings us to an alarming finding: the lack of artistic knowledge, the absence of public data about the artworks and the fragility of the museums leads to the galleries acting as institutions and being the main references both in terms of art history and art market. Moreover, even if efforts are made to democratize it, the art world remains extremely elitist, especially for artists that have to travel abroad to gain cultural knowledge. The only database about the Brazilian art market that is accessible to all - only a connection to Wi-Fi is needed - and completely free is the online platform Artload. Otherwise, it is necessary to go to a gallery where the publication of the artist it represents will be available. As most of the galleries are located in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, disseminating knowledge about the contemporary art history and market seems a discouraging task for those living outside these artistic hubs but also for those living in the outskirts of these cities where public transportation is limited and who are not familiar with the chic neighbourhoods of the high-profile galleries, which do not communicate much on the availability of their libraries outside the restricted circle of art professionals.

⁸⁷ Contemporary art collector Frances Reynolds interviewed on the Artload website at <http://artload.com/video/frances-reynolds>, (Accessed 27.06.2018).

Chapter 5: Conclusion

This dissertation aims at analysing critically which are the challenges facing the Brazilian art market in the midst of the country's political and economic turmoil in order for it to thrive in the following years. In fact, even though the art market is growing, the author found five barriers currently holding the Brazilian art market back: corruption and money laundering, tax barriers, the over dominance of the primary market, censorship and education. Daunting taxes that come within importing any work of art to the country, its complex and bureaucratic business regulations, and inflation on the rise often discourage potential investors from setting a business in Brazil. Several galleries gave it a shot only to find themselves announcing their demise a few years later, if not months. However, the understanding of these changes is still in their early stages and the specificities of the country's culture, such as the jeitinho, get in the way of the contemporary art market development. Not only, there is a lack of unified and long-term cultural public policy, but the Brazilian art world is fragmented which makes it more difficult for its actors to organize themselves in the face of adversity.

Appendix

All the interviews for this dissertation were conducted in Brazilian Portuguese and then translated by the author in English.

Due to the lengths of the interviews, only the parts relating especially to the development are transcribed and organized by topics.

List of interviewees:

- **Lucas Simões**, Brazilian artist, participated in a group exhibition about Brazilian art at the Hauser & Wirth gallery in Los Angeles last year (interviewed 26/06/2018).
- **Moky May**, Publisher & Responsible for the Latin American sector of Art Review magazine (interviewed 06/06/2018)
- **Vivian Gandelsman**, Founder of Artload, one of the main specialists of the Brazilian art market (16/06/2018).
- **Ines Coelho Keutgen**, collector, actually lives in Belgium with her husband Nicolas Keutgen (CEO of Schneider Electric) but she launched the first art club in Brazil 4 years ago and she is responsible for bringing the VIP collectors in Brazil for the SP-Arte Fair (07/06/2018).
- **Romain Vicari**, French & Brazilian artist, he will have a solo show in July at the Palais de Tokyo (05/06/2018).
- **Felipe Hegg**, gallerist, he is known for showing the best of photography in Sao Paulo & represents Martin Parr in Brazil (06/06/2018)
- **Thiago Gomide**, founder of the Bergamin & Gomide gallery, specialized in the secondary market and one of the very few galleries to do all 3 Art Basel (Basel, Miami & Hong Kong). He is also the co-founder of the new art fair Semana de Arte with the Luisa Strina gallery in order to continue bringing international collectors to Sao Paulo (05/06/2018).

Positive aspects of the Brazilian contemporary art market

Moky: The Brazilian art market has very powerful galleries. Brazil has the biggest and the most powerful galleries. It makes a huge difference with the representation of the artists and the relationship with the collectors. One of the by-products of that is the SP Arte art fair. It was created by Fernanda Feitosa, herself a collector, in agreement with the Brazilian galleries. Sao Paulo has a powerful and well-established gallery scene. Furthermore, there is also Luisa Strina and Thiago Gomide that created a new art fair. This is another example of how powerful the galleries are in creating a market.

Romain: The strength of the Brazilian art market is that it is growing. There are not only private collections like Inhotim but also galleries moving abroad like Mendes Wood in Brussels. Nowadays, there is the opportunity not only to discover Brazilian artists in exhibitions abroad and the fairs but also on the Internet. The research is much easier.

Brazilian art is also easy to identify. It has a kind of « arte povera » vibe with cheap materials but with a concretism twist added to it. Indeed, there is a huge respect for the constructivism of the 70s, a time when artworks were very political. In fact, the artists of the 70s were stimulated by their resistance against the dictatorship going on at that time. Nowadays, we have a similar problem with President Michel Temer, but the difference is that it is less blatant. At my new show *Par amour du jeu 1998-2018* at the Magasins Généraux in Pantin, I have an installation that shows the links between politics, religion and football in Brazil. A fact that surprised me, when I was doing some research for this artwork, is that since 1936, the presidential elections in Brazil always occur only two months after the Football World Cup.

Ines: The artists increase their value very quickly. The pricing occurs very differently from the rest of the world. For example, in Europe, the price of an artwork grows more organically along with the artist's career over a long period of time. Another example is Mendes Wood. The gallery exists only for 6 years and they act as if they were Pace. Brazilian people are blunter with the prices.

The second advantage of Brazil is its uniqueness. It is a very insular and continental country which makes it very interesting. And there is a huge variety of regions that have each different type of materials and thus different interpretations of art, with an array of artists that is hard to find somewhere else.

I think that Brazil is still a novelty from an outside perspective. There is also a lot of resources, different types of woods for example, which make the artworks richer. Thus, it is difficult to pinpoint what is Brazilian art as it is so diverse.

So, I would say that the two main advantages of the Brazilian art market are the country's resources and its novelty. There is a lot going on. An interesting example is Brazil's currency. Very few countries had so many currencies in such a short period of time. Of course, this a theme that has been addressed in several artworks, especially Cildo Meireles' works.

Vivian: I think, at the same time as this is negative, that the Brazilian art market is a local art market. It supplies itself locally, works locally. It is self-sustainable, independent. For me it is more negative, but it can be positive too.

Felipe: Brazil is still a very young country and that is still beginning to buy art. There are still a lot to develop, to grow. There are a lot of people that are starting to discover art, to get

interested in this sector and it is a quite dynamic sector with a lot of money circulating. We discover new people every day at the gallery, coming here for the first time.

Another fact that I consider interesting is that Sao Paulo is the main city of Latin America, the main economy of the continent so a lot of people circulate here. I don't know if you knew but before people used to go much more to Rio because it is the touristic city of the country and it used to be the capital too. Sao Paulo is nowadays a touristic destination but also a business one. A lot of people circulate through Sao Paulo and the gallery scene is also part of this touristic circuit. Sao Paulo is far away but it is much closer nowadays in people's mind. The internet brought people closer to here and they also come to do business.

So, I would say that my two main points are that, yes, there are still many art markets to be explored in Brazil and that Brazil and especially Sao Paulo is a hub, a meeting point, as it is one of the richest cities in the world.

Thiago Gomide: One of the most positive aspects of the Brazilian art market is its history in my opinion. In fact, you have 100 years of great artists producing from the modernism in the 1920s to nowadays, artists of extremely high quality. You don't have that much in emerging countries. Even the United States doesn't have artists of this importance at that time. The first artistic language that was developed there was Abstract Expressionism in the 40s whereas we, Brazilians, in the 20s we were already at the avant-garde. Alright, you had a few isolated artists such a Georgia O-Keffe but in Brazil we had robust movements, poets aligned with what was happening in Paris at the time. You don't have this in India, or even in China, where I think the art has a more local language. In other words, there was already a certain scene here, an exchange with artists going abroad studying with Léger or Miró and that contaminated generations of artists to come, Ligia Clark, Helio Oiticica going to Paris and New York.

All this creates an atmosphere that is incredibly rich. It's no use getting into a country that is trendy and in which you have tons of hot young emerging artists but when you want to look back and see where all this comes from and then you find nothing. Thirty years ago, it was inexistent, you did not have a scene. We have the opposite in Brazil, here you can find a substance. It is not something that was created overnight. I also agree with you in the role that the Sao Paulo Biennale had in the internationalization of the Brazilian art scene. It is second oldest Biennale after Venice and Guernica was already brought to Brazil for the second edition of the Sao Paulo biennale in 1953. The support from Europe and the United States was essential for the development of the art scene in Sao Paulo. The permanent collection of MAM was created with the donation from MoMa.

Taxes

Moky: The tax system and the bureaucracy are huge barriers. It makes it difficult for collectors to buy artworks in Brazil but also to the galleries to sell abroad their works of art. There is definitely a need to simplify the customs.

Romain: Of course, the main barrier is the taxes which are absurd: how can we value Brazilian art abroad if we cannot even bring this art outside of the country?

Ines: The first thing that should be improved are the taxes which are no good to expand the market abroad and that is also damaging the economy within the country.

Vivian: I think the taxation should be improved, as well as the professionalization of the art world.

Felipe: I think there is a huge lack of knowledge. For example, for you to get the whole picture, the government... You know that Luciana Brito is the president of ABACT right? And this association exists to fight for the rights and the market of the galleries. Because everywhere in the world and also here in Brazil nobody knew how many artworks were circulating out there, how many were sold and so on and today that is more normal to import and export artworks, the government consider artworks as a luxury product. So, taxes for importation and exportation are extremely high. So now ABACT is actually holding a meeting in Brasilia for the government to understand that an artwork is a cultural good and not a luxury product to overturn these taxes. This is a question of knowledge, of education. Brazil is a country rife with inequalities, with a huge lack of education and sometimes you have to start from the bottom. That is a barrier that is disturbing the market a lot. I think the market is much more formal. What is happening all over the world and including here is the exchange of banks data/information which makes it much more difficult than it used to be to do money laundering through art and that is a great step forward.

Thiago: I think the importation taxes and the taxes in general that we pay need to be improved. We now have the problem with the airports that want to take a share of the artworks taxes coming to Brazil. We suffered with that recently, having to pay astonishing amounts of money to get the works past the customs. I think they are charging 2% of the value of the work staying there per day. Anyway, this situation is absurd. There are lawyers trying to solve this problem for us. When you buy an artwork to sell it but with a small profit there

is no tax system at the moment where you can do this, everything is confused, the system does not anticipate what works or not. Apart from that I think the art market is a sector that is trying to organize itself and is growing, achieving projects but, yes, the State is what damages the most within this inappropriate tax system.

Other Barriers

Pedro: That is simple, Brazil is a closed economy, a provincial country. Always was and always will be. Brazil does not know how to compete with foreign countries, so he will never give access to foreign artists. You will only the Brazilian ones. That is a decision that the Brazilian himself make it to be like that. That is even a sociological question. It is basically xenophobic.

Romain: Well, there are other competitive markets like Mexico. Brazil is very chaotic economically and politically, which makes a lot of people scared to invest.

Ines: The organization is another problem. The galleries are beautiful but there is a lack of professionalism from them. The third thing would be the patrons, there are not enough of them in Brazil. Being culturally engage dis still something that has to be improved culturally speaking. There is awareness, but it has to be nurtured.

Vivian: I think the taxation should be improved, as well as the professionalization of the art world. I think the secondary market is also something that should be improved because the secondary market will have a big impact when it will be stronger in Brazil. What I mean by that is when big offices like Christies will come with a « real » office that really works. It already

exists but at a smaller scale and Marina Bertoldi has just been appointed the Head of Christies in Brazil. There are no auctions from this big auction companies (Christies, Sotheby's) happening in Brazil and that harms the primary market. So, one of the things that I think should be improved would be to have a « real » secondary market, not as wobbly as it is now. A bigger internationalization of the market too. Furthermore, a bigger social and cultural commitment, that makes a huge difference. Brazil lacks philanthropy. There is also a need for transparency and end of corruption. That is a thing Frances {Reynolds, a famous collector} also said: people are afraid to invest in public institutions, donate money as they do not know where their money will end. It is not something transparent, there is a lot of corruption. There is not as many reports as in Europe (Tate, Pompidou to name a few). Now, there is the first MASP report, an important step towards transparency but it is still a drop in the ocean compared to abroad. There is a transfer of management occurring at the moment. There is still a lack of management of the museums.

Felipe: Oh my god, that is an answer that will last forever because everything needs to be improved! We will probably talk about politics! Brasil is an expensive country to transport the works, to insure them, importation is expensive, exportation is expensive too... So what else need to be improved? Education, right? Even though museums are always packed here too. You know, in the Pompidou, you try to enter there and there is this huge queue, so here it is the same. I always think about education... to buy art really. For people to understand that this is an investment. Another thing to improve is that we are a bit apart from the prices that are applied abroad. I know that some young artists works are extremely high for artists of their age and as Sao Paulo is very distant for that, sometimes we lack a bit of *invazamento* for I don't know... You know the famous international price, well, I think we should improve that

too. Some galleries want to attract a prestigious collector and increases the prices of its young artists for the collector to buy and find it fancy. But once outside of Brazil, there are problems, especially when the artist works with two galleries. Or even when... you know there is a « basic » price for a young artist still emerging but we know that sometimes you go to a gallery around the corner and then there is an astounding price for a guy that does not have much experience and I think this is also due to a lack of knowledge really. What I feel too is that when you go to a gallery in Paris or London, the people that work in the gallery have a much higher training/education/academic background in art much more serious. So even internally, we as galleries, can improve much more than we actually do. Another important point for your research is that there are almost no institutions that are buying artworks in Brazil. Most of the Brazilian museums only receive donations. Very few buy artworks, which is the opposite from what is happening abroad, in Europe or the US for example. It is a huge incentive. We really depend from collectors, knowing that there are few established collectors in the country, we end up selling mainly to decorate the houses of the people as there are no museum incentive. This an important point I want to make. Now things are starting to change a little bit with these new patrons group in a few museums in Brazil: MAM, MASP and Pinacoteca. However, our hands are completely tied to the private sector in comparison to the public one.

The barriers that are holding the market back are several to me. I think there is a huge lack of knowledge. For example, for you to get the whole picture, the government... You know that Luciana Brito is the president of ABACT right? And this association exists to fight for the rights and the market of the galleries. Because everywhere in the world and also here in Brazil nobody knew how many artworks were circulating out there, how many were sold and so on

and today that is more normal to import and export artworks, the government consider artworks as a luxury product. So, taxes for importation and exportation are extremely high. So now ABACT is actually holding a meeting in Brasilia for the government to understand that an artwork is a cultural good and not a luxury product to overturn these taxes. This is a question of knowledge, of education. Brazil is a country rife with inequalities, with a huge lack of education and sometimes you have to start from the bottom. That is a barrier that is disturbing the market a lot. I think the market is much more formal. What is happening all over the world and including here is the exchange of banks data/ information which makes it much more difficult than it used to be to do money laundering through art and that is a great step forward. I think the main barriers are the lack of education and of support from cultural institutions.

Thiago: The museums could have more money, but we have good galleries, good artists, good museums, good fairs...In general, I think it is working well. Ok, let me tell you something... If you want to see Lygia Clark, Lygia Pape, Sergio Camargo, Helio Oiticica and Mira Schendel, in which Brazilian museum do you go to? Just like when you go to MoMa, any day you can see Rothko, Pollock Picasso and so on in a permanent collection. Which Brazilian museum has this? If you go to MAM, it is a temporary exhibition, Pinacoteca is the same and a little permanent collection of the 19th century more or less, you go to the MASP it a *gringo* permanent collection of European artworks. Every museum has a thing or two, but they don't have important works and the space to display it permanently. Well, MAM might have a Bicho of Lygia Clark. I am the appraiser of the MAM collection and from what I remember there is none. If there is a gringo collector that arrives here, and you take him by the hand to show him or her Brazilian art, where do you take him or her? There is no place to go, you have to

take him or her to a collector's house. You can show him Cézanne, Picasso and Tintoretto at the MASP, Pedro Alexandrino etc. at the Pinacoteca and what will be on display that day at the MAM as their small permanent collection is all in storage as they have tiny space of 300 meters square. MAC has a bit more, but you need to check that, and MAM has a beautiful collection, but they do not have the space to show it. There are always a few works on display, but the vast majority is kept in storage. So, it's complicated.

How the Brazilian Art Market Could Be Improved?

Moky: In my opinion, the next step is to take that abroad. Latitude was creating with this goal in mind, to bring the galleries together and help them create a scene abroad. In Miami Art Basel, there is an average of 15 Brazilian galleries. It is also important to diversify the client base.

Felipe: I am sure that there is still a lot to develop internally in Brazil. I am sure that a lot of galleries will fail going to New York or elsewhere. You need to have a huge structure to manage a project like this. Galleries, if you think about it, have in general a team of ten persons and it is already a good structure. To manage a gallery in Sao Paulo and Lisbon you need to have a huge team. So, I think it is much more interesting to focus on the national market and then go a few art fairs in important cities than want to act directly in Europe or in the United States because nowadays the real is disvalued, the dollar is very high, and if you lose money abroad, it means you will lose 3.6 times more at home too. You need to have an incredible financial planning, an incredible team... So, yes, there are opportunities to grow the market abroad but there are also incredible opportunities to grow inside Brazil too. In Sao Paulo, there are always

more people arriving at our gallery that we have never seen before, that we do not know, and that end up buying works from us. If you look at the Brazilian countryside, all these farmers are extremely wealthy. It is a very rich country. However, we need to go step by step, to educate people, show them that a piece of art is worth their investment in it and so on. Yes, there are still a lot of money left to buy at here.

What are you doing to improve this situation?

Felipe: I think that already spending my time every week to gather at the ABACT is already a gigantic work. I think it is much harder to change things alone. I might change what surrounds me, at the scale of my neighbour, my street, etc. If I am a very cool and smart guy, I might even manage to change my neighbourhood but to make a real impact that affects the whole art market, I think it is only possible through an association, through ABACT. We, the gallery, are always present at all the ABACT meetings. For example, no Brazilian gallery had ever participated to Paris Photo. So, APEX, through ABACT, started to understand that the Art market is an interesting market, so they are helping to promote Brazilian art. So, they arrived at Paris Photo and said we want to bring one Brazilian gallery and one publishing house to Europe. They financed our trip there to show that there is good Brazilian photography being currently made and to generate sales. They paid half of our expenses when we went to Paris Photo Los Angeles for example but also for another trip to Chili. When they paid for the trip we were going as a gallery independent, exclusively to show the work of the gallery so we took the support from ABACT, the program Latitude organized by Apex and we managed that they paid 50%. It was approximately 6000 \$. Apex depende do ministério do comercio mesmo se tem dialogo com o Ministério da Cultura.

Vivian: What I try to do to improve the situation is to bring information through my website Artload and the interviews of the different actors of the art market. I try to engage people to be more socially responsible, in terms of philanthropy. I work also with the ArtRio art fair to develop the fair. I called David Wind to work on the videos of the fair, engaging people, bringing them to the fair. In terms of content, I try to push people to think outside the box, outside this common place where they live, the Brazilian market and bring here solutions that I see in other places, abroad. The fact of listening to people have a more mature developed career is an eye-opener for sure.

The other day I was talking to a friend who is the director of the MAC museum in Sao Paulo and he had never been director of a museum before. I said to him that I had tons of interviews from directors of museums on the Artload website and that I think you would learn a lot from these interviews. The interviewees, the directors of museums around the world talk about subjects that would be of course useful to him such as fundraising and so on. I think everyone can learn from these successful professionals in the art world. Sometimes, people live in such a closed space, the Brazilian space, that lack so much professionalism, so underdeveloped that many people here don't know a lot of basic things. What Juliana de Sá is doing at the MASP is to reproduce models that have already been done in museums abroad. You have to inform yourself about what is been done elsewhere and especially what works well and bring it to Brazil. It is already out there, and you can watch it on Artload. Dado conferences have also the same eye-opening role promoting and instigating new business models in the art market. Every time that I can, I give tips to people, I refer someone and so on.

Romain: There is already some private support towards culture, but the government should support it much more. Thank god there are residencies abroad that « save » the Brazilian artists. One solution is as artists is to open our own exhibition spaces, there is a lot of solidarity and collaboration between us. For example, one thing that could have been done years ago is for a major artist like Tunga {now deceased} to present the works of one young artist every month. That would have launched for sure many young artists and put them in the spotlight very easily. I also see my double role as an artist and curator as very important in creating a network. Another thing I would like to do is to spend 6 months in Brazil for a) to produce and question other artists' practice, b) to exhibit in other places that are not « white cubes ». Brazil is still a very poor country, especially for the majority of the population, I don't want only to show the glamorous, chic side. I would like to do exhibitions at the peripheries, in the favelas where I already worked a few years ago. That is something that other Brazilian artists did before me, like Helio Oiticica for example.

Is the Brazilian art market developing more abroad?

Thiago: The most important and expensive artists are being sold much more abroad than inside the country in my opinion, or at least that is what I see. I think we too, we sell around 70% of our works from abroad.

Romain: It is less risky to invest abroad where there is also more education, the public is more receptive. There is a support much more important from the public but also financially, intellectually (more open-minded) and socially.

Moky: It can only be a good thing if galleries are selling more. It is also a global matter: the art world is global, and the art fairs have a pivotal role in promoting art nowadays

Vivian: I still think that it is super local. I think it is a lie that it is a lie, a big lie that Brazilian galleries sell up to 70% of their artworks abroad. I really don't believe it. I think that Fortes etc. they are trying to sell more by saying this. The costs are much higher to sell abroad... They might be selling to Brazilians abroad then. I really don't believe that galleries are developing more abroad than inside Brazil. Luciana Brito just closed her project space in New York. Nara has a tiny space in a very good location. It's trying to get a piece of the Latin American market, but it is not an internationalization as their focus is still very into the Latin American audience, it is not an international one. Indeed, one thing is to sell and another one is to be representative of real internationalization and in this case, I think they are weak. I think Mendes Wood is the gallery that gets more done in this aspect, their artists have a lot of shows abroad, even though I think it is still in institutions that have a main focus in Latin American art. I don't see a real shift at the moment, what I see is them refuelling the same market.

I was just thinking about what you've just said about Fortes and the 70% of sales abroad and I think they are selling this concept. They want to sale this false idea that a huge internationalization is currently occurring. If we take auction results and would do a research of all the works by Adriana Varejao, Beatriz Milhazes, etc., I am sure that everything goes to Brazilian or Latin American collectors.

Pedro: The Brazilian artistic production is already there, and each artist kills a lion per day unfortunately, the only thing missing to improve the market is a public policy. If the government continues subsidizing trucker's diesel and cutting hospital money, it will remain difficult. People went to Paulista Avenue wearing Brazil's soccer team t-shirts, didn't they? Here is the result! It was the choice of a minority but still a choice. Life is optionality and you have to be responsible for the choices you have made and not give up afterwards. That is too easy.

The artistic production in Brazil goes beyond the galleries present in Basel for me. They are maybe representative of the art market.

Cultural public policy in Brazil

Moky: It is very unfortunate that there is no real public policy for the cultural sector. It holds back the whole market place. Corruption has an impact on the whole economy and a lot of collectors are now in jail. That is due to the political instability.

I forgot to say yesterday regarding your question of lack of cultural policy how this is being decided by individuals according to their tastes as opposed to a unified policy. An example is the former mayor of Sao Paulo who commissioned artists to create street art in various places in Sao Paulo. The following right-wing mayor decided instead to have them all covered up, art which had been paid for with public money and included well known artists such as Os Gemeos. Dora Longo Bahia's show « Cinzas » at Vermelho in 2017 was all about this. The colour ash being the colour that was used to paint over the street art.

Thiago: For the public cultural policy of Brazil, there is only the Lei Rouanet that puts everything in the hands of the companies, well the sponsors invest in the cultural policy. It's not the government that decides but these companies Petrobras etc.

How to get out of the vicious circle that the cultural sector is into where there is no money coming from the State and the companies using the Lei Rouanet are often involved in corruption scandal? I don't know, that is a circle that is everywhere in the country. We would have to change the country, the culture, all the 500 deputies... We have to change everything. It is a very complex question and I am not much involved in this area of public policy. But this is an area that I think is... I think the Lei Rouanet is deficient, incomplete... We should have a serious cultural secretary, people promoting the culture of a city... Public money should be for things that are free, open, accessible to everyone. And the private things like for example the Cirque du Soleil have to be directly sold. Bradesco doesn't have to sponsor Cirque du Soleil, at least that is what I think. I think the state should continue investing in culture but in a serious way and improve the life of the citizens as a whole. Brasilia should not decide the culture of the city of Sao Paulo for example. If Sao Paulo will have a concert, that should be decided by someone in Sao Paulo, not Brasilia. There should be a bigger dialogue between the art sector, especially the galleries, and the government.

The museums could have more money, but we have good galleries, good artists, good museums, good fairs... In general, I think it is working well.

Ok, let me tell you something... If you want to see Lygia Clark, Lygia Pape, Sergio Camargo, Helio Oiticica and Mira Schendel, in which Brazilian museum do you go to? Just like when you go to MoMa, any day you can see Rothko, Pollock Picasso and so on in a permanent collection.

Which Brazilian museum has this? If you go to MAM, it is a temporary exhibition, Pinacoteca is the same and a little permanent collection of the 19th century more or less, you go to the

MASP it a *gringo* permanent collection of European artworks. Every museum has a thing or two, but they don't have important works and the space to display it permanently. Well, MAM might have a Bicho of Lygia Clark. I am the appraiser of the MAM collection and from what I remember there is none. If there is a gringo collector that arrives here, and you take him by the hand to show him or her Brazilian art, where do you take him or her? There is no place to go, you have to take him or her to a collector's house. You can show him Cézanne, Picasso and Tintoretto at the MASP, Pedro Alexandrino etc. at the Pinacoteca and what will be on display that day at the MAM as their small permanent collection is all in storage as they have tiny space of 300 meters square. MAC has a bit more, but you need to check that, and MAM has a beautiful collection, but they do not have the space to show it. There are always a few works on display, but the vast majority is kept in storage. So, it's complicated.

Pedro: Absolutely. I think this initiative of Parque Lage is terrific. I think this will really become a practice, there will be much more money going into culture. You should also google the fact that Marta Suplicy would like to stop the Lei Rouanet. She presented a law project at the Senate recently. If you are interested in stopping the Lei Rouanet, you can do this vote, but this is something to do individually. I am in favour of the Rouanet Law even though there are flaws. However, this law is still a way of financing for the artistic profession in general. An example, finance for profit activities with public money for activities like music shows where the citizens that has paid his bills and thus financed the show has to pay 1000 R\$ to get in. If it is with public money, it should be completely for free. After all, you are renouncing to invest in schools, hospitals, public transport for that and thus giving the money to the citizen

organizing the music show. He already won this money when he receives the Rouanet Law, he does not need to double this amount with paid entrances.

I don't want to talk about corruption and Lava-Jato. I think this is a retrograde conversation as corruption has been in Brasil for 500 years.

Vivian: The Brazilian elite does not have a social responsibility. We cannot depend from the public cultural policy because we have terrible problems related to public health, education. The « basicaos » (basic needs of the population) and the government does not have the money to sustain all this. I actually don't think it should be the government that should finance this but the Brazilian elite in the situation that we are living with. For example, in London, the neighbours of a certain neighbourhood are responsible for their shared garden or square and they pay a certain amount to maintain it. As citizens, they are giving their money to improve the city and their surroundings. If you walk around the Jardim Europa in Sao Paulo (a very chic neighbourhood), you will see horrible squares because nobody cares about them. They think that it is the government responsibility, but the public policy does not have any means at the moment to deal with this. I am in favour of the elite to have a public engagement with their surroundings. Corruption has an impact on the Brazilian market, but I think things have improved to be honest because 10 years ago, there was no declaration of artworks, it did not exist at that time when you bought a piece of art. As you know, as used to work in galleries at the beginning of my career, and I always used to ask for a « nota fiscal » and there wasn't. There is a huge discrepancy between then and now regarding this, nowadays almost everything is sold with a « nota fiscal ». The Receita Federal since 5 years ago is much more present. But there is the problem that, ok that an artwork was bought, there should be an agreement for people who bought before this five years because they are still not declaring

the works that they are buying as it was not the case before they are afraid that the works they bought previously might get caught and so on.

I think the corruption was very important for the boom that happened in Brazil in the year 2000s in the Brazilian economy. Of course, that had an impact in the art market. There are a lot of people that were caught in the Lava-Jato scandal that bought a lot of works and did money laundering. In the majority of the institutions, they had managers, especially the Biennale com Cid Ferreira do Banco Santos. He paid for the Biennial during several years. The Biennial were incredible, they had everything, international artists. Marvellous Biennials. Really. And all that was money laundering. But it was super important for the Brazilian art scene just as Inhotim. These are people who laundered a lot of money through art but created incredible institutions. The corruption, in a way, sponsored a lot the artistic scene in Brazil. Well, that is global too, there is money laundering through art everywhere in the world. In Brazil, corruption brought as many positive as negative aspects to the art world. For example, MASP almost went bankrupt because of corruption and we live in a « Terra de Ninguem » land where people do not respect the law and are corrupted in general. There is also a huge impact in the secondary market because if someone will buy an artwork, an unsuspecting person, he or she can be misled because a lot of gallerists lack ethics. They practice a price much higher than it should be to make more profit and thus you cannot trust them. We have a serious problem: if I buy an artwork and ask the price to 4 people working in the secondary market, I will end up with 4 different prices but really different. The fact that the Brazilian market is very local does not help as it is difficult to compare with what is happening abroad. It is an unbridled greed, a never-ending corruption and that hurts the market of course.

Felipe: I don't think there is a lack of cultural policy in Brazil. You see it in the movie theatres, in concerts, etc. But the ones (cultural projects) that are thriving the most are mixed (public & private) or private. As a person interested in culture, of course, if you ask me if there is a lack of money for culture etc., I will agree without a doubt. But I think there was also a moment in the past where it was « a festa da uva », everything was cultural project, everything had to be shown in an exhibition, the money was there, being given to everybody but also steal, laundered. So, I think we are living in a moment when they are not only reconsidering culture but also everything else. It's a shame that they are taking money away from culture, but they are doing the same for all the other Departments/ Ministries. It's not something reserved only for culture. I don't know if you have talked to your mother about the country's news, but it is a terrible moment. We just had this truckers' strike that paralyzed the country because the price of the gas is skyrocketing. The country is effervescent. People are trying to understand what is going to happen next and the politicians are used to the older model where money was not controlled. And now corruption is finally being addressed by judges, some of them are ending up in prison. There is a wake-up call going on. Taking money away from culture is just part of the actual mess. Corruption affects everything, every market. Of course, it affects in the sense that it turns out to be an insecure market for investments. A lot of foreigners that have been investing in Brazil, have opened business are not coming back because it is a corrupted, bureaucratic country and that affects badly the market as a whole. Brazil unfortunately is a country well known for its corruption and jeitinho. It is even difficult to imagine Brazil without these features. So, I have no doubt about it. There are even reports showing the index of corruption, the lack of security and so on. (As there is a lot of political instability and there was a dictatorship, the modes of financing of the exhibition is mainly private and now with the Lei Rouanet. And now Marta Suplicy is thinking of cancelling it.)

Lume exists for 7 years already and we have seen a lot of projects that we were thinking it was a shame they were even thinking of introducing it with public money and that did not go ahead. So, we have to be careful with this information.

I am impressed with the cultural programming of Sao Paulo. It is not a city where I think culture is over, not at all, there are cultural events going on every day, for every taste in every neighbourhood. It never stops. We can focus on the crisis, the Lei Rouanet but the truth is that very few cities have such a rich cultural scene as Sao Paulo has. The negative side is that, yes, we lack incentives, there is corruption, we lack education... The problem is the need for basic education. People think that a new President will solve all the problems but, in my opinion, we might even need a new Constitution more simple and direct.

I studied at Santo Americo, a very good private school, and we had an art history course. There is a lack of investment to support art whereas music is everywhere in Brazil. There should be more interest in educating the people in art history, it is much more the « school of the streets »: people learn how to play the guitar in the square, samba and so on.

When I say that the member of ABACT will reunite in Brasilia, it is not all the members that are going there. You know, ABACT is composed of a President, Luciana Brito, a comity that votes once a year to see who the treasurer will be, the president, the vice-president and so on. Who goes is the president, Luciana (who is the president for the second year in a row) and usually there is also a lawyer that works for ABACT. You should interview Eliana Finkelstein, she was the president of ABACT during a long time. There is also Alexandre Roesler, he is the treasurer of ABACT. Furthermore, you should send a message to the director of Select magazine. I know all the magazines are in crisis at the moment, but this woman knows the market so well, she was very close to all the gallerists. She must have a very interesting vision.

Censorship

Romain: I know Wagner, the dancer of the MAM polemic. He had to come live in Paris after a living hell in Sao Paulo. He received dozens of death threats. There is even a video of him talking about it in the popular talk show of Jo Soares on the internet. We are living in a modern dictatorship, everything is concealed

Moky: People are very worried about this trend. It is a global trend in Russia, Istanbul, etc. ArtReview and all media have a role to play in trying to stop censorship. ArtReview has been censored in China, even though it is an international magazine (when Ai Weiwei was on the cover).

Vivian: I think censorship is happening all over the world. We are living in a moment of extremes. There was a lot of censorship in America and we live in a society that is very focused on the American market. I think it is due to a bigger system we are living in, and not a local matter. I think crowdfunding is a solution adopted all over the world. It is a collaborative model of fundraising and a commitment from society. I am super supportive of this initiative. And I think it is one of the solutions and it is one of the most obvious ones. I think it exists for 6 years already. It is the first time that it was embraced in this type of context. Fabio has already a financial background and he is a guy that wants to make history and he did make history, a milestone. Parque Lage is living a very difficult situation nowadays where the director and coordinator Lisette Lagnado resigned and now there is Ulysses who used to be Lisette's assistant. There are lot of professors who are not teaching there anymore. It is really bankrupt, there are events there all the time. Fabio has another priority: to bail out the crates

but he did an amazing job, congratulations to him. I think it is something that should happen more.

Art Basel Cities comes with a much broader public policy than the Art Basel/ Kickstarter initiative. It is very interesting what they are doing even though I think it is a bit of colonialism, what I mean it is that it is the supremacy of the knowledge of Basel. They are developing the city, bringing professionals there. The city of Buenos Aires gave them a financial support to initiate this project and it is already possible to see it unfolding and it is only the 2nd year. I think there must be more collaborative initiatives in general in the art world. Another good example is the Condo art fair, all the endowment measures that MASP is using at the moment. MASP was the first one to this politic of have a fund for a long-term management. It is a fundraising fun that receives donations that will be used over a long period of time little by little. This is a private fund. ABACT is another collaboration example.

SESC is another example that depends from the Ministry of Industries. It is one of the only things that works. You really need to talk about it. Ju Freire from Emma Thomas is working there so you should talk to her about it. I think SESC is the best private museum.

Felipe: I think it is a shame, absurd to censor an exhibition like Queermuseu. You know that I work with the Brazilian photographer Gal Oppido and in our second year as a gallery, we decided to exhibit his works. At that moment 2012 or 2013, my press advisor/PR said to me « I think it is better to write that there is a censorship as there are naked bodies » and so on. I looked at her and asked if she had gone crazy. We see naked bodies every day since we were born on TV, on the cover of the magazines and we should put a censorship for an art exhibition? My face was red from anger, I was revolted and thank god we had zero problems then. I think that we live in the social networks moment, with a lot of people that do not think

and see a movement and start pressing on the « like » button. I think a problem like « Queermuseu » had is still rare; what I think is much more significant sociologically is to analyse this through the social media prism where people can or cannot engage one click away than to think that Brazil is like this. I don't think Brazil is prudish. I think that Brazil is more foolish than prudish because we see naked bodies every day since we were born.

Contrast with the Musee d'Orsay ads.

I think the whole polemic around Queermuseu does not make sense.

Talking about Wagner: I think it is temporary. When we supported the institution where the performance took place, the MAM, on social media, we received so many messages from « haters » telling us that our gallery would burn in hell, that they were going to get us at the exit of our gallery, and so on. We were so chocked. We thought of answering these messages and then we decided to erase them and only keep our support to the MAM which is the only thing that matters. The rest is « haters », which role is to hate people and say horrible things to them. I have a friend of mine, the artist Felipe Morosini, who works with the Zipper gallery, and he started the Movement of the Parque Minhocao. Felipe still lives there, he earned the apartment from his grandmother. He is a professor and artist and he decided to lead this movement to allow people to walk along the Minhocao, decrease the pollution surrounding it etc. He said to me, crying, that I had no idea of how many hateful emails and messages he receives from his neighbours because he wants a greener and less polluted city. It does not make sense, why these people would go against such a good initiative that would benefit them too? Again, it is what I was telling you earlier. It is social media that is triggering this kind of terrible behaviour, people just want to give an opinion as foolish as it might be. I'm sure that the guy who was insulting him two days ago is now walking his dog there. At the beginning, Felipe could not even sleep. He was wondering why people were threatening him when he

only had good intentions. That is not related to art but to social media even though there is an impact on the art world.

Thiago: I think there is an anti-liberal, conservative wave all over the world and I also think that social media is giving a voice to a lot of people who did not have one in the past. I think censorship is stupid of course but I'm sure it won't last. Ten years ago, there was a much more free and liberal world than now.

Gap Between Primary and Secondary Art Market

Thiago: China growth in regard of the secondary art market and the auctions houses is astonishing. However, I disagree with you. The secondary market in Brazil moves much more money than the primary one. The big businesses and deals are not done within the primary market. They appear much more in the newspapers because it is fancy, the openings are trendy and so on but where the big business is, is the secondary art market. It is just that the secondary market works much quieter and silent, it doesn't want to make noise and the majority of these guys are much older, they don't even do exhibition, they just sit behind their desk doing their business on the phone. We are a secondary market gallery with the profile of a primary one, younger, doing fairs, exhibitions and so on. You are confounding marketing and volume of sales. The auction houses like Christie's or Sotheby's cannot set themselves in Brazil because of the taxes in my opinion because they cannot sell anything here. There are only three or four families here who are extremely wealthy that sometimes buy and pay these

astonishing taxes but most of them closed their offices in Brazil. There is no Christie's anymore, maybe there is one girl left on the phone working for them but that's all. They manage to bring the works abroad to sell them in New York for example, but they don't bring it back to sell them again to Brazilians and the majority of buyers of Brazilian art are here. Nowadays, there are more foreigners buying these works but before the people who would buy Sergio Camargo, Portinari and Volpi were Brazilians. We did an exhibition of Volpi in New York that sold very well. They do not sell it here because no one will pay 100 000 dollars for the work plus 50 000 dollars of taxes. Nobody wants it! That is why all the Brazilian collectors have the same collection. You go to José Olympio's house, Setubal's or the house of everyone else and they all have a Volpi, a Sergio Camargo, an Helio Oiticica, a Lygia Clark. Nobody has a Monet or a Léger because nobody wants to pay the taxes to bring them to Brasil! Maybe one day we will open a gallery abroad, but it is still very soon for us.

Vivian: In China, not only they have the biggest auction house in the world, but they also have Christie's and Sotheby's have headquarters there. The Chinese market generates much more money, the taxes are also cheaper that is why these auction houses are all in Hong Kong. What sells in these auction houses is very international nowadays, even though there is a lot of Chinese art. If you take the Brazilian auction houses, they are all very national, local. It's again the same old problem of taxes

Felipe: I think the secondary market is not as developed in Brazil because of a lack of culture. I was in New York recently during these big sales night at Sotheby's and I was impressed by the quantity of people, the quality of the works, the prices, etc...

Here in Brazil, it is common that there is an auction and there is not even dispute over the work. And there are people that manage to do great deals when buying at auctions in Brazil because no one shows up, people don't come and so they end up having the artwork at a very low price. Well, there are phases. Friends of mine that frequent much more the auction houses say that there are some that are starting to be packed. I think it is a lack of habit, lack of promotion too. It is still a small market in Brazil, the auction one. People don't really know how it works. Well, they are just not used to it. I also agree with you that one of the reasons must be that people want to buy more discreetly, sometimes even to do money laundering unfortunately. I also think there must be a lot of falsifications going on out there, that is why I always only recommend two auction houses that I know will play by the rules. However, I imagine that there is always a risk of falsification in auctions, all of them. It is always riskier. The other day I was talking to (INSERT NAME) one of the biggest collector of Chinese ceramics in the world, he even exhibited, and he was telling me that one of the first acquisitions that he did a set of plates of...I don't remember the century... Well, he realized after bidding on it that one of the plates was broken. He could have stayed angry forever and never enter an auction house ever again but instead the auctioneer told him that before bidding on anything he should have a closer look at the object he is interested in. So, it is very easy to fool you, especially in a country where trickery reigns, people feel more insecure too. I agree with Thiago that the taxes are also a barrier in developing auctions with companies like Christie's and so on.

São Paulo Biennale

Pedro: There is no international public for the Sao Paulo Biennale. If you look at the public that comes to the SP Biennale, he is basically composed of the educational program that must be something around 75% of the public. I don't see any international public there. On the opposite, I see the opportunity for the local public to have access to the art production done outside of Brasil. It is a Biennale done with international artists for a local public. The majority of the public for the Kassel Documenta is German. The German medium class frequents art exhibitions. In Venice, it's a mix as there are a lot of tourists.

Berna Reale anecdote in Venice

Moky: Sao Paulo Biennale has a very special role in the international art scene. It can play very important role in highlighting certain issues, especially in a country where freedom of speech is at stake. I also think that Brazilian artists are much more politically active nowadays than they used to be. For example, there was a show in Madrid in as space organized by the Brazilian embassy during ARCO. The show was paid by the Brazilian government and the works were openly critical of the Brazilian state. As a result, one of the works was censored and remover the day before the opening. An important question we can ask ourselves is : would the show have taken place in Brazil ?

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