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The Berlin Art Market: structures and dynamics

Constança Costa Santos

Mestrado em Mercados da Arte

Orientadores:

Doutor Luís Urbano de Oliveira Afonso, Professor Associado
Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa

Doutora Alexandra Etelvina Fernandes, Professora Auxiliar,
ISCTE - Instituto Universitário de Lisboa

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Departamento de História

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Abstract

Every city has its own specific art-ecosystem which evolves according to the city's political, economic, and social development. This dissertation studies the art market in Berlin, a city that changed and progressed tremendously in the last 30 years. My purpose in writing this paper is to understand this particular city's art scene, its motivations, associations and ways-of-doing, as a way of comprehending how artists, gallerists and collectors inhabit this space together.

In this dissertation I make a general characterisation of Berlin as a city, its political, sociological, and economic as well as demographic traits. I follow with a chronological delineation of the city's art ecosystem, where I state the main actors and factors that have shaped the art scene to this day and how they interact with one another to create the very specific artistic context that can be found in Berlin. In the second chapter, I use Tanya Leighton Gallery, where I interned for six months, as a case study, thus giving practical and empirical information on the gallery's artists, exhibition, and fair strategies as well as its methods and objectives. This case study allows me to understand how a Berlin-based gallery functions and how it relates to its community and artworld actors. I, then, conclude with a cross-referencing series of findings that guide me in answering the initial hypothesis of whether Berlin is more of a creative or a collecting city.

Keywords

Berlin, gallery, collectors, artists, art eco-system

Resumo

Cada cidade tem o seu próprio e específico ecossistema da arte que evolui de acordo com o desenvolvimento político, económico e social da cidade. Esta dissertação estuda o mercado da arte em Berlim, uma cidade que mudou e progrediu imensamente nos últimos 30 anos. O meu objectivo ao escrever este trabalho é compreender o cenário artístico desta cidade em particular, as suas motivações, associações e modos de fazer, por forma a compreender como artistas, galeristas e colecionadores co-habitam este espaço.

Nesta dissertação faço uma caracterização geral de Berlim enquanto cidade, os seus traços políticos, sociológicos e económicos, bem como demográficos. De seguida faço uma descrição cronológica do ecossistema artístico da cidade, onde apresento os principais actores e factores que moldaram o cenário da arte até hoje e como interagem entre si para criar o contexto artístico muito específico que se encontra em Berlim. No segundo capítulo, utilizo a Tanya Leighton Gallery, onde estagiei durante seis meses, como caso de estudo, fornecendo assim informações práticas e empíricas sobre os artistas da galeria e estratégias de exposição e de feiras de arte, assim como os seus métodos e objectivos. Este caso de estudo permite-me compreender como funciona uma galeria com sede em Berlim e como se relaciona com a sua comunidade e restantes actores do mundo da arte. Concluo, então, com uma série de referências que me guiam na resposta à hipótese inicial de Berlim ser uma cidade mais criativa que comercial.

Palavras-chave

Berlin, galeria, colecionadores, artistas, eco-sistema da arte

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INTRODUCTION

The art world, and especially the art market, is a very social one, contrived by actors at different levels¹. The art market is characterised by a progressive process of social recognition and establishment. An artist is first acknowledged by his peers, then by certain art dealers, afterwards by curators and critics, and only then, and only sometimes, by national and international museums and foundations². Media and events are an important part of this process as well, as they provide visibility and follow the artists' public careers. The art market is then deeply connected to a city's institutions and its capability, producing, exhibiting, and selling.

The goal of this dissertation is to study this process through the city of Berlin, its specific art scene, and the evolution of its art market in the last few years. To do this we focus on one of the city's galleries as a case study, as a way of understanding the functioning of the primary market. This dissertation will then be divided into two main sections: first, Berlin, a creative city and second the presentation and thorough analysis of Tanya Leighton Gallery. The final section will provide the key findings and assessments to the question at issue.

The first section aims to introduce Berlin as a dynamic city that favours cultural and artistic activities. Thus, we study the local background, providing a demographic, social and political characterisation of the city, focusing especially on political freedom, the stability of the state of law, and quality of life. We then provide an economic overview of the city and its growth over the last few years. An understanding of the cultural infrastructures as well as of cultural policies and state aids will also be provided. Going deeper into the creative side of the city, we will study the public and private institutions with artistic recognition ability. We will then review the artistic residencies located in Berlin and/or sponsored by the city's council and the cultural events which take place in Berlin as well as the media coverage focusing on this specific city. We will also consider the different art related awards granted by Berlin based institutions: On the supply side of the art market, we will provide an overview of the primary market, through the presentation of major art galleries, and of the

¹ Dickie, George. (1984). *The Art Circle: A Theory of Art*. Haven Publishing

² Urbano Afonso, Luís & Fernandes, Alexandra. (2019). *Mercados da Arte*. Edições Sílabo

secondary market, through auction houses. With regards to demand, we will induce the main art collections of Berlin.

The second section discusses Tanya Leighton Gallery as a case study, using the interviews conducted with the associate-directors as a way of understanding the practical functioning and the ways of doing of the gallery. First, we provide context on the foundation of Tanya Leighton Gallery, its chronological development as well as its internal structure and provide a description of each one of the team members' duties and responsibilities. We then introduce the artists represented by the gallery, observing the key differences between them, both in terms of demography (age, nationality) and in terms of artistic production (work location, mediums used and level of establishment). We also provide a general overview of the artist selection processes. Afterwards, we study the gallery's exhibitions, focusing on the solo/group shows ratio over the years and discussing the exhibition preparation strategies. The following section is dedicated to the art fairs in which the gallery has participated over the years, as a way of understanding the gallery's growth and international positioning. We finally provide an overview of the gallery's collectors which, unfortunately, only takes the interviews as a source of information.

The final section constitutes, as mentioned above, the key findings to this research, allowing us to establish a judgement on Berlin's positioning in the artworld and to provide an assessment on the city's art market. It is in this segment that we review the interview conducted with one of the gallery's represented artists, as a way of understanding the creative side of the city in opposition to its commercial side, studied through the case study. This section is followed by the bibliography and webography used to substantiate the information provided in this dissertation, and by the appendix, in which the original interviews are transcribed.

CHAPTER 1: THE ART MARKET IN BERLIN

1. General context of the city

It is important to remember the historical background of Berlin, as a way of understanding the way it has developed over the last seventy years and how its history affects the lives of the art scene players.

The Second World War had a major influence in the city's development during the second half of the 20th century. At the Potsdam Conference in July 1945, it was decided that the capital of Germany would be divided, at the end of the war, by the three winning powers, namely the United Kingdom, the United States of America, and the Soviet Union. The United Kingdom and the United States of America decided to give a portion of their own sectors to France, making sure that either one of them wouldn't have to face the Soviet Union alone, in case the other abandoned the territory.

Thus, after the Battle of Berlin and the soviet conquest on May 2nd, 1945, the western allies took over their respective sectors on the first fortnight of July. As the winning nations couldn't agree on a peace settlement that would resolve the "German Problem", Berlin remained divided. Later, in 1948, the western powers united their sectors creating a single economic unit which was opposed in ideology and politics to the Soviet sector. This division led to mass migrations from the German East to the West and, to control this exodus, the Berlin Wall was built. Between 1961 and 1989, Berlin was not only a city, it was two politically opposed countries altogether. This split led to a relocation of the western political, economic, and financial capitals to Bonn, Hamburg, and Frankfurt respectively. Only the German Democratic Republic in the east of Germany had its capital in Berlin. This decentralisation of power severely affected the economic and social reconstruction and development of Berlin, and these repercussions are still felt nowadays, as we will study further ahead³.

³ Britannica. *Berlin divided*. <https://www.britannica.com/place/Berlin/Berlin-divided>

1.1 Local background

Berlin is the country's biggest city and constitutes, in itself, one of the sixteen federal states of Germany. Berlin extends over an area of 30,545km² but only 891,8km² of those are considered Berlin's urban area, which is divided into twelve districts. In 2019 the inner-city population amounts to 3,654 million registered inhabitants but it is known that a big percentage of the people living in Berlin isn't in fact accounted for⁴.

Since the end of the Cold War, there has been rising immigration to the city-state. In 2021 Berlin gained 13,400 new residents, not counting the unregistered ones. Around one hundred and seventy different nationalities live in Berlin, which makes up for twenty-one percent of the population, most of them coming from Turkey, Poland, and Syria.

In terms of religion, it is important to point out that, as of 2018, almost fifteen percent of Berlin's population was a member of the Evangelical Church and around eight percent of the Catholic Church. It is also important to mention that the government collects church taxes on behalf of these religious organisations. In 2019 there was a reported total of 11,6% of the population coming from Islamic countries and less than one percent of Berlin's inhabitants coming from other religious backgrounds. In sum, only around 37% of the city's population is part of a religious congregation.

The average age of the city's population is around 43,9, meaning that 55% of the population is no older than 45 years old. The neighbourhood with the youngest residents is Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, with an age average of 38 years. The highest age average is 47 years in the suburban south-west neighbourhood of Steglitz-Zehlendorf⁵.

Germany is a Federal Republic and Parliamentary Democracy meaning that the country is built on a decentralised cultural and economic structure, which comes as a result of the country's history. The Federal Government is composed of fifteen ministries, plus the Head of the Federal Chancellery and the Federal Chancellor, currently, Olaf Scholz. It is important to point out that six of these ministries still have their headquarters in Germany's previous capital city, Bonn. Each of the sixteen states of

⁴ Berlin Business Location Center. (2021). *Surface area of Berlin*.

<https://www.businesslocationcenter.de/en/business-location/berlin-at-a-glance/surface-area-of-berlin>

⁵ Berlin Business Location Center. (2021). *Demographic Data*.

<https://www.businesslocationcenter.de/en/business-location/berlin-at-a-glance/demographic-data>

the German Federation have independent powers and responsibilities, namely, internal security, education, culture, and municipal administration. This means that the laws and policies that apply in Berlin, might not apply in other German cities or states. The only ministries of the German Government that work at a national level are the Economics and Climate Protection Ministry, led by Robert Habeck, the Foreign Affairs Ministry, led by Annalena Bärbock and the Finance Ministry, led by Christian Lindner. The remaining ministries are state ruled and otherwise independent from the central government⁶.

The city of Berlin is administered on two levels: the Central Administration and the District Administration. The Central Administration is formed by the Mayor of Berlin, currently Franziska Giffey, member of the Social Democratic Party, and of ten senators. Their meeting point is the Rotes Rathaus (Red Town Hall), and their duties and responsibilities involve planning and decision making about basic policy and supervising the general progress of the city. The Police and Justice Bureaus, as well as the Fire Department are subordinate agencies of the Central Administration. The Twelve District Administrations of Berlin have lower-level and localised responsibilities namely upon those institutions that have no legal authority such as schools. The Central Administration oversees these operations⁷.

According to a survey conducted by PwC last year, Berlin was ranked sixth on world cities with the best quality of life⁸. 2021's Global Power City Index, which evaluates cities' magnetism and capacity to attract new people and businesses, also identifies Berlin as the seventh most attractive city in the world⁹. This study considers seventy different indicators pertaining to six main criteria: Economy, Research and Development, Cultural Interaction, Livability, Environment and Accessibility. If we analyse the city according to only one of these indexes, we find that Berlin's Economy is ranked twenty-eighth, Research & Development is ranked seventeenth, Cultural Interaction is tenth, Livability is fourth, Environment is seventh and Accessibility is twenty-fifth. It

⁶ Facts about Germany. (2018). *Political System*. <https://www.tatsachen-ueber-deutschland.de/en/politics-germany/political-system>

⁷ Business Location Center. (2021). *Government and Administration*. <https://www.businesslocationcenter.de/en/business-location/berlin-at-a-glance/political-system>

⁸ PFG. (2021). *Berlin 6th best city for quality of life in the world*. <https://www.premiumfinance-group.com/berlin-6th-best-city-quality-life-world/>

⁹ Institute for Urban Strategies. The Mori Memorial Foundation. (2021). *Global Power City Index*. <https://mori-m-foundation.or.jp/english/ius2/gpci2/index.shtml>

is important, though, to note that these indicators don't all have the same weight on the comprehensive ranking. Berlin's position on the general ranking suffers, then, from its Economic positioning, which we will overview further ahead. The Livability criteria includes Safety & Security, Workstyle Flexibility, Housing Rent, Social Freedom, and Equality, among others. Combining this criterion with the number of international residents, businesses and events that can be found in Berlin, allows us to confirm that the city offers very good quality of life and supports cultural diversity and integration.

1.2 Economic growth

It is important to give some context of the economic situation of Berlin over the last half-century. The Cold War prevented any economic development in West Berlin, as it was completely isolated from the rest of the country and of the world. In the East, the socialist policies prevented the economy from thriving. With the fall of the Berlin Wall and the subsequent need to re-unify the city, many companies moved their headquarters back to the capital and many others opened secondary offices.

Currently, around 84% of Berlin's companies operate within the services sector, making it the leading economic branch. Many major international companies were founded in Berlin such as Lufthansa, Allianz, AEG, or Deutsche Bank, for example. Technology as well as research and development companies also act for a large portion of the economic growth of the city, as there are many enterprises with laboratories and research facilities located in Berlin. The city has also become known for its support of start-ups, especially in the venture capital sector and is currently the centre of many international investments.

In terms of numbers, Berlin's economy was able to recover from the pandemic-related losses in just one year and the city's economic growth rate is also above the national average. In 2021 the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was 162,9 billion euros, an even higher number when compared to the pre-pandemic results (157,5 billion euros in 2019). The average earning per capita also increased in the last year, coming to 3,5 thousand euros gross per month (47,848 thousand a year). Tax rates in Berlin start at 14% for people earning more than nine thousand euros a year, and the highest tax rate is 45%, for incomes over 265 thousand per annum.

When it comes to employment, Berlin also presents attractive numbers. The city has an annual average of unemployment rate of 9,8%, a number that, although the country's highest, has been consistently decreasing over the years. Employment is also the fastest growing rate throughout Germany, with an increase in just 1,1% compared to the previous year. Employee growth rate too is above national average with an increase of 3,2% in 2021. Subdividing employees by economic sectors, we find that, as expected, 30% of the city's labour force works within the public service sector, including the health and education sectors. With 20% and 19% of the labour force respectively, consulting providers and trade, transport and storage and hotel and catering follow. With much smaller percentages each the manufacturing industry, information and communication and financial and insurance providers branches, represent, together, 14% of employment. Of these branches, financial services have the highest average income (79,857 thousand a year) and the trade, transport and storage, hotels and catering sector has the lowest average compensation (34,147 thousand a year), which also decreased compared to the previous year¹⁰.

Over the last twenty to thirty years, there has been a continuous process of gentrification in the city. Where before were large areas of abandoned buildings and old factories, are now co-working spaces and sports centres. Its urban development and incoming residents are slowly making the city smaller. Consumer prices were affected by this activity and increased by 2,8% in 2021. And like every other European country, these prices have gravely augmented since the beginning of the Ukrainian Crisis in early 2022. Fuel prices, for example, escalated 22,2% when compared to 2020 and, with this swelling comes a rise in prices of most consumption goods.

Renting has also become a problem in Berlin in recent years. Studies show that of its 3,6 million residents, only 18,4% actually own their own apartment and that the remaining 81,6% renters spend around 25% of their income on rent¹¹. In 2020 a polemic started around the Berlin rent cap which

¹⁰ Business Location Center. (2021). *Economic Situation*.

<https://www.businesslocationcenter.de/en/business-location/berlin-at-a-glance/economic-situation>

¹¹ Nehra, William. (2015). *Berlin rent cap ruled unlawful by German High Court*.

<https://www.iamexpat.de/housing/real-estate-news/berlin-rent-cap-ruled-unlawful-german-high-court>

was finally proclaimed unconstitutional in April 2021¹². This law froze the rents of around 1,5 million houses and apartments (ca. 90% of housing) in the city for five years and entailed a fine for landlords who overcharged their tenants. This policy aligned with the gentrification process and the current rising prices and inflation led to a stark increase in rental costs. A study from January this year showed that Berlin was one of the most expensive cities for housing. Currently, the average price for a one-bedroom apartment in the city-centre is around 1393 euros, an amount 40% higher when compared to last year's prices¹³.

In closing this brief contextualisation of Berlin as a city we should bear in mind and highlight the main points raised. Berlin's history as a divided city greatly influenced any and every aspect of its development throughout the last years. With over 891,8sqm of urban area, Berlin is one of the largest cities in Europe, especially considering that its population is only of 3,654 million inhabitants. The city's population density is then 655 people per square mile, a fairly low number for a capital city of a country as big as Germany. The constant and growing immigration to Berlin from all around the world promotes the widely international and tolerant tone that characterises the city-state. Since more than half of Berlin's inhabitants are no older than 45 years old, the population turns out to be quite young and therefore more active and livelier. The political and administrative structure of Berlin's governance allows for context-specific policies and comprehensive and flexible administration of the city and within its boroughs. In terms of economic growth, the capital's isolation led to a delay in its post-war recovery that has now, nonetheless, been surpassed. Nowadays Berlin has an unemployment rate of only 9,8%, a percentage that has been consecutively decreasing although it remains the country's highest. The average monthly wage is 3500 euros and the main sectors of activity in the city are services as well as technology and research which has been attracting many companies to Berlin in the last few years. A pressing issue at the moment are the rent prices which have increased by 40% when compared to last year. This is especially serious considering that 81,6% of Berlin's population are renters who come to spend 25% of their salary in housing. Still, Berlin is considered

¹² The Guardian. (2021). *Berlin's rent cap, though defeated in court, shows how to cool overheated markets*. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2021/apr/23/berlin-rent-cap-defeated-landlords-empty>

¹³ Carter, Abi. (2022). *Berlin among Europe's priciest cities for renting after rent cap abolished*. <https://www.iamexpat.de/housing/real-estate-news/berlin-among-europes-priciest-cities-renting-after-rent-cap-abolished>

one of the European cities with the best quality of life, where safety is guaranteed, working life is flexible and freedom and equality are paramount.

2. Characterisation of the art ecosystem

The art market has developed its own independent functioning mechanism in our increasingly global world. It is a niche market where common supply and demand laws apply only in very particular ways and although it is economically liberal, it is still contingent on certain valuation processes. The market is as reliant on the artworld as the artworld is dependent on the art market and therefore it is important for this study to characterise the artistic and cultural landscape of the city if we are to understand its art market. In this subchapter then, we will present a brief overview of the different actors that intervene in Berlin's art scene, starting with the city's cultural policies, administrative functioning, and state-funding. Afterwards and somehow following Sarah Thornton's "Seven Days in the Art World"¹⁴ structure, we will, briefly, present Berlin's major cultural institutions, followed by artist residencies, events, media, awards, galleries, auction houses and finally, collectors. Let us first, however, provide some numbers and figures regarding Berlin's creative and artistic scene. According to the Senate Department for Culture and Europe, there are more than 160,000 people working in the cultural and creative industries.¹⁵ In this sector we include architecture, the visual arts, design, event industries, film & broadcast, photography, games & interactive, literature & publishing, fashion & textile, music, dance & theatre and finally, advertising & PR. In 2017 there were close to 40,000 tax contributing companies working in this sector, whose total turnover for that year summed up to 38 billion euros, not counting with around 332,000 self-employed contributors. This means that in 2017, when the gross-turnover was of circa 229 billion euros, the creative industries brought about 16,6% of Berlin's gross-turnover¹⁶. In the visual arts more specifically, we can count with around 5832 artists living in the city, according to the bbk (Berufsverband für Bildende Künstler Berlin), two hundred museums plus other sorts of exhibition

¹⁴ Thornton, Sarah. (2008). "Seven Days in the Art World", Granta Books

¹⁵ Senate Department for Culture and Europe. (2020). *Cultural Policy*.

<https://www.berlin.de/sen/kultur/en/cultural-policy/>

¹⁶ Creative City Berlin, *Facts and Figures*. <https://www.creative-city-berlin.de/en/questions-answers/facts-figures/>

spaces and more than five hundred galleries. This amounts to over 3400 art market related businesses whose gross-revenue was of 720 million euro¹⁷, a way smaller percentage both of the gross-turnover (0,31%) and of the creative industries turnover (1,89%). Notwithstanding the economical lightweight nature of the visual arts industry, the general creative and cultural landscape in Berlin is quite diverse and very productive, thus allowing for a dynamic arts scene in terms of production and exhibition. Let us then, at last, bring forth a brief portrayal of this scenario.

2.1 Cultural policies, state-funding and state-aids

To understand the evolution of the artistic and cultural scene in Berlin, it is important to study the city's cultural policies over the last few years. As culture has always been one of the most pertinent ways of instructing or influencing the people, especially in times of political crisis, the different governments and ideologies that ruled over Berlin had very distinct agendas and therefore created the very particular cultural scenario that we find in Berlin nowadays.

Immediately after the end of the war, all four winning states aligned their cultural policies in order to “denazify” the German population and instate a more democratic society. Soon after that, the United Kingdom, the United States of America, and France united into a single economic unit and drifted apart from the Soviet Union, both in ideology and in democratic principles. A race for culture started at that point, with theatres, cinemas and concert halls re-opening their doors and competing for the public's attention. Due to Berlin's geographical development in the early 1900s, most cultural institutions were located in the East of Berlin, giving an advantage to the German Democratic Republic (GDR). The Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) had therefore to invest in the construction of theatres, cinemas, opera houses and universities (the Freie Universität was founded in 1948 in West Berlin, for example), thus giving rise to a sort of “cultural renaissance” of Berlin. This investment represented almost 50% of the FRG's annual budget as well as a big part of the Marshall-Plan's financial aid. Although there were cultural institutions in East Berlin, there was no actual

¹⁷ Creative City Berlin, *Visual Arts*. <https://www.creative-city-berlin.de/en/questions-answers/visual-arts/>

freedom. Artists were asked to create pieces that reflected the socialist principles thus generating a unified socialist identity.

In the early 1970s an agreement was signed by both German states in which they recognized each other's sovereignty and allowed them to join the United Nations. This enabled the two countries to develop independently their cultural infrastructures and policies therefore giving rise to movements which aimed to free culture and artistic expression and leading to a what was called the "new cultural policy-paradigm". These movements were mainly supported by West Berlin but the lack of funding and support from the Senate led artists and institutions to act independently. In East Berlin, groups of artists started to create experimental autonomous institutions such as galleries and libraries in their personal homes as a way of connecting a community that did not want to follow the East's cultural ideals.

With the German reunification in October 1990 Berlin was again the country's capital city and found itself with at least a double of each cultural institution. There were two state libraries, two state operas, two art academies as well as numerous museums. Where there was a need to reunify the city and to make it more homogeneous, there was also a lack of solid administrative and economic resources. The unemployment rate increased about 20% and the average income was one of the lowest in Germany. This gave rise to massive migration flows which in turn explains the amount of international people living in Berlin today. There was also a tremendous amount of unoccupied space, especially closer to the location of the Berlin Wall. As the city was partly destroyed during World War II and then rebuilt as two separate cities, there were a lot of abandoned areas. Berlin was described as the "wild west land" and this characterization attracted creative people from all over Europe as they saw in these vacant spaces the opportunity to lead cultural and artistic experiments¹⁸. The empty sites combined with the city's need of redefinition and reidentification gave rise to a high amount of artistic trends, dynamic subcultures and a *sui generis* lifestyle that is known purely as Berliner. One of the most important characters during this time was Jutta Weitz who was working for the government's real estate company, Wohnungsbaugesellschaft Berlin-Mitte (WBM). She offered state-owned spaces to artists for interim use. This allocation strategy allowed for an effective and unbureaucratic re-appropriation of available locations and the subsequent renovation and

¹⁸ Merkel, Janet. (2017). *From a divided city to a capital city: Berlin's cultural policy frameworks between 1945 and 2015*. <https://chmcc.hypotheses.org/2474>

gentrification of these places¹⁹. Effects of this policy can still be felt today as pointed out by Annette Maechtel, in her 2020 study “A Political Approach to the Temporary: Space Production in Berlin in the Early 1990s” and an exhibition with regards to this matter was presented at MoMA PS1 in 1999.²⁰

The Federal Government Commissioner for Culture and the Media (BKM), a government agency, was set-up in 1998 by the political coalition that led the government at that time, as a means of giving an administrative and institutional structure to these undertakings. The early 2000s were a period of fast-growing economic environment and cultural development which earned Berlin the UNESCO City of Design title in 2006 and the nickname of “Creative City”. Currently, cultural affairs are managed by four different policy administrators; at district-level by the councils, by the Senate Department for Culture and Europe at a city-government level, by the Committee for Cultural Affairs at a state level and, finally; by the BKM at a federal level. Main actors at a political level are Dr. Klaus Lederer, Senator for Culture and Europe and Dr. Torsten Wöhlert, Permanent Secretary for Culture. The mission of these agencies is to ensure the development of Berlin’s cultural life through the enforcement of cultural education, cultural diversity, digitization, and accessibility²¹. This conglomerate of players, though, and the consequent subdivision of duties and responsibilities has caused, over the years, set backs when it comes to establishing a solid cultural policy. It is, then, the funding entities that come to making decisions through their investments in programmes and institutions.

As mentioned above, public, and private funding is at the basis of Berlin’s cultural landscape. At a national level, the German government approved a budget for culture of 2,3 billion euro in 2022. That represents an increase of approximately 7% when compared to last year’s budget. The minister for culture, Claudia Roth, justified this investment saying that “the members of the Bundestag are specifically strengthening the arts, culture, and media in the face of the unprecedented crisis of our time... Now more than ever, we need the open spaces for discourse and the diverse food for thought

¹⁹ Hafner, Hans-Jürgen & Nedo, Kito. (2021). *What is Berlin’s Cultural Policy?*

<https://berlinartweek.de/en/article/what-is-berlins-cultural-policy/>

²⁰ MoMA. (1999). *Children of Berlin: Cultural Developments 1989-1999*.

<https://www.moma.org/calendar/exhibitions/4681>

²¹ Senate Department for Culture and Europe, *Cultural participation*.

<https://www.berlin.de/sen/kultur/en/cultural-policy/cultural-participation/>

provided by art and culture”²². These funds will be allocated to different causes and creative sectors throughout the country, including museums, ballets, opera houses and cinemas. One important initiative is the “NEW START CULTURE” programme which was launched in 2020 to face the COVID-19 related difficulties in the arts and culture. The programme had an initial budget of 1 billion euros in 2020 and 2 billion euros in 2021, that are to be invested in over sixty programmes of more than forty cultural institutions and corporations, until the end of 2022. The second stage of this programme comprehended an 800-million-euro investment in cultural production and mediation, through subsidies to artists schools and residencies²³.

At a state level, Berlin’s annual budget for culture amounts to 600 million euros approximately. Around seventy public institutions receive 95% of that quota and the remaining 5% are distributed to independent grants and other individual projects. State budget regulations (Landeshaushaltsordnung - LHO) define three different types of funding; financial shortfall, fixed sum, and co-finance funding, that are to be allocated to public projects and non-profit organisations. Many of Berlin’s cultural institutions which were previously state-owned are now independent organisations, which mean that the main objective of state-funding systems is to serve as a financial supplement to these privatised entities. Funding requirements are the project’s economic efficiency and general institutional effectiveness, and the recipients must legally justify their use of public funds²⁴. There are over thirty institutions that receive long-term subsidies of which the Bauhaus Archive, the state Museums, the KW - Institute for Contemporary Art and Künstlerhaus Bethanien are only a few examples²⁵. The budget is therefore divided between institutional, meaning long-term, funding, and temporary financial aid. Among these are included several different programmes that support individual or group initiatives in photography, performance, visual and performing arts, literature, music and so on and so forth, thus sustaining production and visibility of the city’s diverse artistic landscape.

²² Abrams, Amah-Rose. (2022). *Germany Bumps Up Culture Spending by 7 Percent to \$2.4 Billion, Citing Link Between Arts and Democracy*. <https://news.artnet.com/art-world/germany-bumps-up-culture-budget-2-4-billion-2118758>

²³ Blumenreich, Ulrike. (2021). *Covid-19 and culture in Germany: Supporting Measures + Timeline of COVID-19 regulations for cultural institutions*. <https://www.culturalpolicies.net/covid-19/country-reports/germany/>

²⁴ Senate Department for Culture and Europe, *Cultural funding in Berlin*. <https://www.berlin.de/sen/kultur/en/funding/>

²⁵ Senate Department for Culture and Europe, *Museums and other visual arts institutions*. <https://www.berlin.de/sen/kultur/en/funding/cultural-institutions/museums-and-other-visual-arts-institutions/>

Examples of these programmes are the cross-disciplinary funding, funding for women artists, public-art and percent-for-art, among many others. The Senate Chancellery selects juries to evaluate and ensure the independence, transparency, and artistic freedom of the applicants²⁶. An important programme to name is the Berlin Studio Program which results of a cooperation between Berlin's Senate Department for Culture and Europe and the bbk Berlin (berufsverband bildender künstler*innen - professional association of visual artists in Berlin) and aims to allocate subsidised, rent controlled studios to Berlin-based artists²⁷.

Funding also comes at a district level (for each one of the twelve boroughs in Berlin) as it is the district's responsibility to ensure cultural diffusion and promotion within their boroughs. This can include libraries, art schools and other types of cultural institutions. The District Cultural Fund (BFK), for example, provides around 1 million euros a year for district projects. To this we can add the Cultural Education Project Fund that is granted 540,000 euros yearly, funding for municipal galleries which amounts to 350,000 euros and around 400,000 euros received by the Fund for Exhibition Remuneration for Visual Artists (Fabik)²⁸. An example of district funds application is the District Culture Fund - Berlin Mitte which subsidises with circa 10,000 euros, artistic and cultural interdisciplinary projects taking place in Mitte. The initiatives must foster relationships between local cultural institutions and strengthen the district's history and artistic development²⁹.

Although policies and funding are decided at different political levels, there are many state and district funding programmes to which artists, creative industries and cultural institutions can apply. Berlin's cultural policy is strictly defined by actors at different levels and the cultural scene is deeply sustained by funding of all sorts and, again, at all levels.

²⁶ Senate Department for Culture and Europe, *Funding programmes*.

<https://www.berlin.de/sen/kultur/en/funding/funding-programmes/>

²⁷ bbk, *Berlin Studio Program*. <https://www.bbk-kulturwerk.de/en/office-for-artist-consulting/guide/berlin-studio-program>

²⁸ Senate Department for Culture and Europe, *Kultur in den Berliner Bezirken*.

<https://www.berlin.de/sen/kultur/kulturpolitik/akteure/bezirke/artikel.31963.php>

²⁹ The District Culture Fund, *Funding*. <https://kultur-mitte.de/en/funding/bezirkskulturfonds/>

2.2 Public and private institutions

Art institutions, museums, or alternative exhibition spaces are manifold players when it comes to the art world. The MoMa, the Tate, Centre Pompidou are institutionalising entities in themselves, regardless of their directors or curators. These institutions are also more than just houses of art, they participate in distinct phases of artists' careers and establishment process. They are first and foremost, places of exhibition but they can also act as collectors, as production sponsors, as award granters and media partners. They are constant players in the art world and not only just for artists. Curators, directors, benefactors, all gain acknowledgement, and validation by working in or collaborating with such centres. That is why it is so important for a country to have one of those institutions and there aren't so many as one might think. In Berlin, for historical reasons, there isn't such an institution. Museums were either bombed or artworks were sent away during and after World War II. The art centres that do exist are quite recent and even though some have important collections with great artists and major exhibitions, they are not yet analogous to the MoMA for example. Even so, they are vital actors in Berlin's art scene, which counts with a hundred and seventy museums, seventy of them state-owned³⁰. We will only mention a few of the main ones regarding contemporary art, namely the Hamburger Bahnhof, the Berlinische Galerie, the KW - Institute for Contemporary Art and KINDL.

The **Hamburger Bahnhof - Museum für Gegenwart** is a public museum and the biggest art collection held by the State of Berlin. The building in which the collection is held is an old railway station dating back to 1846, the only one remaining with a late Neoclassical architectural style. It was the terminus of the line between Berlin and Hamburg, thus its name. In 1904 the station was redesigned to be a museum for transport and construction and both the east, and the west wings of the building were added later on. During the Second World War the building was gravely damaged and due to its location between East and West Berlin it remained non-functioning almost through the whole duration of the Cold War. In 1984 West Berlin's Senate took hold of the Hamburger Bahnhof and it was only in 1996, after extensive renovations that the Bahnhof reopened as a contemporary art museum with approximately 10,000sqm of available exhibition space.

In the beginning the museum held artworks both from the Nationalgalerie Collection and the Marx Collection. In 2002 the museum acquired Edigio Marzona's Conceptual Art and Arte Povera

³⁰ Art at Berlin, *ART Location Map*. <https://www.artatberlin.com/en/galleries-berlin-museums-cultural-institutions-foundations/>

collection and since 2004, the museum has also lodged the Friedrich Christian Flick Collection as a long-term loan. In 2005 the Verein der Freunde der Nationalgalerie (National Gallery's Friends Association) created the Foundation for Contemporary Art which permitted for the expansion of the collection through the purchase of post-1980 conceptual artworks. In 2008 and 2014 Friedrich Christian Flick donated a total of 268 works from his collection to the Hamburger Bahnhof. The artworks present in the collection account for major art movements since the sixties, including the reinterpretation of painting, conceptual art, film, and video art and later on multimedia installations. As an example of this last artistic trend, the collection holds immersive artists' rooms by renowned artists such as John Cage or Rebecca Horn. A few of the artists present in the collection are Gerhard Richter, Sigmar Polke, Joseph Beuys, Andy Warhol, Robert Rauschenberg, Cy Twombly, Wolfgang Tillmans, Dan Graham, and Cindy Sherman. The Hamburger Bahnhof's mission is to pay tribute to these artists that revolutionised art by breaching the laws of traditional artistic movements, thus presenting us with the interdisciplinary, groundbreaking works present in the collection³¹.

The **Berlinische Galerie**'s modern glass building was first built in the 1960s as a storage unit at Alte Jakobstraße, close to the Berlin Wall. In 1975, when the museum was founded, architect Jörg Fricke was commissioned to turn the building into a contemporary art museum, which now has almost 4000sqm of high ceiling exhibition space, a large room for special occasions, offices, underground depositories, and a café. In 1994 it was instituted as a public museum of the State of Berlin. The gallery is administered by the Stiftung Berlinische Galerie, a foundation whose internal structure is set up in two separate parts; a management team and a board of trustees, whose director is Thomas Köhler. A museum for Modern Art, Photography and Architecture, the Berlinische Galerie gathers artworks dating back to the last quarter of the 19th century and exhibits them as a way of guiding visitors through Berlin's turbulent history. A wide variety of mediums can be found in the museum's collection, ranging from painting to photography, media art, installation, and also documentary archives, all of which are testimonies of Berlin's international art scene. The Berlinische Galerie is, then, an interdisciplinary museum whose purpose is, via its representative collection, to mirror the creative city of Berlin throughout 150 years and to sustain the intriguing, tantalising encounters and dialogues that so peculiarly define the city³².

³¹ Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, *Hamburger Bahnhof - Museum für Gegenwart - Berlin*.

<https://www.smb.museum/en/museums-institutions/hamburger-bahnhof/about-us/profile/>

³² Berlinische Galerie - Museum of Modern Art, *The Museum*.

<https://berlinischegalerie.de/en/berlinische-galerie/the-museum/>

The **KW Institute for Contemporary Art**, otherwise known as Kunst-Werke Berlin, was established in an old factory located in Berlin-Mitte that the Berlin Lotto Foundation had bought in 1995. Its founders are Klaus Biesenbach, Alexandra Binswanger, Clemens Homburger, Philipp von Doering and Alfonso Rutigliano. The building was renovated, and two expansions were made. One was the Café Bravo designed by architect Johanne Nalbach in cooperation with artist Dan Graham. The other was the 400sqm foyer outlined by the Berlin-based architect Hans Düttmann. In total, the KW has 2000sqm of exhibition space, office and studio spaces and a courtyard with café. It is a private institution although it receives funds from Berlin's Senate Department for Culture and Europe. As the KW does not possess an art collection, its director Krist Gruijthuijsen and its team of more than thirty people have developed exhibitions, commissioned works, and organised prestigious events, designed to analyse current political, social and cultural tendencies through a critical exposure of contemporary art production and discourse. The institute has defined itself as a social site where artists stand as the kickoff for critical reflections and progressive projects and where encounters and dynamic discussions take place. Collaborating with national and international institutions such as MoMA PS1, the Venice Biennale or the documenta in Kassel, has allowed the KW to establish itself as a major centre for contemporary art, thus strengthening Berlin's position in the global art scene³³.

The **KINDL - Zentrum für zeitgenössische Kunst** is a non-profit organisation founded in 2016 by Andreas Fiedler and settled in an old brewery in Berlin-Neukölln. The building was designed by architects Hans Claus Richard Schepke in the New Objectivity style that characterised the Weimar Republic and built between 1926 and 1930. During World War II the industrial complex was partially destroyed and then restored by cinema architect Gerhard Fritsche. It was only in 2011 that Salome Grisard and Burkhard Varnholt purchased the building and decided to turn it into a centre for contemporary art. With over 1600sqm of exhibition space, KINDL is a protected historical monument where both thematic projects and solo shows take place. Besides painting, sculpture and installation works, film and video displays also occupy a large part of the institution's programme. KINDL describes itself as a place of interaction and discussion, where the links between art and current social issues are brought to the fore. Along with the exhibitions, KINDL's programme includes artists' talks, lectures and educational workshops for both children and adults, thus driving visitors to engage with the works and the artists' perspectives. One of the most notorious initiatives developed by this

³³ KW Institute for Contemporary Art, *About*. <https://www.kw-berlin.de/en/about/>

institution is an innovative cooperation with the district's schools. Students and teachers will meet at KINDL for workshops and lectures as a way of integrating the community in the cultural life of the organisation, therefore raising consciousness to the social and urban growth of the neighbourhood, catalysing interactions between different publics and ensuring the allowing for a dynamic environment. The Centre for Contemporary Art also collaborates on a regular basis with other cultural institutions to curate festivals and events that reveal the centre's innovative artistic ideals. The KINDL is then, a cultural institution where international contemporary art is produced and exhibited but more than that, it is a place for communication, where neighbours gather, and artistic practices and discourses enables social debates and critical interpretations on our globalised world³⁴.

2.3 Artist residencies

Art education is a complex subject. An artist can become an artist without ever having studied art or, on the contrary, an art student can sometimes never become an accredited artist. Artist residencies are programmes organised and funded by public or private art institutions of different kinds with the aim of facilitating encounters between artists, promoting collaborations within the artistic community, and fostering creativity and growth. Such programmes, which can be either general or specific to a medium, provide its participants with supplies, workspace and time, for them to develop a new project and to delve into their creativity. Artist residencies are especially relevant for emergent artists as they are a compelling way to gain visibility. In the creative city of Berlin there are over twenty artist residencies of which we will only observe a few, namely the Berlin Program for Artists (BPA), Künstlerhaus Bethanien and the Berlin Art Institute (BAI). Altogether the number of artists involved in residency programmes in Berlin can surpass 150 individuals per year, considering that some residencies have a duration of an entire year while others can only last a few weeks or months.

The **Berlin Program for Artists** was launched in 2016 by Angela Bulloch, Simon Denny and Willem de Rooij. It is an artist-managed association whose goal is to motivate cooperation between Berlin-based emerging and established artists, that is to say, participants and mentors. To that end, the programme relies mainly on mandatory studio-visits and gatherings that take place twice a month as well as individual sessions between participants and mentors. A wide array of events is also

³⁴ KINDL - Zentrum für Zeitgenössische Kunst, *About*. <https://www.kindl-berlin.de/institution>

coordinated with different sorts of institutions, of which the KW Institute for Contemporary Art where participants' works are shown at the end of each edition. Partakers in the BPA must stay in Berlin for the whole of the duration of the programme, that is, two years, and commit to their projects full-time, as BPA is not compatible with other full-time activities. Participation is free of charge and new work is subsidised, but applicants should present artwork with at least the equivalent level of a masters-degree. There are twelve core mentors including Wolfgang Tillmans and as mentioned above, Angela Bulloch and Willem de Rooij. Renowned guest mentors include Oliver Laric (2017), Matt Mullican (2018), Elif Saydam (2020), Jimmy Robert (2020), Kader Attia (2020) and Zoë Claire Miller (2022), among many others³⁵.

Künstlerhaus Bethanien is both a cultural institution and an artist residency specialising in visual arts. Offering both workspaces and exhibitions spaces, the programme intends to create links between artists working with different mediums, thus bringing closer people from varied backgrounds, and building a wider, more solid correlation between their practices. One of the goals of Künstlerhaus Bethanien is to facilitate access and exchanges with the International Studio Programme, a connecting platform for emerging artists, thus strengthening its network. At the Berlin residency, participants are commissioned to design and carry through with a project over the course of twelve months for which they are provided with curatorial and technical assistance. Resident artists are granted international scholarships to cover living costs, residency fees, studio rentals as well as a small annuity for materials. Künstlerhaus Bethanien, where the final results are exhibited, takes charge of all marketing strategies linked to the promotion of artists' shows and other *ad hoc* events such as studio visits, performances, workshops, seminars, etc. In doing so, the organisation of the residency enables contact and networking with influential people both to a local and to an international level³⁶.

The **Berlin Art Institute** is both an artist residency and an arts incubator first established in 2015 by Ralf Schmitt and Stephanie Jünemann. Bringing together artists from around the world, the programme aims to foster creative practice and research thus helping participants to improve their artistic discourse in a practical and comprehensive artistic discourse way. A random selection and partnering of artists from around the world lead to a collaborative exchange of ideas which in turn results in the exploration of new and different methods of production and provides for both mutual guidance and individual support. In the BAI artists are supplied with a workplace and are

³⁵ Berlin Program for Artists, *About*. <https://berlinprogramforartists.org/>

³⁶ Künstlerhaus Bethanien, International Studio Programme. <https://www.bethanien.de/en/programme/>

continuously accompanied by lecturers and fellow artists. Furthermore, participants are required to take part in workshops, discussion forums and lectures by varied Berlin-based curators, critics, and scholars, thus raising a common artistic consciousness and all the while strengthening individual affirmation. The BAI is then an innovative programme whose *modus operandi* differs from traditional art education systems in the sense that it is rooted in empirical learning and continuous dialogue³⁷.

2.4 Events

The artworld is made of people who know other people and upheld by a blind faith on word of mouth. That is perhaps why events are the most important part of this specific ecosystem. In the category “events”, we include exhibition openings, art fairs, biennales, and other gatherings of the sort like book launches, screenings, or performances. These occasions are where networks are built and, although they are generally pretty casual events, they make up for a big part of the job. It’s a place to meet artists, gallerists, journalists, critics, collectors and so on. Furthermore, these situations are almost inevitably accompanied by a great deal of press and hence, visibility. In Berlin the most remarkable events are Gallery Week and Gallery Weekend, the Berlin Biennale and on a lower, though not negligible level, POSITIONS, the Berlin Art Fair. We will overview each of these events in order to understand their contribution to the art scene in Berlin.

First launched in 2005, **Gallery Weekend** is a private project created by Berlin galleries and coordinated by abc gwb UG, an event organisation company. Alongside with Gallery Weekends’ director, Maike Cruse, general manager, Christiane Rhein and project manager, Carlotta Rösner, the team selects the participating galleries in October for the following spring. There are generally no more than fifty galleries taking part in the event and the committee usually tries to give preference to younger galleries, as a way of gaining visibility. To this end, the organisation partners with several art magazines, namely Spike, Texte zur Kunst and Flash Art, among others. On Gallery Weekend (typically the last weekend of April), galleries put up their best exhibitions by emerging and/or established artists and remain open to the public Friday through Sunday. Attracting many national

³⁷ Berlin Art Institute, *Concept*. <https://berlinartinstitute.com/concept/>

and international people to the city, this event has proved itself to be one of the most important art experiences taking place in Berlin³⁸.

Similarly, **Berlin Art Week** is an annual event taking place every September, that gathers all major Berlin art institutions. The event receives funds from the Senate Department for Culture and Europe and the Senate Department for Economics, Energy and Enterprises as well as from the European Union's Regional Development Programme. Berlin Art Week is also sponsored by several media partners like *monopol* magazine, *artnet* and *Tagesspiegel*, etc. More than fifty museums, galleries, private collections, and independent exhibition spaces invite people from around the world to experience a dynamic and unparalleled programme of performances, screenings, readings and exhibitions that illustrates the current developments in Berlin's creative art scene. In 2021, to celebrate the event's tenth edition, Berlin Art Week's team developed different projects that included gallery tours, journals and playlists that enabled visitors to be guided through the city by curators, artists, and dealers, thus engaging with the city through an artistic point of view. At KINDL - Zentrum für Zeitgenössische Kunst a short-term site called BAW Garten was produced together with venezuelan artist Sol Calero, to entertain numerous workshops and conversations throughout the whole week. Berlin Art Week is thus a large-scale event that brings into collaboration the city's biggest private and public institutions to celebrate Berlin's dynamic art scene and art community³⁹. In 2014 Berlin Art Week partnered with **POSITIONS Berlin Art Fair** to bring together smaller and younger national and international galleries into one exhibition space at Berlin's old airport, Tempelhof. The fair aims to give an overview of the global art scene's current *status quo* through a comprehensive programme of talks, young artists exhibitions, NFT artworks as well as a new collector booth, a staged fashion show, in collaboration with selected fashion designers, and many other immersive experiences. Its organising team has nine members with extensive knowledge and experience in the art world and art market, whose goal is to highlight the talent, expertise, and poignancy of contemporary art.

The **Berlin Biennale for Contemporary Art** was founded in 1996 by Eberhard Mayntz and Klaus Biesenbach (founding director of the KW Institute for Contemporary Art) and is managed by KUNST-WERKE BERLIN e.V. It was after the downfall of Aperto, the Venice Biennale's section for young contemporary artists, that the founders took notice of the need for a cultural event that

³⁸ Gallery Weekend Berlin, *About*. <https://www.gallery-weekend-berlin.de/about/>

³⁹ Berlin Art Week, *About us*. <https://berlinartweek.de/en/about-us/>

would highlight the contemporary art scene in Berlin. The idea was to create an international exhibition that would take place every two years in Berlin and that would give young emerging artists the visibility that they often lack. For twenty years Gabriele Horn was the director of both the Berlin Biennale and the KW but since 2016 she is exclusively directing the Berlin Biennale, Krist Gruijthuijsen having taken her place as director of the KW. The Kulturstiftung des Bundes (German Federal Culture Foundation) has been funding the Biennale since 2004 and recognizes it as one of its “cultural institutions of excellence”, acknowledging its international notoriety and relevance. This amount of public funding grants the event with tremendous autonomy and maturing capacity. The Berlin Biennale is a member of the International Biennial Association and participates in the Perennial Biennial⁴⁰, a collaborative project between biennales that aims to develop sustainable biennial models and that is co-funded by the Creative Europe Programme of the European Union. Every two years then, the Berlin Biennale gathers artists, curators, art historians and other prestigious individuals from the international art world in varying locations in Berlin. The curators appointed for each edition are challenged to produce an exploratory exhibition that stands on the sidelines of the art market and acts as an “art lab”, identifying and critically examining recent trends in the art production in addition to giving young artists the opportunity to share their views on present social, political, and cultural issues. The Berlin Biennale describes itself as a “glocal” event whose non-aesthetic and non-formal positioning allow for a persuasive and influential understanding of artistic tendencies and their impact, both on Berlin’s local art scene and on the international art world. Among renowned curators of the Biennale are Hans Ulrich Obrist (1st edition), Maurizio Cattelan, in 2006 and Kader Attia in this year’s edition⁴¹.

2.5 Media

Media plays a major role in the diffusion of information, opinions, and common belief on every and any subject. Art is no exception. Artists, curators and gallerists might produce and organise exhibitions, but it is critics and journalists who actually write down in history what will be remembered about a specific show or artist. That is why relationships with writers and magazines are

⁴⁰ Berlin Biennale, *The Perennial Biennial*. <https://www.berlinbiennale.de/en/2622/the-perennial-biennial>

⁴¹ Berlin Biennale, *About us*. <https://www.berlinbiennale.de/en/1362/about-us>

most galleries' priority. A well written article on an exhibition or artist can be more advantageous to an artist than an acquisition by a collector. In this section we will survey a few of Berlin's most famous and reliable art magazines, namely Berlin Art Link and Texte zur Kunst, as well as art guides to the city's current and upcoming shows, in particular INDEX Berlin and ART at Berlin.

Berlin Art Link was founded in 2010 by publishers Monica Salazar and Anna Russ. Focusing on contemporary arts and culture, Berlin Art Link is an online magazine published by MONA, a content production business. The aim of the magazine is to provide an all-encompassing and thorough review of the art world, its subsections, and subcultures. Published are not only exhibition critique pieces but also studio visits, artist profiles, interviews with different personalities from around the world. It is, as the magazine describes itself, "the representation of the diversity of the contemporary art scene through an unconventionally critical lens". With more than thirty contributing writers and seven contributing photographers, correspondents can be found in Berlin, London, New York, and Los Angeles. The website also offers up-to-date information on events, open calls, artist residencies, studio and housing rentals, art-supply shops, and bookshops, among others. Berlin Art Link is hence a complete guide to the art world, its players, and locations, making available to the reader an encompassing description of this complex spectacle⁴².

Art critic Isabelle Graw and art historian Stefan Germer established **Texte zur Kunst** in Cologne in 1990. Since 2000 the magazine has been published in Berlin, issuing four editions per year, one every three months, in both German and English in over twenty different countries. Two to three established artists contribute to each edition by creating a unique series of works. In 2010, to celebrate the magazine's twentieth anniversary, the artist editions were exhibited at Sammlung Haubrok. The aim of Texte zur Kunst is to stimulate discussion around different topics such as art, film, music, cultural politics, art history and theory, and more. International writers put together interdisciplinary essays, whose sociocritical approach generates constructive though contentious debates on contemporary art and culture. Texte zur Kunst is, then, a one-of-a-kind magazine whose analytical method favours a conscious and unprejudiced understanding of the art world rather than its biased promotion⁴³.

Moving forward to Berlin's art guides, **INDEX** is both a map and an agenda. Founded in 2002 by Kirsa Geier, the small leaflet, issued every two months, is available at all partnering venues and is

⁴² Berlin Art Link, *About*. <https://www.berlinartlink.com/>

⁴³ Texte zur Kunst, *About*. <https://www.textezurkunst.de/en/>

sponsored by Kunstforum International, Texte zur Kunst, Frieze, and Spike. On one side there is a listing of all exhibitions taking place in Berlin, in either museums, galleries or showrooms, and on the other side a map of Berlin with a pinned location for each venue. This type of formatting allows for a visual understanding and full comprehension of Berlin's art calendar. The cover of the pamphlet is always created by Berlin-based or exhibited artists, generally photographers, and their works are later made accessible as INDEX editions. On the digital side, a user-friendly feature allows for visitors of the website (mobile or desktop version) to select favourites and plan visits in accordance with the users' schedule, location, and interests. INDEX also offers a weekly newsletter notifying subscribers on openings, performances, and other events⁴⁴.

Likewise, **ART at Berlin** is an online platform whose aim is to inform its users of current exhibitions, performances, readings and other art and culture related events taking place in Berlin, either in galleries or museums, private collections, or independent exhibition rooms. The goal is, then, to offer a panoramic landscape of the creative city. Other than its informative role, ART at Berlin also intends to put forward Berlin's art market through an accessible advertisement plan that allows every artist to present their art. The website also presents an innovative feature that allows visitors to see current, past, and upcoming exhibitions, thus enabling access from all around the world and spreading the work of artists⁴⁵. ART at Berlin is also linked to ART COMPASS, a curated selection of artworks by artists represented by Berlin galleries or exhibited in shows taking place in Berlin. ART COMPASS' aim is to accord visibility to these artists, thus stimulating interest and curiosity in their works and in Berlin's unparalleled art scene. This feature furthers access to art and its understanding, through a comprehensive network with interviews to artists, gallerists, and curators, allowing for background context on art production and exhibition⁴⁶.

2.6 Awards

Awards play a major role in the institutionalisation process of artists. Not only are they a way of skipping ahead in the process but also, they convey the recognition of a jury that can be composed of artists, critics, curators, collectors or other important artworld players. Alongside the validation that

⁴⁴ INDEX Berlin, *About*. <https://www.indexberlin.com/about>

⁴⁵ Art at Berlin, *About*. <https://www.artatberlin.com/en/>

⁴⁶ Art Compass, *About us*. <https://www.artcompass.world/about-us/>

comes with receiving a prize, awarded artists are also granted with financial funding and/or with fellowships in prestigious institutions. The visibility obtained through this achievement, or even just a nomination, can boost an artists' career in many more ways than other artistic accomplishments. Awards can be sponsored by public or private organisations in collaboration with different types of institutions. In Berlin, there are over twenty different art prizes awarded each year. Most of these prizes are granted by the Akademie der Künste⁴⁷ and can be cross-sectional or specific to one of the seven arts. To understand the impact of these awards we will survey the three most significant though very different ones, namely the Berlin Art Prize, the BBA Artist Prize, and the Berlin Art Prize - Jubilee Endowment 1848/1948.

The **Berlin Art Prize** was created in 2013 by two art historians, Alicia Reuter, and Sophie Jung, one artist, Zoë Claire Miller and one painter, Ulrich Wulff, all Berlin based. Their purpose was to create an award from and for the community that surpassed the current art market paradigm. The project is open to all, regardless of experience or achievements, thus keeping it simple and unpretentious. The only requirement is to be based in Berlin. Eight nominees are introduced to the public through a series of events including group exhibitions in eight different locations in Berlin, performances, readings, discussions, and workshops. The jury, composed of five renowned Berlin art scene personalities, selects three winners through an anonymous designation process. The winners are rewarded with an invitation to an artist residency, financial aid and a prize created by a Berlin-based artist specifically for the occasion. The Berlin Art Prize is then, an independent, collaborative, experimental and solidary project that brings together Berlin's art community in defying the classical methods of art appreciation therefore delivering an alternative presentation and evaluation process of contemporary art produced in Berlin each year⁴⁸.

The **BBA Artist Prize** is annually awarded since 2015 to emergent artists by the BBA Gallery. It is an inclusive contest meaning that anyone above 18 can apply, no matter their education level or professional area. Composed of ten international art world professionals, the jury must select the applicants who, in the work or creative concept, demonstrate the highest skill, ingenuity and originality. It should be noted that the selection is based on the whole of an artists' work and not just

⁴⁷ Akademie der Kunst. *Prizes and Foundations*. <https://www.adk.de/en/academy/prizes-foundations/index.htm>

⁴⁸ Berlin Art Prize, *About*. <https://www.berlinartprize.com/en>

a single artwork. After analysing the candidates, the jury-members sort out, at first, a longlist and afterwards a shortlist of applicants. The longlisted artists, around forty, are advertised on the gallery's website and social media for the duration of the following spring. Shortlisted artists, around twenty out of the forty longlisted, participate in a three-week group show in a 600sqm exhibition space at Kühlhaus Berlin and are publicised on the gallery's Artsy account as well as on its website and social media. The artist who wins the first prize is granted a solo exhibition at BBA Gallery the following year, a 1000 € cash prize and an Artsy profile. Second prize wins an Artsy profile, an online solo show and a 750 € cash prize. Third prize receives an Artsy profile, an online solo show and 500 € cash prize. The audience award, chosen by the audience, receives the same prizes as the third winner. Also, during applications, the jury makes a weekly selection of artists that are featured in the Rota Room, an online collection curated by the gallery's team. The BBA Artist Prize is thus an award that opens the doors to the artworld for hidden talents and emerging artists, whose work hasn't received the recognition it should have⁴⁹.

The **Berlin Art Prize - Jubilee Endowment 1848/1948** was inaugurated by the Berlin City Council in 1948 as a celebration of the 1848 March Revolution and is annually awarded on March 18th. Since 1971, it has been bestowed together with the Akademie der Künste by the Governing Mayor of Berlin and Senator for Culture and Europe, and the President of the Akademie. The aim of this prize is to honour artistic accomplishments and to encourage artists' work. It comprises one main prize, the "Berlin Art Prize — Grand Prize" and six prizes, one for each of the six artistic departments present at the Akademie (Visual Arts, Architecture, Music, Literature, Performing Arts and Film & Media Arts). The Grand Prize is alternately determined by one of the sections. Currently the winner of the Grand Prize is awarded a 15,000€ cash prize and the remaining Art Prizes receive 5,000€ each, meaning that there is a total amount of 45,000€ made available by the Department for Culture and Europe for the Berlin Art Prize each year. In the Visual Arts section, well known recipients of this award are Meret Oppenheim in 1982 (Grand Prize), Kader Attia in 2014 and this year, Stephanie Gudra. The Berlin Art Prize is thus the most important publicly funded, institutional award⁵⁰.

⁴⁹ BBA Gallery, *BBA Artist Prize*. <https://bba-prizes.com/>

⁵⁰ Akademie der Kunst, *Berlin Art Prize - Jubilee Endowment 1848/1948*. <https://www.adk.de/en/academy/prizes-foundations/berlin-art-prize.htm>

2.7 Galleries

Galleries are important actors in the artworld. They are private, commercial entities who tie the knot between artists and collectors at the same time as they curate exhibitions, thus conferring visibility to their represented artists. Galleries are also the firsts to open the doors of the artworld to new and emerging artists. Most importantly, they have the crucial tasks of representing, supporting, and marketing artists and their work. There are different levels of establishment in the market when it comes to galleries, dealers and even auction houses. Of the leading galleries, or mega-galleries, there are only about twenty to thirty. These are at the top of the gallery industry, they typically have several locations, a large amount of exhibition space and represent only high-end artists. Not only do these mega-galleries sell to major collectors but they also advise institutions and often lead the way of the artworld⁵¹. Of these highly influential galleries we can name Gagosian, Hauser & Wirth, Pace, David Zwirner, White Cube, Lisson Gallery, Thaddaeus Ropac and Perrotin⁵². The most common commercial gallery though, has only one, maybe two exhibition spaces and represents artists in the process of legitimation. The gallery's job then, is to enhance the artists' career, ensuring that their work is presented at prestigious venues, getting critics and journalists to write articles about them and building a solid collectors base, in other words, to promote their work and visibility. In Berlin there are over three hundred galleries mainly located in the city centre, Mitte, north Schöneberg and Kreuzberg⁵³, many of which are a part of the BVDG, the German association for galleries and art dealers. None of them are considered mega-galleries but there are quite a few internationally recognised galleries whose work and artists are widely acknowledged. Of those we will only mention the König Galerie, Max Hetzler, Sprüth Magers, Esther Schipper and, of course, Tanya Leighton which we will study in depth further ahead in this dissertation.

Founded in 2002 and directed by Lena and Johann König (son of the acclaimed curator Kasper König) **König Galerie** presents a diverse programme of more than forty artists. Exhibiting works on different mediums such as sculpture, video, sound-installation, painting, photography and performance, the gallery focuses on conceptual and space-oriented interdisciplinary approaches to

⁵¹ Delagrangé, Julien, (2021). *The Art Gallery: Everything You Need To Know*.

<https://www.contemporaryartissue.com/the-art-gallery-everything-you-need-to-know/>

⁵² Delagrangé, Julien. (2021). *Top 10 of the Biggest Art Galleries in the World*.

<https://www.contemporaryartissue.com/top-10-of-the-biggest-art-galleries-in-the-world/>

⁵³ Projekt Zukunft, *Art Market*. <https://projektzukunft.berlin.de/en/topics/art-market>

art. Among the renowned artists represented by König are Alicja Kwade, Refik Anadol and Jose Dávila, to name only a few. In 2012 the couple acquired St. Agnes; a Brutalist style church designed by Werner Düttmann in the 1960s. In 2015 some renovations were made by architect Arno Brandhuber, which granted him the 2016 Architecture Prize. König relocated its premises to the church in Kreuzberg, one of the most iconic landmarks of Berlin's architecture, and has since shown works in the former chapel and in the nave, thus presenting us with bold and endearing exhibitions. The gallery has a second location in Vienna and a third, more recent one, in Seoul. Alongside its effectiveness in setting up solo exhibitions for its artists at prestigious venues, namely the documenta in Kassel and the Venice Biennale, König has also managed to include works in large institutional collections such as the MoMA or the Guggenheim. Moreover, the gallery has been commissioned with major public projects in numerous cities around the world, both for temporary and permanent exhibition⁵⁴.

Max Hetzler gallery has a long and very particular story. First opening in Stuttgart in 1974 as Hetzler+Keller, the gallery showed works by Donald Judd, Richard Long and many others whom Kasper König had brought to Germany. In 1983 and with a more established selection of artists (Günter Förg, Martin Kippenberg, etc), the gallery, by that time known as Max Hetzler, moved to Cologne where it managed to substantiate its place in the international art market. In the late eighties Hetzler and Luhring Augustine opened a communal space in Santa Monica, California and finally, in 1993, the gallery moved to Berlin. Since then, it has had many exhibition spaces in the city, three in Charlottenburg and one in Potsdamer Straße, where the printing press for Der Tagesspiegel used to be located. In 2014 Max Hetzler opened a new location in Paris, in 2018 it established itself in London as well and earlier this year the gallery opened Hetzler Marfa, a new venue and artist residency in Texas. Max Hetzler currently represents more than fifty artists of prestigious acclaim like Jeff Koons, Günter Förg or Ai Weiwei. Besides these, the gallery has exhibited over fifty other artists, some of them bluechip artists such as Andy Warhol, Gerhard Richter, Cy Twombly or Mona Hatoum, among many, many others. Max Hetzler has undoubtedly had one of the most interesting careers as an art dealer and has proved to be a consistent and paramount presence in the international art scene⁵⁵.

Originally from Cologne, **Sprüth Magers** opened its doors in 1983 Monika Sprüth Gallery. In 1998 the gallery merged with Philomene Magers' gallery that had been founded in 1991 and together,

⁵⁴ König Galerie, *About*. <https://www.koeniggalerie.com/>

⁵⁵ Galerie Max Hetzler, *About*. <https://www.maxhetzler.com/about/>

in 2000, they opened a new exhibition space in Munich where they showed Ed Ruscha's *Gunpowder and Stains*. Shortly afterwards, in 2003, Sprüth Magers launched their London location with a Donald Judd show and in 2008 opened its first venue in Berlin-Mitte. More recently in 2016 the gallery inaugurated its Los Angeles space with an exhibition of new works by John Baldessari. They also have offices in New York, Seoul, and Hong Kong. Sprüth Magers currently represents more than seventy artists and artists' estates of which we can highlight Gilbert & George, Cindy Sherman, Joseph Kosuth, Frank Stella, and Barbara Kruger among many others. To these well-established artists we can add emergent artists such as Cyprien Gaillard or Pamela Rosenkranz. The gallery also works hard on developing artists' books and catalogues, therefore securing their place in art history. Showing artists who work with different mediums and within different artistic movements, the gallery has, throughout the years, made a point of exhibiting the most disruptive, revolutionary, and singular artists (take Kraftwerk, for example), thus asserting itself as a pillar and a pioneer in contemporary art⁵⁶.

Esther Schipper established her gallery in Cologne in 1989 showing only six artists at the very beginning. Defying the traditional concept of exhibition, she included artist talks, lectures, performances, and concerts in the programme, thus shaping the gallery to be a place of experimentation, dialog, and exchange. In 1997 Esther Schipper moved its premises to Berlin, in 2014 Florian Wojnar made partner and in 2015 Johnen Galerie merged with Esther Schipper. Esther Schipper managed, therefore, to widen her programme, welcoming artists working with different mediums and with diverse conceptual stances. Just this fall, the gallery opened to new locations in Seoul and Paris and keeps offices in Barcelona, Beijing, London, New York, Monaco and Taipei. Esther Schipper represents almost fifty artists and has been supporting groundbreaking projects and time-based experimental artists for over thirty years⁵⁷.

2.8 Auction Houses

Auction houses are often thought of as the ultimate validators of an artwork's value and can therefore act as market regulators. The most common reasons to sell art are the famous three D's:

⁵⁶ Sprüth Magers, *About*. <https://spruethmagers.com/about/>

⁵⁷ Esther Schipper, *About*. <https://www.estherschipper.com/>

divorce, debt or death. Reasons to buy art are less clear, it can be the simple need to decorate one's home, the desire to collect or pure investment. Among art investors, the attempt to flip artworks and increase their market value is becoming more and more common, especially when it comes to younger, less established artists. There are therefore two ways of looking at contemporary art auctions; either an artwork is bought and sold in a short time span, in which case the artist's market value will most likely decrease and their level of establishment can be severely affected (except if the artist in question is breaking into the market). As a general rule, then, it isn't a very good sign if an artist who is not yet established in the artworld is already being sold at auction. The second option is that the artist is quite recognized in the art scene and the reasons for sale are one of the above mentioned three D's, in this scenario the artwork and the artist can grow in value. The most important thing to remember concerning auction houses is that they are located where there are collectors and where there is money. In Berlin there aren't many auction houses. Neither one of the giants, Christie's, and Sotheby's, operate sales in Berlin, Christie's not even having offices in the city. Nevertheless, there are other, smaller auction houses operating in Berlin, namely Ketterer Kunst, Lempertz and Grisebach, which we will now briefly overview.

Ketterer Kunst started out as a gallery in Stuttgart founded by Wolfgang Ketterer in 1954. Little longer than ten years later the gallery moved to Munich, where the art scene was booming, and the first modern art auction was held in 1968. Working in diverse fields of art, from Art Nouveau to African and Pre-Columbian Art as well as Antiques and Rare Books, the auction house became famous among worldwide collectors and in 1977 it opened its second location in New York. In 1989 Ketterer acquired the hamburger auction house F. Dörling which led to the company's renaming in 1991 and three years later Wolfgang Ketterer's son, Robert took over the family business. With headquarters in Munich and offices in the main German cities, Ketterer Kunst has an international network of collectors who account for ninety percent of the bids leading to close to fifty percent of the sales being made in over fifty different countries. Sale records include works by Kandinsky, Gerhard Richter, and Ernst Ludwig Kirchner. Currently Ketterer Kunst is Germany's leading auction house and frequently among the top fifteen worldwide⁵⁸.

It was in 1798 that Johann Matthias Heberle founded his "Antiquarian Book Shop including Auctions" store in Cologne where rare books and artworks were traded. In 1840 Heberle died, leaving

⁵⁸ Ketterer Kunst, *About us*. <https://www.kettererkunst.com/about-us.php>

the company to his employee Heinrich Lempertz who managed to establish a branch of the company in Bonn. In 1875 employee Peter Hanstein acquired the company and moved it back to Cologne, where in 1918 the headquarters were moved to the Neumarkt building. In the early 2000s, **Kunsthau Lempertz** was the sole German auction house to integrate the prestigious International Auctioneers group. Lempertz holds around twenty sales per year in different fields, namely old masters, decorative arts, modern and contemporary art, photography, Asian art, African and Oceanic Art and finally, antique books and prints. The auction house has offices in New York since 1965, and in Zurich, Milan, Vienna, Paris, São Paulo, and London. The headquarters remain in Cologne, but auctions are also held in Berlin, Brussels and Munich. Lempertz is the only German auction house to hold sales in foreign countries and remains to this day Germany's market leader⁵⁹.

The story of **Grisebach** dates back to 1986 when Bernd Schultz, the son of Bremen-based marchand family gathered four other art-dealers to launch an auction house that defied the traditional style of evening sales. At the time, the German market was mainly based in Cologne, but Schultz remembered Berlin's glorious past in the art market and made the bold decision of establishing Villa Grisebach in the capital city, hoping that Berlin would once again become the capital of arts and culture. With the decision to focus on art from the 19th century to the present day, came the need to have specialists of those artistic movements, which led the Handelsblatt newspaper to characterise the company's business approach as "revolutionary" in the very same year of its opening. Nowadays the partners are Bernd Schultz, Wilfried Utermann, Diandra Donecker, Micaela Kapitzky and Dr. Markus Krause and the auction house is located in Düsseldorf, Munich, Zürich, and New York and has representatives in four more German cities as well as in Paris. With a large network of historians, collectors, experts, researchers, and artists among others from around the world, Grisebach has gained notoriety for its reliability and dedication. Its mission remains to build an art and culture loving community whose joint curiosity, intellect and tolerance helps keep history alive⁶⁰.

⁵⁹ Lempertz, *Our history*. <https://www.lempertz.com/en/history.html>

⁶⁰ Grisebach, *Philosophy and History*. <https://www.grisebach.com/en/auction-house/philosophy-history.html>

2.9 Collectors

Collectors make up for a big part of the artworld as they have the double role of buying and consecrating. An international art collection can be as important as a museum and can, in many cases, provide the support and visibility that museums cannot afford to offer. It is necessary, then, to provide an overview of the main art collections in Berlin. Along with the smaller, private collectors, there are twenty private contemporary art collections open to the public in Berlin: Sammlung Boros, Museum Frieder Burda | Salon Berlin, EAM Collection, The Feuerle Collection, Fluentum, Sammlung Arthur de Ganay, Sammlung Haubrok, Sammlung Hoffmann, Kienzle Art Foundation, Kunstsaele Berlin, Sammlung Christian Kaspar Schwarm, Collection Regard, ROCCA Foundation, SAFN Berlin, Salon Dahlmann, Sammlung Ulrich Seibert, Sammlung Springmeier, Julia Stoschek Collection, Sammlung Ivo Wessel and finally, WURLITZER Berlin-Pied-à-Terre Collection⁶¹. All of these make up for a big part of Berlin's art scene, not only because they are varied historical testimonies to what was produced over the years and, especially, a testimony of the art that was collectable in a fragile and versatile Berlin, but also because they play a big role in exhibiting contemporary artists and creating connexions between past and present Berlin. Of these, we will only review the major ones, namely the Boros Collection, the Julia Stoschek Collection and the Sammlung Haubrok.

The **Boros Collection** is the contemporary art collection of Polish-German advertising agency founder, Christian Boros and his wife Karen. The collection has been open to the public since 2008 and is on view at a World War II bunker in Berlin's central neighbourhood Mitte. The collection contains works from 1990 onwards by over eighty international artists and since its opening to the public, it has welcomed more than 600,000 visitors. Alongside the bunker, the Boros Foundation, a non-profit organisation responsible for the collection, also promotes contemporary art through different external projects, of which we can single out the STUDIO BERLIN project. STUDIO BERLIN came to life in September 2020 in collaboration with Berlins' famous techno-club Berghain as a way of supporting artists that saw their activity suspended due to the COVID-19 pandemic. The project offered more than eighty artists living in Berlin the opportunity to exhibit their work in a

⁶¹ Berlin Collectors. <https://berlincollectors.com/> -

major landmark of Berlin's subculture. STUDIO BERLIN is thus a chronicle of artists' reflections on the current socio-political challenges⁶².

The **Stoschek Collection** is originally from Düsseldorf where Julia Stoschek, the daughter of German billionaire businessman Michael Stoschek, first started collecting in 2003. The collection was first exhibited in an industrial building in Düsseldorf in 2007 and has been exhibited in Berlin Mitte since 2016. The collection has over 870 works by more than 290 artists from all over the world but focusing mainly on European and North American post-war art, especially experimental film from the 60s and 70s. The exhibitions, programmes and publications made available by the Stoschek Collection aim to put forward the different understandings of the social, cultural, and technological challenges we are faced with in our time. The non-profit organisation, Julia Stoschek Foundation is responsible for the collection's preservation and exhibition works tightly with many national and international cultural institutions, having lent artworks to MoMA PS1, the Serpentine Galleries and the Moderna Museet Malmö to name a few. Since 2019 the Stoschek Foundation has developed the Curatorial & Research residency Program (CRRP) which aims to give emerging curators the possibility of researching the collection and presenting their curatorial projects at the Collection's sites. This programme was developed in collaboration with the Bard College (New York) and the Goethe University (Frankfurt am Main)⁶³.

The **Haubrok Collection** saw its birth in 1988 when Barbara and Axel bought their first painting. Over the years the collection's focus shifted from painting to photography and sculpture and now concentrates mainly in conceptual art, in its many forms, of the 60s and 70s. After its first presentation to the public at the Abteiberg Museum in Mönchengladbach in 2002, the collection was exhibited in many locations both in Germany and in other European countries and has now gained a new space on Strausberger Platz in Berlin. The Haubrok Foundation, established in 2008, collaborates regularly with international art institutions, having lent artworks for exhibitions for over 20 years and having consigned works to the Prussian cultural heritage foundation since 2010. Two artist film festivals were also organised by the foundation as an offset to Berlin Art Week⁶⁴.

⁶² Boros Foundation, *About*. <https://www.boros-foundation.de/?L=0>

⁶³ Julia Stoschek Foundation, *About us*. <https://www.jsc.art/about-us/>

⁶⁴ Haubrok Foundation, *Collection*. <https://haubrok.org/en/collection/>

CHAPTER 2: TANYA LEIGHTON GALLERY - A CASE STUDY

1. General presentation

Tanya Leighton (b. 1970, England) founded her gallery in Berlin in 2008, starting off with the peculiar space in Kurfürstenstraße 156 in Schöneberg⁶⁵. Tanya had been living in New York, where the 9/11 incidents had left a very negative, dark feeling, and she “was a part of a generation of people who were moving to the city [Berlin], because of its creative spirit, but also because of this kind of thing that was being built at the time”, as described Simon Gowing. Space was cheap and abundant in the early 2000s, which allowed many artists to settle in the city. Galleries followed, and soon Berlin gained its tagline “poor but sexy”. Having studied arts in the United Kingdom, Leighton worked as a curator in Glasgow, New York, and Philadelphia, focusing on moving image and edited “Art and the Moving Image: A Critical Reader”⁶⁶ which was published by Tate in 2008. Having a deep knowledge in this field and of the artists working within it, Tanya Leighton decided to create a gallery that would support these and some other under-represented artists. According to Gowing, one of the reasons why Tanya founded the gallery was because Sharon Hayes did not have a gallery, “she was like, ‘Why does an artist of the calibre of Sharon Hayes not have a gallery?’”.

So, in 2008 Leighton established her gallery, which was initially dedicated to American and British experimental cinema, artist’s film, and video as well as performance. The first show opened on July 4th, 2008 and was titled “In the Near Future”. It was a solo show by American Performance artist Sharon Hayes. Soon after, the gallery’s programme developed into an all-encompassing, cross-disciplinary, and trans-generational one, ranging from performance and video to conceptual and minimal art. The gallery regularly collaborates with critics, art historians and curators so as to develop projects that will defy the traditional exhibition formats. In 2015, the gallery inaugurated its second space across the street in Kurfürstenstraße 24/25, a very large exhibition space with an outback garden. Finally in 2021 Tanya inaugurated a second location in Los Angeles, on 4654 West Washington Boulevard.

⁶⁵ Tanya Leighton Gallery, *Info*. <https://www.tanyaleighton.com/info>

⁶⁶ Leighton, Tanya. (2008). *Art and the Moving Image: A Critical Reader*. Tate

It is important to characterise the community that Tanya Leighton created first and especially in Berlin but also in LA. The employees working at the gallery have mostly been international ones and the artists and collectors are international as well. It's an English speaking community based in Berlin. And it is a very welcoming and inclusive one, where people from different backgrounds, former team members and artists gather religiously for openings. It is very much of a "Spanish Apartment", a family-like place where encounters and exchanges are paramount. The ten-year anniversary exhibition reveals just that. This exhibition opened on July 10th, 2018 and was titled "Nothing will be as before", a reference to the first exhibition's invitation card. Kirsty Bell wrote the press release for the 2018 exhibition, explaining that: "This exhibition is a generous demonstration of the gallery's osmotic principles, as a system which connects on many different levels and with varying degrees of formality. There are works by artists in the gallery's programme, along with others by artists who have shown in group shows over the years, as well artists who happen to work nearby and are regular visitors, and even new works by artists once represented by the gallery who no longer are. Its jumbled contents are the social relations of the art business made manifest: a messy, extended family of sorts."

2. Internal structure

The team at Tanya Leighton has grown and changed over the last fourteen years. When before there were less people working on a diverse set of responsibilities and duties, we currently find a fixed team of ten, operating between Berlin and Los Angeles, in addition to one or two interns. The team is an international one coming from the United Kingdom (4), the United States of America (2), Venezuela (1), Germany (1), China (1) and Mexico (1) and functions on a hierarchical basis. Tanya, the founder, and director, is at the top, followed by a general associate director, Simon Gowing, and two other associate directors for Berlin and Los Angeles, Melanie García and Andrew McNeely, respectively. The gallery in Los Angeles counts with an assistant, Amanda Bylone in addition to the finance manager, Andrea Núñez. The larger part of the team is located in Berlin, though. In addition to Gowing and García, the gallery manager Zheng Zhang, the gallery assistant Naomi Blundell-Meyer and on the logistics side of the business, the registrar, Adina Laub, and the head technician,

Dominic Samsworth⁶⁷. Each one of these employees have specific tasks although they collaborate on a daily-basis and maintain close contact.

Tanya's job as a dealer and gallery owner relies upon the gallery's image and strategies. Of course, this includes contacting with the artists in the course of exhibition and fair preparations, reaching out to collectors and institutions and trying to build long-lasting profitable relationships, and finally, making sales and ensuring that the gallery and the team are secured and that the artists can continue to work peacefully on their projects, and remain oblivious of potential financial issues. One of the most important responsibilities that the gallerist has to work on is finding the correct strategy for each artist, both in terms of promotion and in terms of sales. Simon Gowing explains this matter quite plainly "Different artists have different costs. And they don't like to think of it like this but, they are businesses too. They're all businesses, because of tax or whatever, but, you know, in the end if you're a painter and your main costs are paper and paint, that's it. If you're a sculptor and you're working on these cast bronze, and very heavily detailed 3D prints, then that's incredibly different - it involves very different amounts of money". This example allows us to understand why there is a need for different strategies according to the different talents. Tanya's duty to the artists then, is to present an approach to the art market that accommodates best each of the artists in relation to their production and needs. It also has much to do with building a market that will stand still in the long term and that sustains the artists financially without having them "overproduce and flood the market". The strategy is thus to sell better and not more.

The responsibilities and goals of the associate directors have a lot to do with artist promotion and sales, which Gowing terms as "ideological and practical" responsibilities. So, on one hand, the directors' job is to champion the artists, making sure that they are included in group shows in prestigious institutions and that solo exhibitions are dedicated to them, thus keeping close contact with institutions. In essence, ensuring the artists' association with other artists on the same level and guaranteeing that they exhibit steadily at a higher standing. Placing their works in good collections is also a concern. On the other hand, there's the need to sustain the business, so the director must work on selling artworks on inventory and also reaching out to collectors and potential clients. A big part of the associate directors' job is also to preserve and improve the gallery's signature traits, which are focused on the community, the welfare of the artists and the "family-like" ideology that Tanya

⁶⁷ Tanya Leighton Gallery, *Info*. <https://www.tanyaleighton.com/info>

envisions for the gallery. Another challenge the directors are presented with is the expansion of the gallery, both in terms of artists, which we will detail further ahead, and in terms of physical space. As mentioned in the previous section, the gallery has two spaces in Berlin and the quest for the second space was a long one. Tanya Leighton sees as one of the gallery's responsibilities to provide the artists with new curatorial challenges and offer them the possibility to exhibit in different spaces, which will allow a different understanding of an artist's work. The general associate director, then, are also tasked with this pursuit of a location that can, on one hand defy the artists and involve them in new curatorial and exhibitory projects and, on the other hand, "bring everything under the one roof; storage, gallery space, outdoor space which was also really important to Tanya and always has been" as describes Gowing. Melanie García highlights the director's responsibility towards the gallery owner, saying that "responsibilities and objectives should always be aligned" and explaining that, in Berlin, her efforts are mainly directed at communications, artist liaison work, sales and team management and support. In LA, McNeely accentuates his duty of building partnerships with collectors and institutions, thus "growing the profile of our gallery". In short, the associate director's job, then, involves a different set of duties and responsibilities towards the artists, the community and the vision of the gallerist.

The gallery manager is responsible for the general tasks associated with a gallery's daily life. Those include communications, artist liaison work as well as the organisation of openings and other events. Mailings, social networks, fair applications, and catering are only a few examples of the manager's daily tasks. He is assisted by the gallery assistants and by interns (who's training is also his responsibility), in all of these duties. Assistants usually update the database, website, artists' CV, and portfolios and prepare press and collector packs. In sum, the gallery manager and gallery assistants are the labour force that ensures the smooth running and presentation of the gallery and that facilitates the associate directors' job, both in terms of sales and in terms of promotion.

The registrar and the head technician work closely together. The registrar works closely with the artists in the preparation of exhibitions and fairs. She organises studio visits and coordinates shipments, insurance and installing, and is responsible for all the resulting bureaucracies. In sum, she is responsible for the safekeeping and transporting of the artworks, from and to the gallery as well as to other locations like fairs or directly to the collectors. To this end she is keenly assisted by the head technician who does the "hard work". He is responsible for the gallery's storage and inventory in addition to installing, shipment and fair logistics.

Although it is a small team, everyone is extremely dedicated to the gallery, as it is a family-like business, as we've mentioned before. The thorough coordination of all the projects and regular process of the gallery allow for a healthy work environment on one hand and for a productive and efficient fulfilment of the gallery's duties both to its artists and to its collectors.

3. Artists

Tanya Leighton currently represents the following twenty-eight artists working with different mediums and within distinct conceptual domains; Sam Anderson (2015), Antonio Ballester Moreno (2021), Math Bass (2017), Pavel Büchler (2009), Alejandro Cesarco (2009), David Diao (2008), Aleksandra Domanović (2013), Sean Edwards (2011), Gerasimos Floratos (2019), Kate Mosher Hall (2021), Sharon Hayes (2008), Sky Hopinka (2023), Sara Issakharian (2021), Esteban Jefferson (2020), Matthew Krishanu (2021), Oliver Laric (2012), Jonas Lipps (2018), Enzo Mari (2011), Elizabeth McIntosh (2019), Bruce McLean (2011), Oliver Osborne (2017), Dan Rees (2010), Jimmy Robert (2015), Elif Saydam (2022), John Smith (2010), Studio for Propositional Cinema (2014), Marianne Wex (2018) and Hiroka Yamashita (2022)*⁶⁸. Two of those artists, Enzo Mari and Marianne Wex, have already passed away leaving Tanya Leighton to represent their estates. To better understand the gallery and its scope of action, we will provide a brief personal and professional characterisation of its artists according to several different criteria, namely age, nationality, work location, medium and level of establishment in the art world. Please note that as Studio for Propositional Cinema is a collective of artists, we classified them under the category "other" in the studies regarding personal traits.

In terms of individual characterisation, it is important to mention that eight of the artists are in their thirties, eleven of them are aged between 40 and 49, two are in their fifties and four are over 70. The graphic below helps us understand the age range of the artists and the dominant ratios. In fact, roughly 69% of the Tanya Leighton Gallery (TLG) represented artists are under 50 years old, the average age being 45, which makes for a rather young selection of artists which in turn leads to a younger network and audience.

⁶⁸ Tanya Leighton Gallery, *Artists*. <https://www.tanyaleighton.com/artists>

*Dates between brackets correspond to the years the artists had their first solo shows at the gallery.

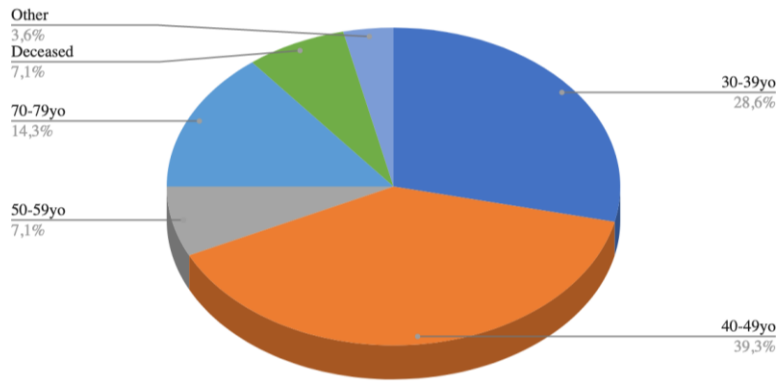


Fig. 1: Age of TLG represented artists

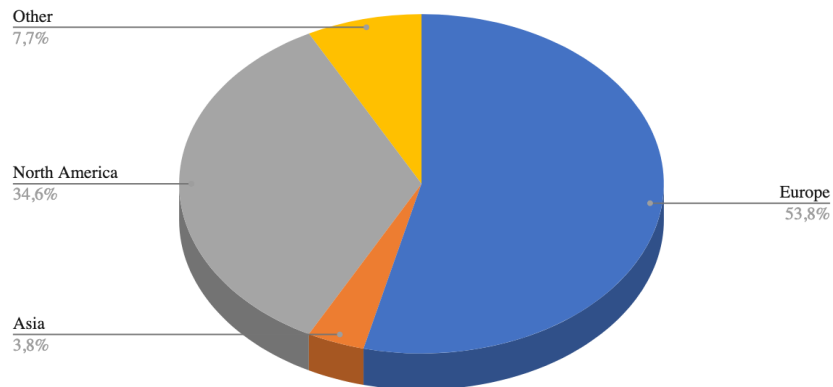


Fig. 2: Nationality of TLG represented artists by continent

With regards to the artists nationalities, we should mention that Tanya Leighton represents artists coming from fourteen different countries. The graphic below shows us that more than three quarters (82,1%) of the artists come from either Europe or North America, where the gallery has locations. Concerning the north American artists, two of them are Canadian, one comes from Guadeloupe (French overseas territory) and the rest come from different cities in the United States of America. As for the thirteen European artists, it is important to mention that six of them are British and the rest come from Austria, Czech-Republic, Italy, Germany, Slovenia, and Spain. The remaining artists come from Uruguay (Alejandro Cesarco), Iran (Sara Issakharian), China (David Diao) and Japan (Hiroka Yamashita). We should still highlight the fact that the majority of the artists (46,4%) are

either British or north American artists, which can be explained by the gallerist's origins and career path.

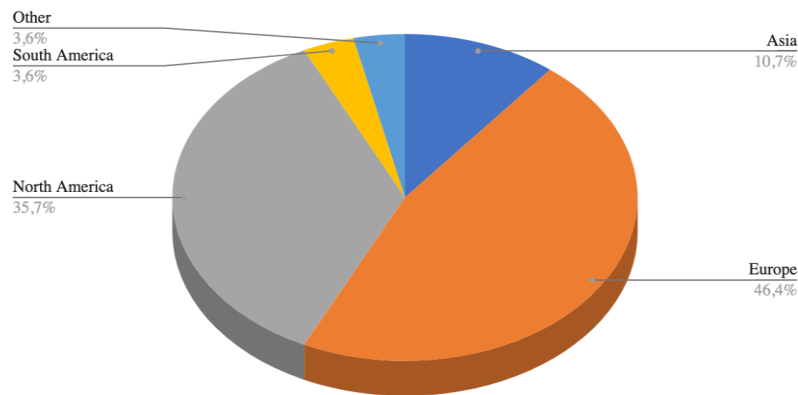


Fig. 3: Work location of TLG represented artists

The artists' location, though, is the most important criteria to take into consideration as it best discloses the gallery's geographical positioning as well as its connections and networking strategies. Please bear in mind that for this specific chart we did not consider either one of the deceased artists, even though both were living in Europe. We did, on the other hand, consider Studio for Propositional Cinema, as the collective is currently based in Berlin. Moreover, Sara Issakharian lives and works between Tehran, New York and Berlin, and Gerasimos Floratos is based betwixt New York and Kefalonia, so we sorted them as "other". This chart makes clear the predominance of artists based in Europe and North America (92,3%). Of those based in Europe, there is a majority of eight artists based in Berlin (meaning 30,8% of the total number of artists) and of those based in North America there is preponderance of five artists working in New York (equivalent to 19,2% of the total number of artists), contrary to what would be expected since the gallery is located in Los Angeles. This can be explained, though, by Tanya's years spent in New York before opening the gallery in Berlin in 2008.

In terms of formal and professional characterisation we also conducted a statistical analysis of the artists' mediums and of their level of establishment.

Most of the artists represented by Tanya Leighton use mixed media in their practices, combining most commonly painting and sculpture or performance and film. Other mediums, such as textile or sound installation are also approached by some of the artists. The chart below indicates that painting is the medium most used by the gallery's artists, but it should be said that in many cases, it is used as a secondary medium. In fact, only eleven of the artists use it as their chief medium. This allows us, though, to understand how the gallery's artistic tendencies evolved over the last few years, to aggregate to its programme cross-disciplinary artists, even though its original prospect was to focus on film and performance. The gallery then, has continuously extended its programme as a way of furthering its conceptual and artistic views.

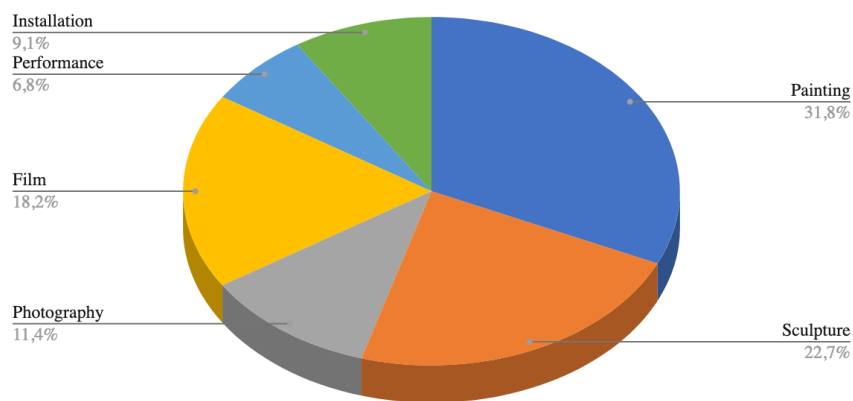


Fig. 4: Mediums used by TLG represented artists

In order to analyse the level of establishment of the artists represented by Tanya Leighton and create the graphic above, we conducted a brief survey of each of the artists' achievements following the same criteria used by *Kunstkompass* namely, number of solo exhibitions in prestigious institutions, number of group shows in distinguished artistic events such as biennales, number of acquisitions by respected collections and finally, the number articles and reviews written on reputable art magazines⁶⁹. This allowed us to classify the artists within three levels of establishment: emergent artists, artists in the process of consecration and consecrated artists. Through this chart we can see that there is a pretty good distribution of the artists between the three levels. The gallery represents an equal share (39,3%) of consecrated and emerging artists. Among the consecrated ones we should

⁶⁹ Urbano Afonso, Luís & Fernandes, Alexandra. (2019). *Mercados da Arte*. Edições Sílabo.

stress the representation of renowned artists Enzo Mari and Sharon Hayes, whose work in design and performance art are highly respected by the artistic community. Amidst the emerging artists we should single out Esteban Jefferson, an artist of only 33 years of age, whose artistic practice has received the attention of several distinguished institutions in recent years. Likewise, the meticulous work developed by Elif Saydam has been the subject of solo exhibitions in prestigious museums such as the Harburger Bahnhof in Hamburg and has received the attention of important magazines like Artforum. With regards to the artists in the process of consecration, it should be noted that, as there are several stages within the process, some of the artists included in this level might be closer to consecration than others included in that same level. Of those we should highlight Aleksandra Domanović, whose participation in biennales and presence in major collections such as London’s Zabludowicz, have granted her the visibility required to be recognized by the international art world. Similarly, Welsh artist Sean Edwards’ participation in the 58th Venice Biennale and in the acclaimed British Art Show have positioned him on the frontline of british art and only a few small steps away from consecration.

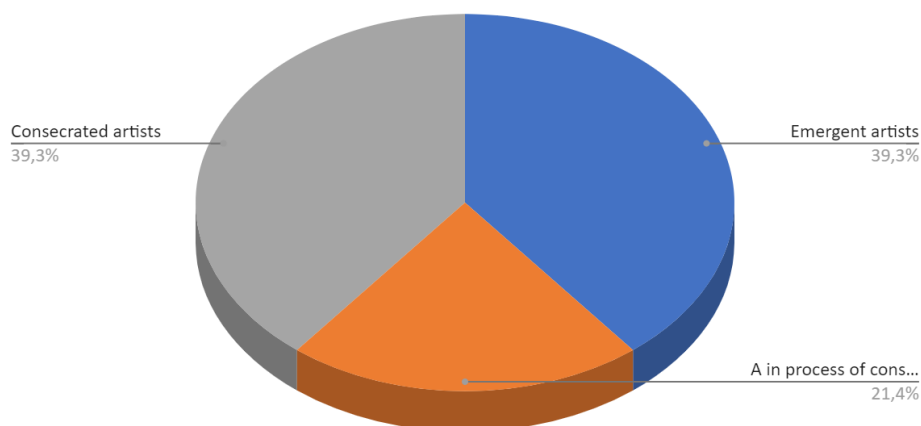


Fig. 5: TLG represented artists by level of establishment

Tanya Leighton presents then, a diversified selection of artists both in terms of artistic practice and in terms of reputation. The visibility brought to the gallery by the consecrated artists put it in an advantageous position to booth its emerging and mid-level artists and set forth their careers. The rather young age of the majority of the artists sets the gallery at the forefront of artistic production

and activity. The artists' assorted backgrounds allow for a manifold approach to art and the location of many of them in Berlin and in the United States explain the gallery's network and geographical positioning.

With regards to the artists, it is important to describe the process through which an artist comes to be represented by the gallery. As mentioned above, gallerists and directors have an assiduous presence in the artworld, being, therefore, aware of new talents and artists' progress, both institutionally and market wise. In Tanya Leighton's case, the directors present her with new artists that might be an interesting addition to the gallery's programme, either because they develop the kind of work that is attractive to the already existing client base or because they offer new works that are receiving the market's attention. So, the primary decision is made on an artistic basis, the second factor to take into consideration is the commerciality of a given artist. The gallerist must make sure that the new talent is able to sell in the long-term, as a way of supporting both the business and the artist's career development. In the end, though, Tanya herself is the "Litmus Test", in the words of Gowing, it is her gallery after all and she is the one who has to believe in the artists and make sure that she can work with them. To this end, the gallery can sometimes include new artists into group shows, a recurring strategy during the gallery's earlier years, or conduct special projects dedicated to the artists, as was the case with Hiroka Yamashita or Elif Saydam. It is also very important to mention that given the fact that Tanya Leighton's vision of the gallery is a holistic and family-like one, she does not contractualise the representation of an artist. There are no exclusivity deals and artworks are only consigned to the gallery, it is then, much like a "gentleman's agreement" as explained by Simon Gowing. Of course, the gallery and artists might have to deal with some paperwork when it comes to higher production costs but as a general rule, and to spare the artists from boring bureaucracy, a simple conversation serves as a settlement.

4. Exhibitions

In its fourteen years of existence, Tanya Leighton Gallery has organised a total of a hundred and eight exhibitions, of which eighty-nine were solo shows and nineteen were group exhibitions⁷⁰. Over

⁷⁰ Tanya Leighton Gallery, *Exhibitions*. <https://www.tanyaleighton.com/exhibitions>

a hundred and fifty artists were exhibited at the gallery, including worldwide renowned artists such as Ad Reinhardt, John Baldessari, On Kawara, Jason Dodge and Douglas Gordon. The gallery has also curated several special projects of which we can highlight Christine Roland’s permanent ceramics exhibition and has collaborated with Kristina Kite Gallery in Los Angeles to dedicate an exhibition to Sharon Hayes entitled “An Army of Lovers Cannot Lose”. There have been many invited curators and some of the artists have also curated shows. Press-releases can be written by one of the team members or by guests of the artists. The average number of exhibitions per year is seven, each lasting between a month and a half and two months. The diagram below allows us to grasp the evolution of solo and group exhibitions throughout the gallery’s fifteen years of existence, making it clear that there was a majority of solo or two-person exhibitions. The increase in the number of exhibitions in the last two to five years can be explained by the gallery’s expansion to Los Angeles in 2018, which provided for the extra space in which to set up two shows at the same time.

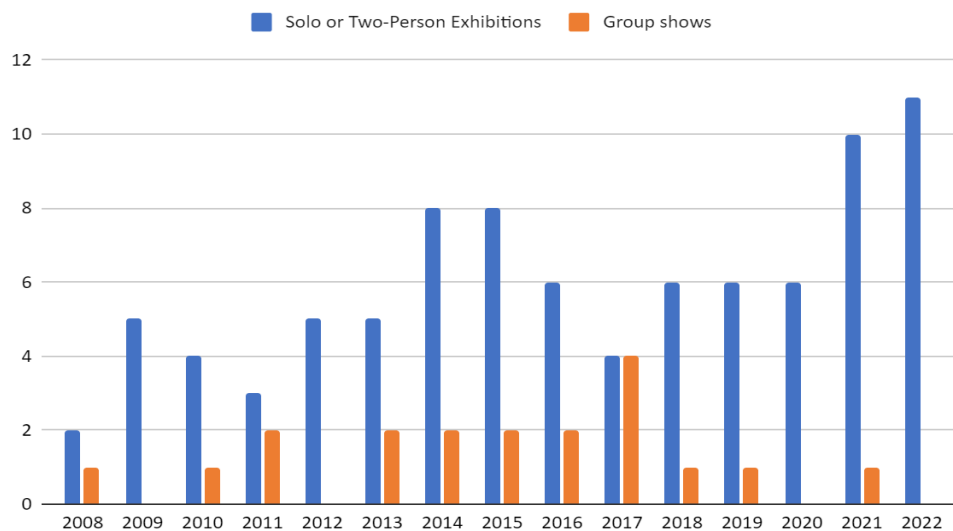


Fig. 6: Evolution in the number of solo and group exhibitions at TLG

The process of exhibition making is a complex and subjective one. The strategy behind it is not the same in every gallery and it certainly changes over time and according to the gallery’s views and inclinations. The interviews conducted for this dissertation allowed us to assert an approximate pattern of this process. According to Andrew McNeely, the most important sense to develop is intuition, as a way of grasping the market and cultural tendencies at a given time and place. Trending works and artists in the United States aren’t necessarily the same as in Europe. Production is also an

important factor being that an artist has to have new works to be accorded a solo show, to this end, then, a studio visit usually takes place. The next step is to choose the works to present in the exhibition. McNeely reports that the artworks are generally selected by the artists themselves, who develop a curated proposal, to be discussed with the gallery's team. As costs and logistics can sometimes present problems, the director has to manage, on one hand, the artists' views and exhibitory ideas and on the other hand, the gallery's financial possibilities and strategic interests. Communication and promotion also make for a big part of an exhibition's success. As referred by both McNeely and Melanie García, the gallery's extensive and thoroughly constructed database allows the team to pinpoint who is interested in what and contact collectors and institutions accordingly. There are many other elements and setbacks included in this non-extensive description of the long-lasting exhibition making process. Notwithstanding, we should highlight that the gallery plays the role of the producer, in the sense that it grants the artists the possibility of curating their exhibition as they see fit, albeit remaining within the gallery's financial and logistical limits.

We should also mention the part played by the gallery when artists have institutional shows. It starts out with the fact that most of the time it was the gallery who reaches out to museums, presenting the artists' work and trying to get the curators and directors interested. Those kinds of shows are the result of the effort the gallery put into artist promotion. And after that, the gallery's job is to facilitate communication between artist and curator, therefore assisting in the organisation of the show. Simon Gowing refers to a sad reality concerning lack of funding on the institutions' side and, consequently, the recurrent need for private financing. The associate director advances that the gallery tries to help out in whichever way possible, either giving financial support or finding other partners, concluding that "ideally, we don't have to be involved in the institutional relationship. But we are often asked to become involved by the institution in order to facilitate financially."

5. Fairs

The gallery has participated in over thirty prestigious art fairs and exhibition programmes since 2009⁷¹. In its earlier years (until 2013) the gallery had a booth at Artissima Turin, ArtBrussels, Frieze London and New York City, ARCO Madrid, The Armory Show and FIAC. Within only five

⁷¹ This information was retrieved from the gallery's internal database.

years of existence then, the gallery was able to access some of the major artistic events of the art market, most of them taking place in Europe. Taking part in fairs is of course contingent to, on one hand the possibility to apply and finance participation and, on the other hand, acceptance by the fair's organisation. In fourteen years, the gallery took part in an average of five fairs per year. The diagram below shows us that between 2009 and 2014 was when the gallery was more involved with fairs, a reality that can be justified by two factors; first, the fairs in which the gallery had booths during these years were smaller, less acclaimed and therefore more affordable, art fairs, and second, by the fact that for young and emerging galleries, art fairs are the best place to develop a network of collectors and setting forth a valuable word-of-mouth strategy. In recent years, although the number of part-takings has decreased, Tanya Leighton has managed to ensure attendance to the Grand Slam art fairs, namely Art Basel for eight consecutive years, since 2014, Art Basel Miami Beach, Frieze, and Felix, among others.

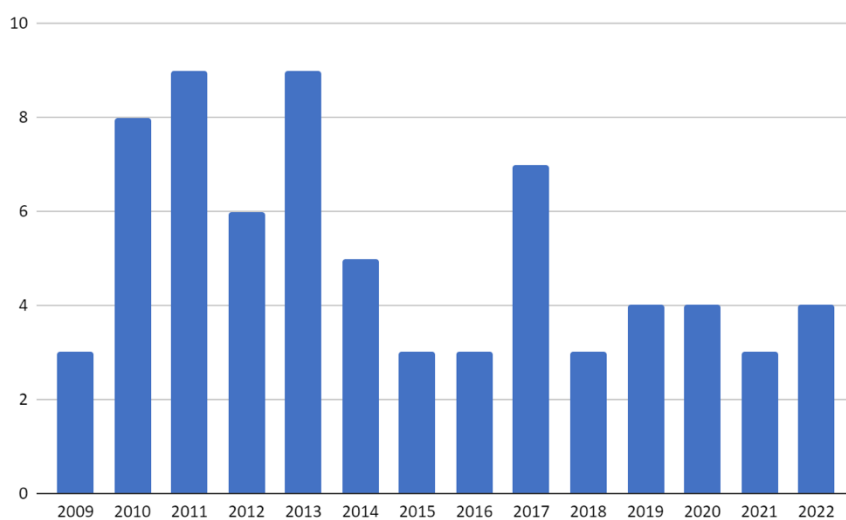
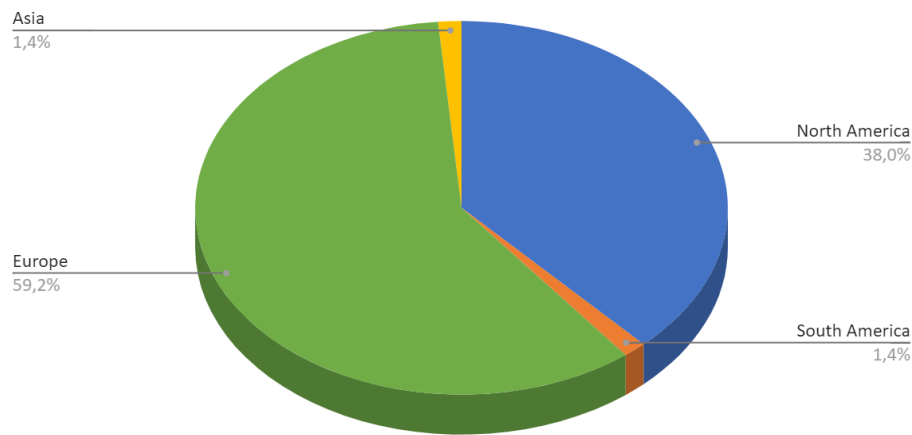


Fig. 7: Evolution of fair participation

In terms of geographical distribution of the fairs in which the gallery participated, the pie chart and diagram below show us that even though the gallery took part in a majority of European fairs (59,2%), those part-takings occurred during the gallery's earlier years, when it only had a location in Berlin. With time, Tanya Leighton started focusing more on participation in North American art fairs, taking place in different cities in the United States and reducing the gallery's involvement with European

fairs, notwithstanding its assiduous presence at Art Basel, the “trusted brand” of fairs and “a very different type of fair”, as described by Simon Gowing during our interview. This implication with American fairs can be explained by Tanya’s growing relations with American collectors, which has evolved into a solid network of clients. Moreover, we should mention that the gallery took part in one South American fair, ARTE Buenos Aires, in 2011 and one exhibition project in Japan, Villa Tokyo, also in 2011. Tanya Leighton regularly attends Gallery Weekend Berlin, the city’s most dynamic art event for which galleries and museums prepare their best exhibitions and that attracts



collectors from all around the world.

Fig. 8: Participation in fairs by continent

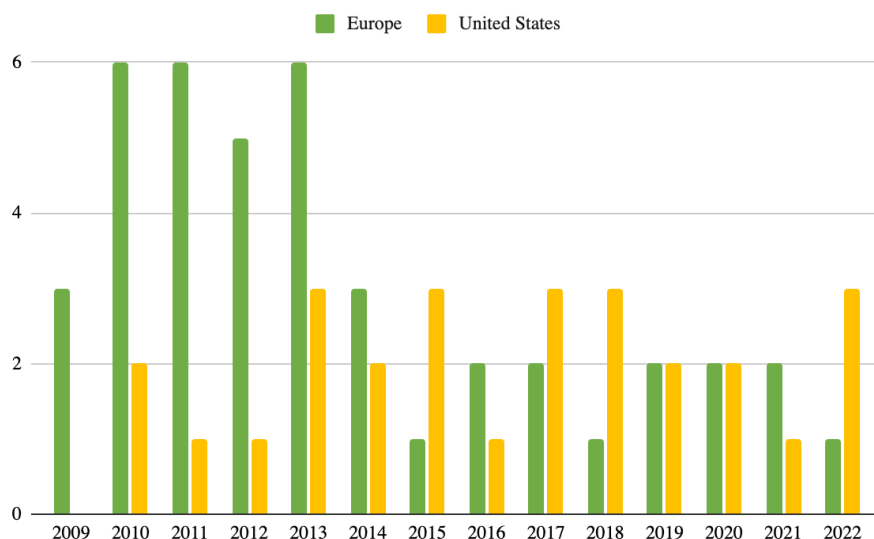


Fig. 9: Evolution of fair location Europe/USA

According to Gowing, fairs are the gallery's most important venture in terms of visibility but also the most demanding, both strategically and financially. In terms of budget, these events represent the largest part of a year's expenses so the gallery must make sure that this investment will pay-off. Costs include the booth, transportation, both for the team and for the artworks, accommodation, and food, as well as a series of other expenses, which all summed-up can easily reach the threshold of 100,000 euros for only six days of fair⁷². The associate director makes a point of giving the example of Art Basel saying that "in the case of Art Basel, you have to be shooting for more than that (covering costs), because you're going into the summer when no one works. All the collectors go on holiday pretty much directly after Basel. So, you need to make sure that you can cover your costs and responsibilities from July, August into September." This challenging undertaking then, requires a thorough analysis of the market so as to make a selection of works and artists that will succeed in financing the gallery and in bringing visibility to the gallery.

The artist and artwork choosing strategy is a very complex and lengthy one. The first thing to consider is the current artistic programme of both the gallery, the shows that have taken place or will take place soon after a fair, and of the artists individually. An artist who has shows lined up in big institutions is an artist worth taking to a fair. In the words of Simon Gowing "it's about spotlighting a particular selection of artists and what they're doing at that time". The part of this decision-making process involves logistics regarding shipping costs. The location of an artist's studio or the engineering behind the transportation of a certain kind of artworks can definitely influence the gallerist's decision. In Tanya Leighton's case artists shown in American art fairs usually have their studios in the United States and artists shown in Basel, or other European art fairs, generally have their studios in Europe. It basically comes down to what makes more sense in terms of collector interests and in terms of logistics, as Gowing refers.

Summing up this section on fairs, we should highlight the main advantages and challenges faced by gallery owner and in this case Tanya Leighton when participating in fairs. Challenges are obviously the ones mentioned above concerning strategies and logistics, which are time-consuming and costly. With regards to advantages, we should elaborate the above-stated promotion benefits. The associate director points out that major fairs are more than just fairs, they are, in a way, institutions

⁷² Freeman, Nate. (2018). *What It Costs Galleries to Go to Art Basel*.
<https://www.artsy.net/article/artsy-editorial-costs-galleries-art-basel>

in themselves. All the best curators, directors, critics come to these shows and take advantage of the immense compilation of artists found there to plot their future exhibitions. Hence, the strategy used at Tanya Leighton is to present an exceptional set of artworks, as a way of advertising for her artists and enabling them to receive the attention of the institutions worldwide.

6. Collectors

This section is solely based on the interviews with the directors, as it was not possible to access a sales history. Still, we will try to provide a general portrait of the collectors the gallery tends to deal with, their interests and locations.

It is safe to say that the collector network changed a great deal over the years. Having started out with a single location in Berlin, at a time when the city wasn't quite as cosmopolitan as it is at moment, Tanya focused on establishing the gallery's brand, this holistic, family-like community that still gathers, fourteen years later, on Kurfürstenstraße. In the case of Tanya Leighton then, the collectors are more than just people to trade with, they are a part of the gallery's community. And Tanya worked a lot on building this community but also on inviting in the right sort of collectors, meaning, one "that is willing to lend to institutional shows and so on. Ideally, the gallery does not want secondary sales", as explained by Gowing.

In terms of location, the gallery's Berlin-based network of collectors is one that is extremely focused on supporting the gallery in itself. The associate director refers as well that, in Berlin, in contrast to the rest of Germany, collectors are more versed in an international programme than in other German cities (as we were able to denote on point 9 of the second section of this dissertation), a factor that is certainly beneficial to the gallery. There wasn't much of a collecting mindset in Berlin when Tanya Leighton first established the gallery, so the strategy would be an international outreach, Gowing explains. "You're working with the collectors in Asia, you're working with your collectors in the US or down in London. But it's not a place where you can rely on a resident collecting community." There are, nevertheless, certain events that will bring collectors to the city, as is the case of Gallery Weekend which we mentioned above, meaning that although collectors might not actually live in Berlin, they are always happy to come for a few days because they know that there is a good cultural offer, both in terms of galleries and in terms of museum exhibitions. Even so, the associate director

discloses that the vast majority of sales is made outside of Berlin and even, outside of Germany, something that is confirmed by Andrew McNeely who states that “our clientele are truly global citizens with residences all over the world. I do think a great deal of them are American, though”. Unquestionably, the collecting community, not only in Los Angeles but in the United States in general, is a very active one and Tanya certainly has a solid network there, which is why she decided to open the gallery’s second location in LA.

It is also important to acknowledge that the artists represented by the gallery can attract completely different types of collectors. With regards to the collectors’, we inquired Simon Gowing on the “institutionality” of certain artists compared to others. Indeed, the common private collector isn’t usually interested in displaying moving image works in his home. But while those works might not have as lively a market as painting, they are more easily and more frequently included in screenings and institutional collections. The “institutionality” or “market-friendly” is therefore a complex and non-linear question. One artist might not sell a lot in the private sphere and be very popular amongst institutions or the other way around.

Independently of their location, this very brief characterisation of the gallery’s collectors and of the gallery’s market positioning allows us to identify Tanya Leighton as a gallery whose mission is an institutionalising one, more than a commercial one. In fact, the gallerist constantly states that the gallery’s clients are the artists and not the collectors.

FINDINGS

In concluding this dissertation, it is important to issue a brief sum-up of all the information provided. In the first section we were able to characterise Berlin's social, political, demographic, and economic traits, how they relate to each other and generate a high quality of life. Afterwards, we studied the city's evolution in terms of cultural policies and its current actors. It is important to note here, how much the city changed after the fall of the Berlin Wall and how many artists were motivated to move to Berlin, which then led to an increase in galleries and auction houses locating in the city. In fact, most of the institutions and market players were only established in the 1990s, or at least moved to Berlin during that period. Gowing also mentioned during our interview that the quality of the institutions wasn't all that good for a long time and that galleries had to adopt a more institutional role. This means then, that the art scene is still quite young.

With regards to the case study, we were capable of defining the gallery's strategies, both in terms of institutional mission and in terms of market. Notwithstanding the diverse nationalities of the artists represented by Tanya Leighton, there is a large part of them (especially of those born in Europe) who currently live and work in Berlin. In terms of fairs, the gallery participated mostly in European fairs but it is clear that in the last years it has been concentrating on American fairs, something that we attributed then to the fact that the gallery's collectors are mostly located in the United States.

This information allows to demonstrate two separate arguments; first, that Berlin is a creative city, with a diverse cultural offer and many programmes that support artists. It has also a very developed artistic community which stimulates production and favours artistic recognition. During our interview, Tanya Leighton represented artist collective, Studio for Propositional Cinema, confirmed that they moved to Berlin because of the city's artistic community, much of which linked directly to the gallery itself. The second point that we are able to prove is that Berlin is not a commercial city with regards to the art market. The fact that until the 1990s, most of the country's galleries were located in the Rhineland region and especially in Cologne and Düsseldorf, explains why, until more recently, Berlin's art market had a lesser weight when compared to other German cities. Studio for Propositional Cinema referred to Berlin's art market as self-reliant, saying that "market wise, and funding wise, cities like London and Paris are able to be self-sufficient, and Berlin is not. Berlin, by

necessity, has to be more connected to the rest of Germany and the rest of Europe”. This jibes with the information we collected with regards to Tanya Leighton’s international sales strategy.

It is important, at this point, to consider the information provided regarding prices and rent. This is related to the fact that Berlin has regained its economic potential which leads to enterprises and businesses settling in the city and attracting people. People with a higher purchasing power as referred to by Simon Gowing; “Now there are more people with more disposable incomes than in the past. [...] There’s money available there, and people want to spend it.” Although this might have the positive outcome of generating more sales in Berlin and establishing a stronger collecting community in the city, it certainly has its negative side when it comes to artists. In fact, this money influx leads to higher property prices and a higher cost of living in general and if thirty years ago the reason for artists to come to Berlin was vacant space and cheap rents, we should wonder how these new financial challenges are affecting artists. A 2019 article states that “up to 350 art studios in the German capital are closing every year due to higher costs and new developments.”⁷³ Gowing addressed the rising financial problems for artists saying that: “The luxury side of Berlin restricts the ability of the artists to get cheap rent, to be able to live comfortably and therefore be able to work, network and just be creative and make Berlin a creative city. [...] The more time an artist has to worry about where they’re going to live, or how they’re going to make their rent, the less time they can spend thinking about their work.” On a more pessimistic tone, Studio for Propositional Cinema raised this issue with a certain negativity, saying that there will be a compounding effect and that Berlin will eventually lose its cultural interest.

We can then conclude that in the last thirty years Berlin as a city changed tremendously and its artworld and art market changed with it. The process of gentrification through which the city is currently going through will be determining the city’s future positioning in the artworld. Will Berlin maintain and reinstate its previous creative city label, or will it develop a commercial profile?

⁷³ McCarthy, Niall. (2019). *Where Berlin’s artists live*. <https://www.statista.com/chart/18818/share-of-berlins-population-that-are-artists/>

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APPENDIXES

Appendix 1 - Interview with Simon Gowing

Zoom Interview Lisbon, July 29th 2022

Transcription approved on August 18th 2022

Simon Gowing, Associate Director at Tanya Leighton Gallery

Duration: 1 hour 18 minutes

Constança Costa Santos: Okay. And I'll also share my screen so you can look at the questions. Can you see it?

Simon Gowing: Not yet. Yes, I can see.

CCS: Okay. So yeah, as you might have seen, it is divided into gallery artists, exhibitions, fairs, and collectors, so that I can get a sense of the gallery's work on every front. Some of the questions Andrew and Mel have also answered. But I think you're the one who could give me more general and precise answers to most of them. So, how would you define your work as a director? And well, how does it differ from the objectives and responsibilities of the gallery owner?

SG: Main responsibilities come in three or four areas. One, being the most 'ideological', is a responsibility to the artists – to their careers. And that is in terms of sales and making sales to the right collectors. And then, placing the works in good collections. And then of course, making sure they get the right types of exhibitions and are consistently showing at a certain level. So that would be to the artists, I guess that's the most ideological one. So, the artists and the vision of the gallery owner. Another responsibility is obviously more 'practical' to the business. Because you can get artists' exhibitions in great museums all day, but if you can't sell art, then the business won't continue to exist. So that's much more sort of practical side of things. There are directors that concentrate purely on artists liaison work, working just with the artists or just having client relationships or just having museum or institutional relationships. But in a gallery the size of Tanya's, as I'm sure you've experienced, everyone does everything. The director's main responsibilities in Tanya's gallery were bringing on new talent, taking care of the high value artists,

and also thinking about expansion of the program. And then there is, along these same sorts of criteria that I've just outlined, is directed towards this more ideological and kind of brand orientated direction – taking care of the artists, the community, how the gallery kind of appears. And then, of course, the business side. So, like, of course, bringing on artists that are well respected internationally and have the right kind of associations, but then, of course, artists that we think are going to be successful with our clients and audience. Tanya does have an ambitious attitude kind to expansion, in terms of bringing on new talent. Selling work that we had in inventory was of course a large part of Tanya's expectations for my role as director. But outreaching to new clients and to new artists was equally important for her. I guess the difference between my work as a director and the gallery owner is that it is Tanya's name above the door – it's her business. She is the figurehead of it. In the end, if someone walked into the booth at an art fair, I'm clearly not Tanya Leighton. So, there were certain times when we disagreed on directions, but in the end it's her call - she's the one taking the risk.

CCS: I had that question because I was under the impression that you didn't really select new artists, you might present them to Tanya, but in the end it's still Tanya that decides if you should start representing them or exhibit them.

SG: True. Yeah, I mean, in the end there is a kind of consultation basis. I think it's like anyone you know, you trust the people that you work with, but then you also need to stick your finger in the wind and say like, okay, is this name coming up in the right context? Our clients that we're working with mainly, would they be interested in this kind of work? Or are they already collecting this artist or something like this. So, as a director, you're like, feeding into that conversation. But in the end, it is up to Tanya to make that decision. Because, again, it breaks down into these two kinds of categories. Ideologically, she's the one who has to believe in the artists because it's her gallery, and she's the kind of unifying element around which all of this happens.

CCS: And she's the one taking the risk as well.

SG: Well, exactly. And that's where it comes on to the second side of things. In the end I, as a director, have worked in other galleries. And, it's beside the point, but I don't plan to work as a director in another gallery. But, it's Tanya, who has to believe in the artists for the long term, because she's the one who's going to be representing them. And yeah, representing is the correct word. Championing them for the longer term. And that is about being able to support the business

and about making sure you believe in this artist. Do you believe this artist has a market that will persist through however many shows? If you do a show once every three years, and you're a young artist, that's a long time. And Tanya really believes in that longevity. It's not one of those galleries...

CCS: Taking profit while you can and then...

SG: Yeah, exactly. She believes in the gallery as a family of sorts. The directors feed into the conversation about artists, but Tanya is the Litmus Test in the sense that she has to make sure that she can work with them. It doesn't really matter if one of the directors is really close with the artist. She has a very strong character compass. And she can tell, after having lunch with someone, whether it's going to work or whether it's not. And that's on the more ideological side. On the more business practical side. She needs to think about whether this artist is going to sell for the long term? Is it something that, you know, if you were very hard-minded you would be like, "Okay, so we do this show, and we sell it out. And then it's like, thank you very much and we move on to the next new artist and the next show." But she doesn't think like that. It's much more kind of holistic, it's much more family-based. She's a very family-oriented person. And she wants to make sure she can support the business, but also be able to support the artists. Because, in the end, when we sell an artwork, 50% of it goes to the business and 50% of it goes to the artist and you need to make sure that you're supporting – and this is both a directorial and also an owner's responsibility – you need to make sure that you're selling enough work to allow the artists to not have to worry about that side of things, you know, so that they can think about working on the next project.

CCS: So, Tanya's and your work as well as a director, would be to find the correct strategy, to make sure that a given artist would be able to sell enough on one side but also to prosper, as an artist, career wise. I mean finding the right strategy for each artist because it can be very different.

SG: Exactly. And different artists have different costs. And they don't like to think of it like this, but they are businesses too. They're all businesses, because of tax and whatever, but like, you know, in the end, if you're a painter, and your main costs are paper and paint, and that's it. If you're a sculptor and you're working on these cast bronze, and very heavily detailed 3D prints, then that's incredibly different – it involves very different amounts of money. So, you have to work closely with the artists. I mean, the artist does have to take responsibility for themselves, but in terms of having a comfortable kind of working relationship, it's in your interest as a gallerist, to make sure that the artist is comfortable and able to focus.

CCS: But is it something that they discuss? Or even with you, is it something you decide, “okay, the commission of the gallery’s 50%”, and that's it? Or do the costs and selecting those artists to go to fairs, is it something that is discussed with the artists or is it something that Tanya discusses with you guys?

SG: I mean, of course, you can take the case of a fair as being a microcosm of the larger year's budget. You have to work on a projection - so you know how much money is going out and how much money is coming in. So, in terms of what you take to a fair you're like, “Okay, so the booth costs X, the transport costs X, and then you double that, and that's what a fair costs pretty much”. And so, you have to give yourself the opportunity to make money.

CCS: To at least cover the costs?

SG: You need to do more than that. In the case of Art Basel, you have to be shooting for more than that, because you're going into the summer when essentially the whole art world is checked-out. All the collectors go on holiday pretty much directly after Basel. So, you need to make sure that you can cover your costs and your responsibilities from July, August and into September. So, you have to do much more than cover your costs for the fair, you have to cover your costs for a significant part of the rest of the year. Did that answer your question?

CCS: Yeah, more than did. I'll have to structure it very carefully. But I think it did. How do you perceive the art scene in Berlin? Well, I should have started with this because basically my thesis is about the art market in Berlin, taking Tanya Leighton as a case study. And to prove that Berlin is more of a creative city than a collecting one or a commercial one.

SG: Okay. So, in terms of that Tanya is a very interesting case study, because she's very much an international gallery and, while we the gallery makes sales to German institutions and does have long standing relationships with German collectors, they’re mostly outside of Berlin. There are some very loyal collectors in Berlin, but the majority of sales are made outside of Berlin. And I would say the vast majority of sales are made outside of Germany. And Tanya had her reasons for moving to Berlin in the first place. She was part of a generation of creative people who were moving to the city, because of its creative spirit, but also because of this kind of thing that was being built at the time. It was post the wall falling. I mean, it was a long time post the wall falling, but...

CCS: When did you move exactly? Was it before the gallery?

SG: The gallery started in 2008. I actually don't know when she and her former partner moved for the first time. But she was living in New York before. It was after 9/11, I know that much, because they were living in New York, and she talks about there being this very negative feeling in New York at the time. I mean, I can't speak to why she moved, but I see it as being part of this generation that was moving here because space was cheap. And that's been true up until relatively recently. So, space was cheap, and it had this reputation - what was it, "poor but sexy?", I think that was it. There was this kind tagline for Berlin, poor but sexy. I don't know whether that's actually true. But the reasons for moving to Berlin; the reasons for artists to move here; the big studios setting up was because of the price of living. The galleries were mostly in Cologne before that, and then a lot of them moved here because the artists were moving here. I mean, again, I'm not a scholar of that time and there are many people who can describe that better. But I suppose all I can say from my experience is that it wasn't because of the collecting community. If you wanted to find collectors, you would move to Cologne or Munich, or you would move to New York, but post-war Berlin was never a centre for collectors. But obviously that developed - there are collectors in Berlin, the kind of older guard and then of course, you have Boros and Haubrok. Now you have Julia Stoschek with her collection, but you know, Julia's money, that's Rheinland money, that's Düsseldorf. But slowly Berlin has kind of developed back into being a capital city that prioritises things that other capital cities prioritise, like London and Paris, and the more kind of luxury side of things have developed. People with money have been moving to the city. I'm not saying that's happened in the last two years. I'm saying over the last 10-15 years maybe. Whether it's money that's coming in from Asia or from the Middle East or from the Rheinland. There is a kind of incentive, I guess, for people to invest in Berlin, and a lot of that investment is in property, but there's also art's role as an experience or a luxury commodity. And I suppose that's what the art fair was trying to harness in its various different guises and what Gallery Weekend tries to do. But a lot of that is about bringing collectors into Berlin. I would say, it's interesting because working for Tanya is not much different to what it was like to work for the Modern Institute, Glasgow (which is where I worked previously). Glasgow is in Scotland, and Scotland has no collectors, basically. I can count them on one hand. And all of the work had to be done via outreach. You're working with the collectors in Asia, you're working with your collectors in the US or down in London. But it's not a place where you can rely on a resident collecting community. Like

colleagues of mine in New York, who open on Saturdays and they're like a shop, you know, people walk in and go "I'll have that and that", and that's just not the experience in Berlin. Of course, people come through at particular times. There are certain 'hot points' in the calendar; there's Gallery Weekend, there's the Berlin Biennial, there's other institutional shows, or people come through on trips, or museum tours, or these sorts of things. And you're able to prepare for that. Because they tell you that they're coming. So how do I perceive the art scene in Berlin? Yes, it's a creative city. It's become more of a centre. Now there are more people with more disposable incomes than in the past, and then there's the people who come here and make their money elsewhere and spend it here. I guess there's different industries in Berlin, like tech being one, the one that comes to mind. There's money available there, and people want to spend it. And so yes, I'm sure that the galleries in Berlin are making the most of that. I guess the thing is the property prices go up. The luxury side of Berlin restricts the ability of the artists to get cheap rent, to be able to live comfortably and therefore be able to make work, network and do all of the things that... Just be creative and make Berlin a creative city. The ability of that to happen becomes more and more difficult. The more time an artist has to worry about where they're going to live, or how they're going to make their rent, the less time they can spend thinking about their work. And so, you want to make sure that the latter is possible. I would say, in some way, it's the model of gentrification, right? It's just that it's happening on a city-wide level. All of the artists moved in, the galleries moved in, and then now it's an Apple store. Know what I mean?

CCS: And do you think that influences the production of the artists in the sense that if an artist lives in the city that is inhabited by many other artists, then there's an exchange of ideas and practices and of concepts and ideologies?

SG: For sure.

CCS: And if then artists are going away then, the art, either it will stop being produced in Berlin or it will maybe be less meaningful in a way?

SG: I don't know, I mean, can you really grade that somehow? Does the quality of what's being made in a city decrease if you have more luxury goods, or more people with expendable incomes? I don't know, I'm not able to answer that question. All I can say is that it makes it more difficult for creative people, and yes, then people think about moving elsewhere. I think Berlin is still very welcoming and there's a lot of Americans here and I get the impression that the VISA situation

for international people, of course of a particular 'type', but in a certain sense they're more open to people coming in, a particularly open VISA scheme, that makes it possible for people to come here and not necessarily have to have a 30K a year job or be able to prove income. So, that will stay in place. It's just whether people are able to get studios or get apartments and, you know, when I moved here six years ago, I had to move around for a year before I could find a permanent place. It just seems to get worse every year. I don't know how it was for you.

CCS: Exactly the same.

SG: But it's really difficult to just live. So, you have many artists who want to come here because there are great shows, there's a lot of discourse. For young artists, there's the BPA [Berlin Program for Artists] and other schemes like that. People are being creative in terms of support structures and it's still an attractive city to move to and it's not got the driving pace of London or New York. You don't get the feeling that you have to be everywhere all the time. There're good shows at the institutions and galleries because, well, the institutions were kind of shit for quite a long time. You know, the galleries kind of took that on that slightly more institutional role. And there's interesting discourse and book groups and good bookshops. And whatever.

CCS: And there's space mainly.

SG: Right, but that is the problem, it's diminishing, there isn't so much space anymore. All of these empty buildings are being turned into WeWorks or these empty sites that were bombed during the war, they're all being built on. And this space that you identify is becoming smaller. And so, there's a squeeze that is happening and that's all to do with the value of property increasing. Property in Berlin didn't use to matter, and it's not quite Paris or London prices by any means, but people can see that it's going up and - well - you know how capitalism works.

CCS: And as a director do you feel conflicted in a way? In the sense that if more people with more money are coming to Berlin that means you'll be able to sell more but at the same time you're somehow "losing" the artists.

SG: Well, that's what I'm saying, it's not like we're losing the artists because the business doesn't rely on taking an artist from outside of Berlin and bringing them into Berlin and making sure they can live here, that's not the model. When I joined the gallery, the majority of the artists lived outside Berlin. And since then, that's kind of changed. The representation of artists in the city has

increased, whether through some of those artists moving here or other artists becoming part of the programme.

CCS: I think you've answered a lot of these questions. So, I think I'm going to cut down the main challenges faced by gallery owners and directors which I guess will be the fact that there aren't that many collectors in Berlin.

SG: I can't speak to the challenges of working in a purely German speaking gallery, you know. We will share certain challenges, but you've made a case study of Tanya's and, that is a very particular context in Berlin. The German speaking market is not a focus. And then, of course, expansion, the ability to move and change space and provide new challenges for the artists. Just in terms of the bricks and mortar, you know. Tanya started off in 2008, in 156, and that's a very challenging space. I can't remember exactly how many years that was, it was certainly six or seven years that she purely operated out of that space, and then of course, brought on the new space and then there was always an aspiration and still is, of expanding to finding a space that would bring everything under one roof. You know, storage, gallery space, outdoor space also was really important to Tanya and always has been. And that was something that we were looking at for a long time. Because it's not just about expansion, like improving the brand. But it's also about providing new challenges for the artists. An artist is not going to want to show consistently in the same space, they want to have new challenges. Doesn't necessarily have to be about growing, but new contexts, you know, different ways of their work being considered. And what we were talking about in terms of the change in the property situation in Berlin, also has an impact on that, you know, it became more difficult to find interesting spaces that fell within a certain budget. Yeah, you have a question?

CCS: Yeah. Well, Tanya Leighton is basically an international gallery? That is, in the sense, that it's not very much of a Berlin typical gallery, but at the same time it appropriates the Berlin vibe, in a way that is very international and very warm hearted and family like. All the while not being German. I'm not sure if I'm making myself clear.

SG: I mean, it's difficult to answer that question, because I guess what you're implying is that a German gallery is not warm and family-like and international, which I'm not sure that I can speak to.

CCS: I'm saying that in Berlin, it is more so than maybe in other German cities, which I also don't know, so I wouldn't be able to speak. But it's very relatable to this idea of Berlin as a place of encounter, of creating and of meeting people, you know, this general idea that people have a Berlin, that Tanya Leighton, as the gallery kind of embodies that idea of Berlin, even though it's not purely German, let's say.

SG: Yeah, I think the first part of your question was, Tanya Leighton, an international gallery, and that's 100% correct. It's an international gallery operating in Berlin. And its community, both the artists that it works with, but also the community that attends the events, the staff, former staff members, but also the wider community is a very international one. It's an English speaking one. And so yeah, I mean it's definitely in a certain part of the international art community living in Berlin. It's a very important space, I think, and exhibitions and important events are in the calendar of that community and traditionally have been. And Tanya's emphasis on family and inclusivity in a sense, that's where that kind of starts somehow. Does that answer your question?

CCS: Yes, definitely. Okay, so should we move on? Is there some sort of exclusivity deal with the artists? I'm just trying to figure out how it works market wise. Because the art world and the art market are very secretive. And it's hard sometimes to understand how a market works. There's nowhere to look, there are no books that you can read. Either you ask people that work in the art markets, or you'll end up not knowing how things work, which is natural. And there's a reason for it and I understand that. But I'm just trying to get a sense of the general guidelines.

SG: Of course. So yeah, I mean, I can speak generally. Most galleries of a certain size will not have paperwork. In terms of exclusivity deals, or something like this. Of course, all works are consigned to the galleries. But often that consignment is more of a 'gentleman's agreement', as we would say in English. And so, it relies on a relationship. So, yeah, I mean there is paperwork, and when there are larger amounts of money in terms of production being exchanged, that will go down in paperwork. But yeah, it's just the way that traditionally galleries have worked. And, of course, I think that is changing now, in terms of the 'professionalisation' of the industry. Tanya was an artist, she went to art school. You know, my previous boss went to art school also. Gallerists are mostly creative people of a certain generation. Artists or writers or curators who, for whatever reason, have generally ended up in this industry in this position. But obviously, now, there are a lot more people who come from a more business background that are coming in. And you can

generally tell which ones come from which background. But the ones that come from a business background are obviously much more used to contracts and all of this kind of stuff. And I think, as there are more people who work like that, then certain expectations change inside the industry. But in my experience, certain artists consign shows and just don't want to bother with the bureaucracy of it, you know, it's just a conversation. We usually agree. And we say, okay, that's how much that sells for. And if we want to put the prices up, then we say, "we're putting the prices up, what do you think?" And they say yes.

CCS: Okay, so that also answers the second question about the commissions, but does the percentage of the commission change?

SG: Not in my experience.

CCS: As a general rule, or just at Tanya's?

SG: In the industry as a whole there are examples that I am aware of, where particular artists, they're able to make deals, other deals in terms of percentage.

CCS: Why do you think there's so many artists in Berlin? I think you've answered that as well. Because the pricing and it's starting to change. Are there some artists that you consider safe for markets? Who can sustain sales more than others? You've also answered that if you could develop this.

SG: Well, the market changes is what I would say. So, I don't know whether I would use the term "safe for market". The market changes, what is selling like hotcakes one year will not necessarily be selling like hotcakes the next year. And so, it's the gallery's responsibility to try to build a market that can be sustained for the long term, rather than, you know, selling to everybody and making the artists overproduce. It's about making sure that the artist can survive on what they're earning, without having to overproduce, flood the market, you know.

CCS: Of course, and then the basic principle of inflation.

SG: Exactly. Exactly. I mean, you know, it's not as simple as that, and some people can really sustain that growth. But it's a very risky strategy. And so of course building a steadier market, in terms of making sure that you're selling to the right, people who are not going to sell the works on the secondary market, you know. Ideally you would want the work to go from the artist's studio

to a collector. And then it stays there. And obviously, you want the collector to be of a type that is willing to lend to institutional shows and so on. Ideally, the gallery does not want secondary sales.

CCS: Makes sense. And what kind of role does TLG play when one of the artists has a solo show in a museum? Is it completely independent? Or is there some sort of support that you offer?

SG: It depends, you know, obviously, the gallery is an advocate for the artist's work in terms of taking the work to art fairs, staging exhibitions in the gallery, reaching out to curators and institutions. The majority of times that an artist has exhibitions in a museum, the gallery has had a role in that happening. And it's not our place to put ourselves in between the curator and the artists, I mean, it's more like facilitating. And sadly, recently, when something wonderful, like an artist having a solo show in the museum comes around, often, we get a call saying, "Can you help us pay for it?" And, you know, that's something that, sadly, is becoming somewhat of an expectation from institutions as, obviously, institutional funding has decreased all over the world. And the reliance on private money to finance the artists increases. And that's always a very difficult conversation. Because it's not something that the gallery can do whenever it's possible. We do what we can, or we try to find other partners who might be able to help. Yeah. So, ideally, we don't have to be involved in the institutional relationship. That's but we are often asked to become involved by the institution in order to facilitate financially.

CCS: Okay. Well, we don't have that much time, so we can maybe skip these questions as Andrew already answered them. Maybe if you have anything specific that you would like to point out, about deciding which artists to exhibit when and where, what's the strategy? Actually, you've also talked about it already, you mentioned that at the moment Tanya's showing artists that haven't had or in the longtime solo shows at the gallery. You said that before, right?

SG: That was when I spoke about, like, the expansion of the gallery. I think I've probably spoken about a lot of these in terms of deciding our artists, Tanya's role in those decisions, and I think it's probably more interesting, given the change of relationship that Andrew answers those questions anyway, because it's more up to date.

CCS: Great. Then, about the fairs? I remember, Mel told me that the basic strategy would be to do one in Europe and one in the US, given the Berlin/LA situation. But is it always Basel? I know it hasn't always been Basel, you've also done Frieze...

SG: Yeah, I mean, Basel in Switzerland is kind of the centre, it's, I guess, the trusted brand. And it's 'heritage', it's a different type of fair somehow. There's something particularly special about Basel, about the context there. About the type of collector that comes. Obviously, all of the big international collectors come to Basel to see the work, to see the exhibitions and the museums. Then there are the lower-budget buyers - they talk about it as like the "doctors and dentists from the Rheinland", you know, like the people that will just buy one artwork a year, they come to Basel. So, it's a very special place. And I would encourage you to experience it if you haven't been.

CCS: No.

SG: It's also a very particular context. It's a small city, which has always had a very strong relationship with the arts. It's kind of like, you're there in the middle of Switzerland, and people do 'swiss' things like eat raclette.

CCS: Okay. And in terms of the artists that you're going to take to the fairs, how do you decide?

SG: That would depend on what is happening in the program, both of the gallery and of the artists' individual programs, like institutionally. So, you would use the fair to highlight a particular artist or what an artist is doing. So, for instance, if an artist has a particularly prominent institutional show in Europe, then Basel would be a good opportunity to focus the collectors and clients on the work that they're doing. So, often, you would try and show something that's representative of the suite of works that they're working with. Or if they have a show coming up at the gallery, it's a kind of trailer, in a sense, for that work. So maybe the client is not able to necessarily come to Berlin to see the work, but you can show them an example of what that is. So, it's about highlighting, or spotlighting, I suppose, a particular selection of artists and what they're doing at that time. And then of course, there's like, the logistical side of things. It's like shipping is real. And so, it makes sense, often, to think about, where's the artist studio? And do we need to ship something transatlantic if we can show American artists in America and European artists in Europe. It breaks down into ideological and logistics.

CCS: And there's no different commissions applied?

SG: Not in my experience.

CCS: What do you consider to be the main advantages and challenges that come with the participation in fairs? Well, I guess the advantage is that fairs allow the gallery and its artists to be in a certain art scene?

SG: I mean, again, it's about placing the artists in the correct context. And associate them with other galleries, or other artists that are of the same level. And so, Basel or Frieze or, you know, these larger and more established fairs - the calibre of visitors is higher, of museum groups, of curators, of museum directors who are coming through and using those opportunities to consider possibilities for their forthcoming program. It's advertising.

CCS: And in Berlin, are there fairs or events that you would consider important?

SG: Yeah, I mean Gallery Weekend is traditionally the moment when, you know, the international spotlight shines on Berlin. It's the time when the galleries put on their best shows and people come to town. It's when Potsdamer Strasse is a place where you can bump into international collectors in the same way that you can bump into them at Basel. So, yeah, Gallery Weekend would be it.

I feel like I've answered quite a lot of these questions.

CCS: Yes, I'm just trying to read through them to see if we've missed something. Maybe this one: Is there a certain type of art that Berlin collectors are more interested in? Is there a certain tendency that they follow?

SG: Again, it's difficult to answer that question because the Berlin collectors that we have are specifically engaged in supporting the gallery. If you were to speak with someone at König or neugerriemschneider, I'm sure that they would have a more developed idea of a 'berlin collector'. But is there a certain tendency that they follow? I think outside of Berlin there is possibly a tendency towards German collectors being invested in collecting German artists. This is a similarity you get with Brazilian collectors collecting Brazilian artists. But I think in Berlin the outlook is more international. What you could do is you could look at the Haubrok or the Boros Collection and see what percentage of it is international artists and what percentage is German artists. I don't know whether that answers your question.

CCS: Yes, it does. I'm also going to study the collections and institutions in my thesis. And artists that you know to be more institutional than others?

SG: What do you mean by more institutional? You mean more likely to receive institutional shows?

CCS: Yes. From the six months I was at Tanya Leighton I got the feeling that, for example Sharon Hayes and all the performance and video artists, they would be more institutional artists than a private collector type.

SG: There are a number of considerations to be taken there. Obviously, the market for moving image work is a very specific one and it's not as lively a market as the market for painting. You have to be a certain type of collector that has a certain type of outlook or has a certain type of attitude to the way that you collect and an aspiration for how the works that you collect are then dealt with. Very few people, I would say, display moving image works in their homes. So, that's I guess one consideration in terms of market. But it's difficult to set these boundaries like, more institutional than others. I guess if you look at the CVs of artists that work with film and video, logistically it's much easier to show films, you don't have to ship anything. It's cheaper for institutions. Institutions will often have screening programs. But that's not really answering your question. I know what you mean, artists like Sharon Hayes or Aleksandra Domanovic or Oliver, have had... I don't know how I would term it. There are a number of different types of institutions and all of our artists have had shows in institutions of different types. Some are invited to do multiple institutional exhibitions and, you know, the institutions are on different scales. I mean, some galleries don't necessarily work with some of the artists that we work with because it's harder to sell moving image work. But Tanya comes from a curatorial background. Sorry, I said she studied as an artist, but she was a curator working at the ICA in Philadelphia, she wrote the Reader, the Tate Reader on the moving image. So that's her specialty, that's her area of expertise. If you haven't read that book, I recommend it. You can find them when they're out there. So, for the foundation of the gallery, the moving image is so incredibly important. And supporting those artists that work with the moving image, it's key to what Tanya wanted from the gallery, from the beginning. Tanya says that one of the reasons why she started the gallery was because Sharon Hayes didn't have a gallery. She was like "Why does an artist of the calibre of Sharon Hayes not have a gallery?" and she saw that as something that needed to change, and she changed it.

CCS: That's a very good way of concluding. And the ratio between supply and demand in Berlin?

SG: Sorry I keep repeating myself, but I don't know whether I'm in the right position to give you a decent answer on that. Supply and demand, I mean...There is a lot of art being made in Berlin and the majority of it isn't sold. So, I guess theoretically, there is more supply than demand. But, you know, not all of the art that is being made in Berlin is of a calibre... Sorry I don't know whether I want to put an answer on the books for that one.

CCS: Well, I think this is it. I think you've answered most of these questions, especially in the first part. And thank you so much for taking the time to meet with me.

SG: Of course, and feel free to follow-up with any questions.

Appendix 2 - Interview with Andrew McNeely

Email Interview, May 10th 2022

Andrew McNeely, Associate Director at Tanya Leighton Gallery, Los Angeles

1. How would you define your work as a director? How does it differ from the responsibilities and objectives of the gallery owner?

As a director, my principal responsibility is to pursue opportunities for our artists, grow the profile of our gallery, and build partnerships with important collectors and institutions.

2. Are there some artists that you consider “safe for market” and that you count on to sustain those who aren’t as safe in terms of sales?

I don’t think direct sales are the only value that an artist can bring to a gallery. In my experience, artists who have a modest sales performance among private collectors may also have an impressive record of institutional acquisitions. In the long term, institutional placement translates into the gallery's reputation of working with artists of the highest calibre.

3. How do you decide which artists to exhibit, when and where? What kind of strategy do you use to make that decision?

That is a difficult question. I don’t think there is a hard and fast answer. What is popular in Berlin is certainly not the same as Los Angeles, but it is also not possible to generalise what either cities prefer. Gallery strategy is contingent on so many factors that have to do with chance encounters, market and cultural trends. I think so much of this is just developing an intuition for which way the wind is blowing.

4. And, once you’ve chosen the artist, how do you proceed to choosing the works that will be presented?

The choice of what is included in an exhibition is in large part up to the artist. It is their show after all! That said, logistics and cost play a huge role. Not every gallery can afford to have an endless rotation of blockbuster exhibitions. The director’s job is to gently and diplomatically adjust the artist’s expectations in the best interest of both the talent and the gallery.

5. How does all this fall into place and how long does it take, in general? I understand you often ask curators to write the press releases. How do you coordinate all these people, also for the curating part/set-up of the show?

I actually think it is more likely that our gallery approaches arts writers than curators to write press releases. Typically, the artist will have someone in mind that they want to work with, and the gallery will reach out to this person on the artist's behalf. This process can take months.

6. And how do you know which collectors to get in touch with according to each artist/show?

We keep extensive notes on the aesthetic preferences and collecting interests of our clients. And we ensure that our clients receive advance notice about our artists' recently completed work. We also do our best to maintain conversations with institutional figures who have expressed interest in the practice of one of our artists.

7. Where are your collectors mostly based? Do you have a Berlin network and a LA network?

Our clientele are truly global citizens with residences all over the world. I do think a great deal of them are American, however.

Email Interview, June 30th 2022

Melanie García, Associate Director at Tanya Leighton Gallery, Berlin

1. How would you define your work as a director? How does it differ from the responsibilities and objectives of the gallery owner?

The responsibility of the Director is towards the gallery owner so, in that sense, the responsibilities and objectives should always be aligned, however they are not the same. This applies to the entire team.

Responsibilities of the Associate Director in Berlin include sales, communications and artist liaison, as well as leading and supporting all members of the team.

2. And how do you coordinate the press? Is there a certain strategy you put in place to get critics to come see the show? Do you invite them for the openings?

We do regular press outreach via email with every exhibition cycle inviting our press network to our openings. In recent years we have also started assembling and distributing press kits to compile all relevant information about our exhibitions so the press can independently – and from wherever in the world– review them.

3. And how do you know which collectors to get in touch with according to each artist/ show?

Collectors get in touch in reply to our mass emails or will contact Tanya directly for more information on the works and artists. Our online database categorises them by which artists they've expressed interest in so we can tailor offers to any particular client base.

Appendix 4 - Interview with Studio for Propositional Cinema

Zoom Interview Lisbon, July 29th 2022

Studio for Propositional Cinema, Artist Collective represented by Tanya Leighton Gallery

Duration: 32 minutes

Constança Costa Santos: Great. Okay, so can you tell me a little bit about your work as an artist?

Studio for Propositional Cinema: How deep do you want to go?

CCS: I don't know, what's your practice focused on mostly? In a general sense, I mean.

SFPC: Yeah. Well, you know, quite well, I guess. I mean, okay, so I'm working under, let's say, we are working under the name Studio for Propositional Cinema, which is an artistic entity engaged with trying to explore and develop new ways of combining various elements that are usually synthesised into a cinematic experience in order to separate them from one another and examine how they can be combined in unexpected ways to create different types of spatial and temporal spectatorial experiences.

CCS: That's very complex, but very interesting.

SFPC: I think it's the most succinct I've ever put it in my life. I want you to send it to me.

CCS: Of course, I will. Can you walk me through the path that led you to Berlin, and why Berlin?

SFPC: Well, the path begun, I guess, in 2009, when I moved to Düsseldorf, to study at the Kunstakademie in Düsseldorf, the Academy of Fine Arts in Düsseldorf, under the professorship of Christopher Williams. And yeah, Berlin itself was probably a result of the community that I developed that is based in Berlin, including the gallery and many artist friends.

CCS: Okay, so it was mostly then for the people that you knew then for a specific reason. For the people that were based in Berlin than for Berlin itself. Okay. And how do you perceive the art scene in Berlin?

SFPC: How do I perceive the art scene in Berlin? I mean, I only moved to Berlin in 2019. And a lot of that was, let's say, taken up by the pandemic. So, in many ways, I feel very new to Berlin. I would say the art scene is made up of many smaller scenes. Many of which don't interact with each other a lot. Coming from Düsseldorf where there's kind of one small scene, that's very tight

knit, I feel like it can be quite hard to, I don't know, connect with other people in Berlin, because the scene is, I see it as being quite fragmented. But that could also be a result of, you know, having arrived not too long before the pandemic.

CCS: Okay, and why do you think there are so many artists coming to Berlin? If you feel that it is fragmented, in a sense?

SFPC: I think it used to be very inexpensive, and very easy to find apartments and working space for much less money than other cities. But of course, in the last few years, this has changed dramatically. And now, it's become a luxury, international luxury city priced increasingly, similarly to other international luxury cities. So, it's very hard to imagine the thing that made Berlin so attractive for artists before, to continue for very much longer.

CCS: Yeah, and do you think it's only money wise, and the fact that it is expensive and expensive? Or that it was expensive to distinguish it from London or Paris?

SFPC: I mean, London and Paris are extremely different? So, I would say there's different things that distinguish Berlin from London than from Paris. Because let, then the art scene in London is not very European. It's very British. I've never seen, I mean, maybe you shouldn't quote me on that, but I don't feel that London is very connected in Europe, in the European art scene, the way that other European cities are, but that's my perception.

Berlin, for the arts, I think the arts community in Berlin is more cosmopolitan than London and Paris, because it's less self-reliant, and therefore much more interconnected with not only the other European cities, but also has a strong relationship to New York.

CCS: Okay, why New York?

SFPC: I mean, I think that market wise, and funding wise, cities like London and Paris are able to be self-sufficient, and Berlin is not. Berlin, by necessity, has to be more connected to the rest of Germany and the rest of Europe.

CCS: And do you think that the German political system, and the fact that it is divided by Länder influences that? I mean, do you think Berlin's historical background as the capital city of Germany, and the fact that there was the Berlin Wall, and the fall of the Berlin Wall and the decentralisation

of power in Germany and in Berlin as well, is the reason why market wise and maybe creative wise as well, it's not as centralised as other cities. Do you think it comes from that?

SFPC: I have no idea. The only thing I can say about the fall of the Berlin Wall is that I think it led to a shift of the Art Centre of Germany from Cologne, let's say from the Rhineland to Berlin. Because obviously, in the 90s, the centre of the art world, the discursive art world and the art market were in Cologne and Düsseldorf and not in Berlin, and that started to shift after the fall.

CCS: Okay. And, do you think that the art institutions in Berlin are keener on sustaining your production in the sense that they will help you more throughout your creative process when comparing two institutions in other cities?

SFPC: Okay. No, in my experience I've been much less supported in Berlin than I was in Düsseldorf, by institutions, by funding bodies. And, it's actually been a much worse situation for my production in Berlin than it was in Düsseldorf.

CCS: Okay, and why do you think that is? Is it because there's a lack of funding? Or?

SFPC: I think there's much less funding and I think that there's... I don't know why; I couldn't answer that question. But I've never had an institutional show in Berlin. Whereas I've had institutional shows, throughout much of Germany. And with the new cost of living, it's been impossible to find a studio space. And I've applied for studio space from the BBK regularly since I moved here and have not been able to find affordable studio space. So infrastructurally I think it's much worse.

CCS: And do you think that it's also a consequence of the number of artists living in Berlin?

SFPC: Yeah, it's probably a combination of that and the fact that I moved here at a moment when the cost of living in Berlin has risen dramatically.

CCS: Okay, and so basically, the challenges that artists face in Berlin nowadays would be the rising costs?

SFPC: Absolutely the rising costs of real estate.

CCS: Anything else that you can think of besides that?

SFPC: No, actually not. I think that's the major one. Because everything will come from that, I think people will start to leave because they can't find affordable housing or workspace and culturally speaking, Berlin will be far less interesting. And there will be a compounding effect.

CCS: Okay. And how did you first encounter the galleries or institutions in Berlin?

SFPC: I guess like other artists and friends in Berlin when I visited because I've been visiting regularly since I moved to Germany in 2009. Before moving here, I had already spent 10 years of regular visitation to Berlin.

CCS: When did you start being represented by Tanya Leighton?

SFPC: It must have been 2014.

CCS: Okay, so before you moved. Do you think there's an advantage in being Berlin based or represented?

SFPC: Hmm, no. You mean being represented by a Berlin based gallery?

CCS: Yes.

SFPC: For myself? Or generally speaking?

CCS: For you, in your experience and in general as well.

SFPC: I mean, in general, I think the advantage of being represented by a Berlin based gallery is the fact that other artists see the exhibitions. So that's the, you know, to make exhibitions there is positive. But I think, given the current, given the market conditions of Berlin, it's probably not the best city for a gallery actually.

CCS: Yeah. And do you feel like the working environment is more relaxed?

SFPC: Without a doubt. Yes.

CCS: Why do you think that is? Is it because there's not that much pressure in galleries and they can afford, so to speak, to be more relaxed? Or to have less challenges or stressful situations?

SFPC: I think it's a combination of the general, you know, mood of the city, and probably the fact that it's not a high-pressure sales environment.

CCS: Okay. And do you think the galleries in Berlin are still well connected, in terms of collectors, and in terms of visibility?

SFPC: Yes.

CCS: In the sense that even if sales don't happen in Berlin, or the Berlin art market isn't as connected or as important as the markets in London, or Paris or New York, but that it still is capable of introducing and sustaining an artist's production, and therefore enhancing their visibility in the art world?

SFPC: To some extent, yes. I think it is quite hard for an artist to sustain themselves through a Berlin gallery alone, but you know, of course, many of these galleries go to all the international art fairs and have relationships with people, you know, collectors all over. So, it certainly helps as part of an ecosystem.

CCS: And do you think that there's a different note that comes with being Berlin based or exhibited? Perceived differently somehow?

SFPC: Yes. I think it's the case with every city that there's a kind of perception of what type of artists live there. And Berlin has its own unique one.

CCS: Mm hmm. And other cities do you think would be comparable to Berlin in that way?

SFPC: That's contradictory to what I just said, I think every city has a unique perception. And so, Berlin's is as unique as compared to say, Zurich or Milan or London or New York. But it would be very difficult for me to quantify, like what that perception is in adjectives.

CCS: How do you perceive the Berlin institutions in terms of recognition? And if you could choose an institution or a museum to put a show on, which one would you choose? Which one do you think would make a difference in your portfolio?

SFPC: I think, generally speaking, the institutions in Berlin are comparatively much weaker than others within Germany. Off the top of my head, I can't think of a particular institution that would be the, you know, dream of the situation.

CCS: And there's a lot of press and cultural events in Berlin, how do you think that influences the idea of the creative city of Berlin? I mean the Berlin press and events are very specific to the Berlin ecosystem. How does that influence the artists and ecosystem itself?

SFPC: Hmm, honestly, I haven't been in Berlin long enough to feel like I can answer that question. Sorry.

CCS: Okay. No, that's fine. And do you think there's a difference between the Berlin audience and the audience in other cities?

SFPC: From my experience, the Berlin audience tends to be quite young, and tends to be made up of a lot of artists. More so than some other cities.

CCS: And that influences the production and the community?

SFPC: Yes, but also to some extent, I think that art, it's more stylish in Berlin than it is in other places so the audience can be less critically engaged than in other cities.

CCS: And that's something that you feel directly I can imagine, since your work is very conceptual and critical?

SFPC: I guess so. Yeah. My work is not cool. *laughs*

CCS: *laughs* No, no, that's not at all what I said.

SFPC: That's what I said. *laughs*

CCS: Okay, and in terms of sales, is it something that you leave to TLG, or do you participate in that process?

SFPC: I have very little contact with that activity.

CCS: So, you leave it to the galleries?

SFPC: Yes.

CCS: And so, you don't make sales yourself, like independently?

SFPC: I mean, only with institutions that I'm working with, like, some things could come out of that.

CCS: Institutions. Okay. And what about your collectors, are they people that you know, like friends of friends? Do you know, more or less, if they're younger people, older people, people from Berlin or from elsewhere around the world? Could you describe your crowd?

SFPC: No. I've only met a couple of them. I think it's a complete range of age and location and vocation. I can't see any pattern in it.

CCS: Do you know if you sell a lot to Berlin based collectors?

SFPC: Well, I don't sell a lot. *laughs*

CCS: Or if you can't answer this question, maybe you can answer the next one. In general, do you think that Berlin is a more creative city than a collecting one?

SFPC: Yes. I think there are two main, you know, kinds of major international collectors, based in Berlin. But aside from that I think there aren't a lot of collectors in Berlin, but I could be completely wrong.

CCS: And well, I think you've answered this as well but, when it comes to sales, it's a strategy that Tanya Leighton suggests and that you approve of? Is it something that you established from the beginning?

SFPC: I don't think we've ever had a conversation about sales strategies.

CCS: Okay. So, you live it, again, all to the gallery and what do you think is best.

SFPC: Yes.

CCS: And in the few sales that you do by yourself for institutions, do you ask for the gallery's help when deciding the prices? Or is it something that you do completely independently?

SFPC: Prices? Yeah, it comes out of a conversation together with the gallery.

CCS: Okay, and that's it.

SFPC: Was that helpful at all?

CCS: Yes, definitely. Especially in the part about the Berlin ecosystem, which is the most important part of my thesis. I didn't want to tell you this before because I didn't want it to influence your answers. But the point of my thesis is to prove that Berlin is more of a creative city than a

collecting one, in the sense that, even though there are a lot of artists in Berlin, the market and the sales happen elsewhere, either elsewhere in Germany or elsewhere, in Europe or in the world. But you just said that's probably going to change and maybe it's not going to be a creative city for so long.

SFPC: Of course, it could become a collecting city if, you know, if the demographics just shift enormously and, you know, that might change things. And again, it might make it more viable to live in Berlin if there are a lot of wealthy collectors around buying a lot of art. But I wouldn't be very hopeful about that, but of course that's another potential outcome.

CCS: But the institutions would have to keep up the pace with the market and if that doesn't happen then I don't think collectors would come here or buy more here.

SFPC: No. If Berlin is becoming a city where the demographics of the people living there themselves are much wealthier then that's what could change things. But, like I said, that's just a wild idea thrown out in the air.

CCS: And do you think you might move?

SFPC: Hmm. I mean, I'm trying right now to make a base here. Let's see if I'm successful. You know, I think if I can't find a decent working situation, after a certain amount of time, it's absolutely possible, if another opportunity comes along.

CCS: Makes sense. Okay. Well, I wish you all the best of luck.

SFPC: Thanks, I hope I helped in some way.

CCS: For sure, thank you very much for answering my questions.

SFPC: Alright, good luck with your thesis.

CCS: Thank you, good-bye!