Modernities Compared Appendices

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CHINA

Chapter 9.1a
Economic reform and modernity in Chinese art.
Josephine Fox (Australian National University), with John Clark

The production of art in China since the death of Mao has taken place in the context of the rise of the Chinese art market. Until the late 1980s, the measure of success for a Chinese artist was a position in one of the Academies of Fine Arts or other public arts institutions and regular participation in official exhibitions under the auspices of the Chinese Artists' Association (*Zhongguo meishujia xiehui*). That is, artists were sponsored by the state. For a student hoping to become an artist, the difference between becoming an amateur or a professional artist depended on the availability of public funding, first for tertiary art education and later for employment. For the established professional artist, societal influence on the form and content of art came in the form of recommendations and judgements by arts institutions under the authority of the Ministry of Culture. Successful professional artists, who took part regularly in national exhibitions, enjoyed only moderately high living standards, equivalent to those of academics, journalists or middle level government cadres. From the mid-1980s, and especially since the 14th CCP Congress of 1992, rising incomes among the well-off and easing of government restrictions on private enterprise and on economic contacts with foreigners have restored the status of paintings and sculpture as investment commodities. The art market evolved around and between the existing structures of the economic base of art production, rather than replacing them. As in other fields of state function, some component institutions of the Chinese arts bureaucracy are now operating quite profitably on business lines.

A degree from the Central Academy of Fine Arts in Beijing is still the best guarantee of a well paid job for a young artist, and indeed improves the market value of their works, but that institution now charges undergraduate fees of 11,000 yuan per year. Provincial Academies of Fine Arts charge undergraduate fees of five or six thousand yuan per year. The former Organising Committee of the China Art Exposition was reorganised by the Ministry of Culture as a private company in 1995. The

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Exposition is now run commercially, artworks on show are sold, and the management pay taxes. Public galleries still exist and are still the venue for local and national art exhibitions conducted by the Chinese Artists' Association, but they also rent gallery space to artists approved by the Association for private solo or group exhibitions. The most important recent structural changes in the economic base of the Chinese art world are the reintroduction of the private gallery, and the introduction of the Chinese art auction company. The major qualitative changes are in the amount of money in circulation, and in the role of the foreign buyer. Societal influence on the form and content of art now comes in the form of market trends, interpreted in a relatively polycentric and informal way by gallery owners and other middlemen. The most successful Chinese artists are not now those who hold managerial jobs in state cultural institutions and exhibit at the National Gallery, but those who no longer need to work for a salary and exhibit only in Europe and America. Their incomes may be high by European and American standards.[1]

The following is an examination of the sources of current Chinese artists' incomes. The issues are: how much do artists earn, how many work for pay and how many live by sale of art, who buys art, how do the institutions that structure the Chinese art market work, and in general, how the production of art may be supported, constrained or channelled in particular directions by the existing economic base.

Art critics and educators who I spoke to in China generally expressed positive opinions about the impact of market economics on Chinese art, though not without reservations. The general picture of events that they presented was as follows. In the early 1980s, there was as yet no real art market. Chinese hardly bought artworks, not having the money for it, and what sale of art took place was typically to foreigners living and working in China. Paintings by artists of the first rank would be sold for 100 to 500 yuan. Now an established senior artist might sell paintings for 20,000 yuan, more or less. Though the Chinese art market was sparked off by foreign collectors, the main source of this improvement is the increased buying power of the Chinese, brought about by lifting of restrictions on private enterprise and increase in personal savings.

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Artists were thought to be relatively well off, both compared to previous times and compared to the rest of the Chinese urban population. One critic gave a ballpark estimate of an average established artist's yearly income of about $US 8,000, which would place them in the top decile of the urban population (for 1997) even with two dependants.[2] The majority of artists had salaried jobs. Only ten per cent, or less, of established artists lived by sale of art alone. These included a minority of very successful artists, and a greater number of young artists who did not have families and lived by occasional art sales and casual work. Another critic estimated that there were probably 10,000 artists in China who lived by sale of art, and out of this number, about 1,000 who were on very high incomes, owning cars and country houses.[3] Teaching in tertiary level art institutes and specialist secondary schools; *zhuanke zhongxue,* or *zhong zhuan*; was still the most common occupation of artists with jobs. Others worked in advertising or industrial design, some with their own companies, or did editorial work for art-related publications. There were about 6,000 members of the Chinese Artists' Association in March 1999.[4] Because artists' incomes vary irregularly according to sales, commissions and opportunities to exhibit, even if they have steady jobs, and because some of this income may be "grey income", the most useful source of information on this point is probably the artists themselves. Thirty Chinese artists in various categories; *guohua* or traditional Chinese painting, oil painting, sculpture, printmaking, photography, and conceptual and performance art; were interviewed in the course of this study, and their comments compared with what published information is available.

The social and national status of the buyers of Chinese art appeared to be the focus of some uncertainty. This was understandable for several reasons. Chinese art educators, art critics and representatives of art auction companies, with reason for professional and national pride in the post-Cultural Revolution integration of Chinese art into the international network of exhibitions and art sales, would not want to give the impression that Chinese art depended on foreign buyers. Also, artists and dealers do not normally make public the identity of buyers, and comprehensive statistics of this kind are not generally available. Only Chinese citizens with incomes in the top few per cent are in a position to buy paintings and sculptures as investments, but that is a considerable potential

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market given the size of China. Most important, in this context, is that the institutionally structured art market of China operates in a social environment in which private art production and art exchange are endemic. Painting and calligraphy are routine social accomplishments, to an extent comparable to the ability to play a musical instrument in less artistically minded societies. One informant estimated that fifty per cent of art exchanges taking place in China were gifts, not sales.[5] China did not have to wait for the economic reforms of Deng Xiaoping to introduce the concept that art could be sold, as art buyers' guides existed under the Tang.[6] However, all sources referred to the role of foreign collectors in the recent expansion of the Chinese art market, sometimes in a rather contradictory manner. One auction company representative said that until the late 1980s, most oil paintings by Chinese artists were sold to foreign buyers, but the domestic market then overtook the foreign market - then said that until 1996, most buyers at auctions had been overseas Chinese.[7] The relative importance of Chinese and foreign buyers can be assessed by examination of Chinese incomes and domestic savings rates, by movements in auction prices, and again by information provided confidentially and informally by Chinese artists themselves.

Per capita incomes, per capita disposable incomes, and per capita expenditure for the 10th decile of the urban population of China between 1985 and 1997 are tabled below.

Income of the upper 10% of the urban population of China, 1983-1997 (yuan)

Year	Household size	Per capita income	Per capita disposable income	Per capita expenditure
1985	3.24	1,383.72	1,276.20	1,162.92
1986	3.19	1,478.04	1,347.12	1,262.88
1987	3.12	1,734.24	1,581.60	1,439.88
1988	2.97	2,093.22	1,976.95	1,854.61
1989	2.89	2,493.54	2,279.47	2,001.07
1990	2.87	2,675.64	2,447.92	2,039.76
1991	2.86	2,956.81	2,675.79	2,273.24
1992	2.80	3,663	3,322	2,683[8]
1993	2.82	4,905.77	4,502.02	3,533.49
1994	2.81	6,837.81	6,262.70	4,799.83
1995	2.79	8,231.31	7,537.98	6,033.10
1996	2.81	9,250.44	8,432.96	6,845.78
1997	2.72	10,297.45	10,250.93	7,314.81

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All figures are from the *Zhongguo tongji nianjian* (Statistical yearbook of China). The rates of increase are tabled below.

Year	Rate of increase in per capita income	Rate of increase in p/c disposable income	Rate of increase in p/c expenditure
1986	6.81%	5.56%	8.60%
1987	17.33%	17.41%	14.02%
1988	20.70%	25.00%	28.80%
1989	19.12%	15.30%	7.90%
1990	7.30%	7.39%	1.93%
1991	10.50%	9.31%	11.45%
1992	23.88%	24.15%	18.03%
1993	33.93%	35.52%	31.70%
1994	39.38%	39.11%	35.84%
1995	20.38%	20.36%	25.69%
1996	12.38%	11.87%	13.47%
1997	11.32%	21.56%	6.85%

The aspect of the figures above most relevant for art sales is that the difference between disposable income and expenditure had risen to almost 3,000 yuan by 1997. Given the 1997 approximate urban population figure of 369,890,000[9], this implies 36,989,000 urban residents with a yearly per capita average of 2,936.12 yuan of unspent income, including dependent children. This compares to a yearly average of 113.28 yuan of unspent income for this income group in 1985, an increase by a multiple of 25.92. Per capita income in yuan, in this income group, rose by a multiple of 7.44 between 1985 and 1997.

Domestics savings in yuan for the urban population and rates of increase for 1977 to 1996 are tabled below.

Urban savings (million yuan)

Year	Savings	Rate of increase	Year	Savings	Rate of increase
1977	13,510		1988	265,920	28.61%
1978	15,490	14.66%	1989	373,480	40.45%
1979	20,260	30.79%	1990	519,260	39.03%
1980	28,250	39.44%	1991	679,090	30.78%
1981	35,410	25.35%	1992	867,810	27.79%
1982	44,730	26.32%	1993	1,162,730	33.98%
1983	57,260	28.01%	1994	1,670,280	43.65%
1984	77,660	35.63%	1995	2,346,670	40.50%
1985	105,780	36.20%	1996	3,085,020	31.46%
1986	147,150	39.11%			

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1987	206,760	40.51%

Figures from *Zhongguo jingji nianjian* (Almanac of China's economy), Economic and Social Development Research Centre, Jingji Guanli Chubanshe, Beijing, 1997. These figures are not differentiated by income level. Savings for all urban income groups rose by a multiple of 29.16 between 1985 and 1996, a figure comparable with the 25.92 times increase in unspent income in 1985-1997 for the 10th decile above.

The impression of rapidly rising affluence, at least at the upper end of the spectrum, given by the figures above can be corroborated by statistics on ownership of major consumer durables among the urban population. Four items have been tabled below by way of illustration: refrigerators, hi fi sets, motorcycles and pianos.

Ownership of consumer durables per 100 urban households

Year	Refrigerators	Hi fi sets	Motorcycles	Pianos
1987	19.91			
1988	28.07			
1989	36.47			
1990	42.33			
1991	48.70			
1992	52.60	3.99	2.80	0.50
1993	56.58	5.69	3.53	0.55
1994	62.10	8.68	5.26	0.65
1995	66.22	10.52	6.29	0.72
1996	69.67	12.20	7.94	0.85
1997	72.98	15.32	11.60	0.93

Figures from *Zhongguo tongji nianjian.* The items above represent different categories of expenditure. A refrigerator is a relatively high priced consumer good valued for utility. A hi-fi set is a luxury item. A motorcycle possesses utility value and also involves running costs. A piano is a utility item for professional musicians, but more typically is a luxury item that confers cultural status. Pianos were not recorded in the *Zhongguo tongji nianjian* statistics before 1992. At a piano shop just off Wangfujing St, Beijing, which I visited in the course of this survey in April 1999, the upright pianos were priced from 9,000 yuan to about 20,000 yuan. The manager did not offer a precise figure for yearly piano sales, but estimated that the shop sold about 600 per year. As if to dispel any

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doubt about this figure, he then sold one to a customer in front of me. The *Zhongguo tongji nianjian* figures indicate that in 1997, just under one in every 100 urban households owned a piano.

According to all available information on current art prices, people who can afford pianos can also afford paintings, up to a point. Like pianos, works of art confer cultural status on the buyer. Unlike pianos, or refrigerators or hi-fi sets, they are investments that appreciate over time. The statistics quoted above indicate that there is sufficient disposable income in the top 10% of the urban population of China to support a domestic market for Chinese art, at the prices suggested above. They do not confirm that Chinese buyers actually outnumber foreign or overseas Chinese buyers. Below, data on art prices and price trends is examined in detail for what it indicates about the source, extent and reliability of demand.

Art auctions have been conducted in China by Chinese auction companies since 1993.[10] Before this, paintings by mainland Chinese artists were auctioned only in Hong Kong, Taiwan and southeast Asia, by local companies and by the Hong Kong and Taiwan branches of Christie's and Sotheby's, until the market expanded towards Europe and the United States in the mid to late 1980s. Auction companies exert considerable influence within the current Chinese art market, with auctions of, typically, several dozen lots of oil paintings and sculptures or one to three hundred lots of *guohua* paintings and calligraphy reaching total sale price values of one to two hundred million yuan and determining the price ranges at private sale for the works of artists whose paintings or sculptures are auctioned. For this reason, auction prices will be analysed in some detail below.

The rise of the art auction company has drawn mixed responses from artists and critics. They were criticised by artists interviewed in China for being "not very closely regulated" (*bu hen guifan*), being unconcerned with artistic quality, and charging high entrance fees.[11] Those who had had paintings, sculpture or photographs auctioned confirmed that these works had been put up for auction either by galleries or art dealers who handled the fee and commission (10% of sale price as a rule), or by private collectors having no business relationship with the artist. The note of caution is sounded also in guides to the Chinese art market for potential investors published in China. Zhang

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Zhixiong points out that, contrary to the state of affairs in other countries, prices of paintings sold at auction in China tend to be 25% to 50% higher than those of paintings sold by private dealers, and that prices vary according to factors as random as the weather and clashes with overseas auctions[12]. Liu Gang and Liu Xiaoqiong, though they stress that these things are done "only occasionally", list a number of abuses involving collusion between sellers and buyers by which sale prices can be effectively fixed in advance[13]. These phenomena can be taken to affirm the economic importance, if not the rationality, of the Chinese art auction. Trends in auction prices, bearing Zhang Zhixiong's comments in mind, should set a kind of ceiling on trends in the Chinese art market overall.

Chinese art auction companies follow the practice of auctioning *guohua* and oil paintings separately, so separate statistics are easy to compile. Below are tabled average sale prices achieved at auctions of *guohua,* oil paintings and sculpture from company records supplied by China Guardian Auctions Co.Ltd. and Rongbao Art Auction Co.Ltd. in Beijing. Calligraphy is counted with *guohua.* Only *guohua* paintings and calligraphy done after 1850 are counted. Watercolours not in the *guohua* tradition, acrylics, drawings and collages are counted with oil paintings.

Sale prices at auctions of *guohua* (yuan)

Date	Company	Average price	Highest price
11.1994	China Guardian	183,360.98	5,170,000
5.1996	Rongbao	53,437.57	880,000
11.1996	Rongbao	60,648.54	1,771,000
4.1997	China Guardian	87,753.65	6,600,000
6.1997	Rongbao	38,389.25	396,000
6.1997	Rongbao	51,986.11	880,000
11.1997	Rongbao	40,712.61	462,000
11.1997	Rongbao	30,944.13	396,000
10.1998	China Guardian	83,010.75	1,595,000

Sale prices at auctions of oil paintings (yuan)

Date	Company	Average price	Highest price
11.1994	China Guardian	140,775.00	2,860,000
10.1995	China Guardian	240,058.82	6,050,000[14]
10.1995	Rongbao	56,906.67	418,000
4.1996	China Guardian	102,251.11	1,100,000
4.1997	China Guardian	196,129.03	3,960,000[15]
11.1997	Rongbao	31,748.75	286,000

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5.1998	China Guardian	147,756.76	1,221,000
11.1998	Rongbao	32,308.97	374,000

Sale prices at auctions of sculpture (yuan)

Date	Company	Average price	Highest price
10.1995	China Guardian	44,157.14	96,800
4.1996	China Guardian	35,671.43	88,000
4.1997	China Guardian	29,883.33	41,800
5.1998	China Guardian	28,160.00	41,800

The figures above do not demonstrate any very obvious price movement in either direction between 1994 and 1998. All they demonstrate is that China Guardian tends to sell higher priced paintings than Rongbao. Four years may not be enough time in which to measure price movements. Even if the averages above are cut by a quarter or a half, as suggested by Zhang Zhixiong, they are still very high when measured against the current Chinese income statistics. However, the relevance of the average sale prices tabled above as a measure of art market trends is limited by the sale at many of these auctions of one or two exceptionally high priced paintings, which raise the mean figure well above the mode. Below are tabled the numbers of paintings sold at each auction at prices less than 10,000 yuan, between 10,000 and 99,000 yuan, between 100,000 and 990,000 yuan, and 1,000,000 yuan and over. The number of sculptures sold by China Guardian has been relatively small, and the prices more even; none in the China Guardian records has attained more than 96,800 yuan at auction.

Auctions of *guohua*: distribution of sale prices according to price range (yuan)

Date	Company	Under 10,000	10,000-99,000	100,000-990,000	1,000,000 and over
11.1994	China Guardian	3	121	53	5
5.1996	Rongbao	37	98	17	0
11.1996	Rongbao	52	194	27	1
4.1997	China Guardian	12	158	21	1
6.1997	Rongbao	36	99	11	0
6.1997	Rongbao	42	136	20	0
11.1997	Rongbao	55	144	19	0
11.1997	Rongbao	40	99	6	0
10.1998	China Guardian	19	221	36	3

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Expressed in percentages:

Date	Company	Under 10,000	10,000-99,000	100,000-990,000	1,000,000 and over
11.1994	China Guardian	1.6%	66.5%	29.2%	2.7%
5.1996	Rongbao	24.3%	64.5%	11.2%	0
11.1996	Rongbao	19.0%	70.8%	9.9%	0.3%
4.1997	China Guardian	6.3%	82.3%	10.9%	0.5%
6.1997	Rongbao	24.7%	67.8%	7.5%	0
6.1997	Rongbao	21.2%	68.7%	10.1%	0
11.1997	Rongbao	25.2%	66.1%	8.7%	0
11.1997	Rongbao	27.6%	68.3%	4.1%	0
10.1998	China Guardian	6.8%	79.2%	12.9%	1.1%

Auctions of oil paintings: distribution of sale prices according to price range (yuan)

Date	Company	Under 10,000	10,000-99,000	100,000-990,000	1,000,000 and over
11.1994	China Guardian	0	35	8	1
10.1995	China Guardian	0	29	4	1
10.1995	Rongbao	0	27	3	0
4.1996	China Guardian	0	38	6	1
4.1997	China Guardian	0	51	9	2
11.1997	Rongbao	11	40	2	0
5.1998	China Guardian	0	25	11	1
10.1998	Rongbao	20	17	2	0

Expressed in percentages:

Date	Company	Under 10,000	10,000-99,000	100,000-990,000	1,000,000 and over
11.1994	China Guardian	0	79.5%	18.2%	2.3%
10.1995	China Guardian	0	85.3%	11.8%	2.9%
10.1995	Rongbao	0	90.0%	10.0%	0
4.1996	China Guardian	0	84.5%	13.3%	2.2%
4.1997	China Guardian	0	82.3%	14.5%	3.2%
11.1997	Rongbao	20.8%	75.4%	3.8%	0
5.1998	China Guardian	0	67.6%	29.7%	2.7%
10.1998	Rongbao	51.3%	43.6%	5.1%	0

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These figures provide a clearer impression of the kinds of prices attained by Chinese traditional paintings and oil paintings at auction in Beijing over the last few years. However, there is still no clearly demonstrated general price movement in either direction. All these figures reflect is the decision of the Rongbao management, in response to the difficulties of 1997, to accept for sale a higher proportion of oil paintings by relatively young and unknown artists.[16] To gain a longer time frame in which to look for price movements, and to counter the random effect introduced by the large number of artists represented at each auction, and the mixture of large and small paintings, value per surface area of paintings by Fu Baoshi, Li Keran, Wu Guanzhong and Chen Yifei sold at auction in China and Hong Kong since 1980 is tabled below.

Money value per surface area of paintings is a deeply un-aesthetic but functional measure of trends in the art market. Apart from the common sense principle that large paintings tend to cost more than small ones by the same artist, the close attention paid to surface area by participants in the Chinese art market was attested to by some of the informants in this survey. One *guohua* painter mentioned a contract he signed with an art dealer in Taiwan, who offered him a fixed price per square foot of material. Another said that the two galleries in Beijing which he dealt with would only accept paintings up to a certain size.An evidently successful painter of political pop indicated that he was advised by representatives of an art dealer in Hong Kong, with whom he had a contract, what size of canvas was required. Below are tabulated the average sale prices at auction per square centimetre of surface area of *guohua* paintings by Fu Baoshi and Li Keran, and oil paintings by Wu Guanzhong and Chen Yifei, between 1980 and 1998 according to the availability of auction results.

The average sale prices tabled here have been reached by collating auction results published in Liu Gang and Liu Xiaoqiong, ed. *Yishu shichang,* Jiangxi Meishu Chubanshe, Nanchang, 1998; Wu Lichao and Wang Ruijin, *Ming jia shuhua shichang xingqing,* Hongqi Chubanshe, Beijing, 1996; Xiao Long and Wang Ming, ed. *Shoucang touzi guwen,* Yuanfang Chubanshe, Huhehot, 1998; Xu Jianrong, *Qing dai shuhua jianding yu yishu shichang,* Shanghai Shuhua Chubanshe, Shanghai, 1996; Zhang Zhixiong, ed. *Chu ru yishu shichang,* Shanghai Shuhua Chubanshe, Shanghai, 1997; and the auction

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results supplied by China Guardian and Rongbao above. All cases where the sources disagree about the sale price have been left out.

Fu and Li were among the elite of 20th century *guohua* artists, whose works have been regularly sold at auction in China, Hong Kong and Taiwan. Wu and Chen, whose oil paintings frequently sell for over a million yuan at auction, paint landscapes of a conservative character, which is significant in relation to the auction sales of their works in China. As Wu Guanzhong paints both *guohua* and oils, only paintings identified in the sources as oil paintings have been included.

Auction sale price per square centimetre of works of Fu Baoshi

Year	RMB	$HK	$US
1986		32.02	
1989		56.70	
1990		65.67	
1991		81.10	
1992		89.74	3.74
1993		75.49	
1994	71.77	98.02	
1995	95.08	59.09	
1996	146.39		
1997	84.37		
1998	105.91		

Auction sale price per square centimetre of works of Li Keran

Year	RMB	$HK	$US
1980		6.22	
1981		12.54	
1983		17.20	
1984		10.44	
1986		12.22	
1987		14.00	
1988		13.17	
1989		37.88	
1990		53.40	
1991		69.24	
1992		58.33	
1993		54.51	
1994	98.49	46.43	21.65
1995	64.21	34.03	
1996	73.47		
1997	39.33		
1998	55.23		

Auction sale prices per square centimetre of oil paintings by Wu Guanzhong

Year	RMB	$HK	TB
1993		55.23	

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1994		379.55	568.56
1995			684.25
1997	182.29		
1998	98.00		

Auction sale prices per square centimetre of works of Chen Yifei

Year	RMB	$HK
1993		40.79
1994	54.23	37.00
1995	34.88	17.83
1996	139.68	105.60
1997	178.55	
1998	51.44	

Three phenomena can be observed from the data on Fu Baoshi and Li Keran. First, Hong Kong auction prices take a sudden upward leap at the end of the 1980s. Second, Hong Kong prices start to decline in the mid-1990s, at the time that art auctions begin to be conducted in the People's Republic. Third, China prices initially tend to rise as Hong Kong prices decline, then slump in 1997, recovering somewhat in 1998. The data on Wu Guanzhong and Chen Yifei present a more random appearance, probably because the samples are too small to reflect market trends.

The slump of 1997 looks like a direct result of the East Asian economic crisis of that year, and was explained as such by personnel of China Guardian and Rongbao whom I interviewed in Beijing. Each stressed that foreigners very rarely attended Chinese art auctions due to unfamiliarity with the market and fear of making expensive mistakes, and the buyers at the auctions conducted by their companies had been mostly overseas Chinese until the crisis of 1997, when mainland Chinese buyers stepped in. The boom of 1989 is more interesting, as it does not coincide with a similar degree of improvement in the general economic indicators for that year, in either Hong Kong or mainland China.

In China, GDP in 1989 rose by 198,090 million yuan or 13.27% over 1988, compared to 296,580 million yuan or 24.79% for 1988/1987. Per capita income of the top 10% of urban households, from which the potential market for Chinese art is drawn, increased by 400.32 yuan per person or 19.12% in 1989, compared to 358.98 yuan per person or 20.70% in 1988. Living expenditure for the top 10% urban households increased by 146.46 yuan per person or 7.9% in 1989, compared to

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414.73 yuan per person or 28.8% in 1988, suggesting caution or even loss of interest in the face of the political events of 1989. Urban savings deposits increased by 107,560 million yuan or a startling 40.45% in 1989 compared to 59,160 million yuan or 28.61% in 1988, which supports the idea of a general drawing in and consolidating of personal resources.

In Hong Kong, GDP increased by $HK 65,500 million or 15.1% in 1989, compared to $HK 66,054 million or 17.97% in 1988. Living expenditure, averaged for the whole population, rose by $HK 32,778 million or 13.02% in 1989, compared to $HK 34,092 or 15.66% in 1988. Domestic savings increased by $HK 3,463 million in 1989, compared to $HK 14,132 million in 1988.[17] The people of Hong Kong were not depositing their money in local banks that year. However, they were paying higher prices for paintings by Fu Baoshi and Li Keran. The rise in auction sale prices may reflect the value of paintings as mobile investments conveniently free from the effects of political instability. Pan-Chinese cultural solidarity may also have come into it.

Art auctions are the most visible and documented link between Chinese artists and overseas buyers, and indicate, subject to the reservation expressed by Zhang Zhixiong above, what prices paintings by established Chinese artists are sold for privately in China. However, Chinese artists deal with art auction companies only at two or more removes. Because private commercial galleries deal directly with artists, the prices charged by private galleries based in China are a better indication of artists' incomes than auction results are. However, unlike auction results, which are a matter of public record, actual prices charged by art dealers are subject to all the requirements of business secrecy. They are not usually published. Neither are the commissions they reserve usually made public. Artists interviewed this year in Beijing, Tianjin and Shanghai gave some information on their dealings with private galleries in China and overseas, provided that it was kept confidential. Fifteen out of thirty artists interviewed said they had contracts with galleries, though this figure is probably not exhaustive. Another had had contracts with galleries in China and Taiwan but found both unsatisfactory, and had no dealings with galleries at the time of the interview because he could sell his works without them. Out of those fifteen, eight had contracts with galleries in China, two had

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contracts only with overseas galleries (including Hong Kong galleries), and five had contracts with both Chinese and overseas galleries. Several of them mentioned commissions of between forty and sixty per cent.

In detail: Artist #3 said both galleries he dealt with, in China but owned by resident foreigners, charged 40%. Artist #9 said the Chinese branch of an American art dealership with which he had a contract charged 50%. Artist #15 said the Chinese (foreign-owned) gallery charged 50%, and the other five, in the USA and Australia, charged 40%. Artist #15 also mentioned city-wide monopoly clauses, except in the case of the Australian gallery, which exerted a monopoly over sale of this artists's works throughout Australia on grounds of the relatively small size of the Australian art market. Artist #16 said the China-based gallery with which he had an informal agreement sold two of his works to overseas buyers in 1998, for $US 3,000, and kept $2,000. Artist #19 said the three galleries in Hong Kong, Singapore and the USA all charged 50%. Artist #24 said the gallery in China charged 40%, and the one in Hong Kong charged 50%. Liu and Liu (1988) also give 50% (or more) as a typical private gallery commission.[18]

It is clearly in the best financial interests of Chinese artists to avoid selling their work through galleries, and to manage to be well known enough, internationally if possible, to sell it through informal networking. The socially endemic character of art production and art exchange in China is useful in this respect. Most of the artists interviewed indicated that their income from sale of work was either a mixture of private gallery sales and direct personal sales, or came entirely from direct personal sales. Participation in exhibitions was an important factor. Artworks might be sold directly at commercial exhibitions, or the artist might be approached after the exhibition by an interested person, without mediation by an art dealer.

The information provided by 30 Chinese artists about employment, art sales and income is tabled below. Artists interviewed in this survey were recruited by means of visiting art critics and dealers and asking for introductions. First, a general breakdown of artists' incomes for 1998 into salary and income from art sales. Fees paid to exhibitors of installations and performance artists at

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exhibitions of avant-garde art are counted with art sales. Income from *bihui* - invitations issued by corporations or government bodies to groups of *guohua* artists to compose paintings on a theme offered by the corporartion - is also counted with art sales. As many of the artists had been paid American currency, this is converted to yuan at $US 1 = 8.29 yuan[19]. Paid work of all kinds, casual and permanent, is counted as one category. Amounts quoted are very approximate, and some artists did not wish to provide details of their incomes, but all information provided is collated here.

Artists who usually work in tempera or acrylic paints, or who use collage materials, are counted as oil painters. Photographers are counted as avant-garde artists.

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Breakdown of artists' incomes in 1998: salary versus art sales (yuan)

***Guohua* painters**

	Age group	Residence	Salary	Art sales	Total income
Artist #4	70+	Tianjin	Cadre's pension, amount not stated	Amount not stated but more than pension. Over 14,000	?
Artist #6	35-39	Tianjin	9,600	15,000	24,600
Artist #7	40-44	Beijing	12,000	Amount not stated	?
Artist #23	40-44	Beijing	12,560	94,900	107,430

Oil painters

	Age group	Residence	Salary	Art sales	Total income
Artist #1	35-39	Beijing	None	Amount not stated	?
Artist #2	45-49	Beijing	10,000+	70,000	80,000+
Artist #3	35-39	Shanghai	17,000	373,050	390,050
Artist #9	35-39	Beijing	None	358,700	358,700
Artist #10	40-44	Shanghai	Scholarship, less than 12,000	Amount not stated	?
Artist #11	35-39	Beijing	None	248,000+	248,000+
Artist #12	50-54	Shanghai	None	Amount not stated	?
Artist #13	45-49	Shanghai	18,000	200,000	218,000
Artist #17	40-44	Beijing	None	24,000	24,000
Artist #19	30-34	Beijing	None	Amount not stated	?
Artist #20	30-34	Beijing	None	10,200	10,200
Artist #22	30-34	Beijing	None	227,900	227,900
Artist #24	50-54	Shanghai	20,000	248,700+	268,700+
Artist #25	35-39	Tianjin	35,000	None	35,000
Artist #27	25-29	Tianjin	13,000	None	13,000

Printmakers

	Age group	Residence	Salary	Art sales	Total income
Artist #15	35-39	Beijing	12,000+	549,200	561,200+
Artist #18	35-39	Beijing	18,500	11,000	29,500

Sculptors

	Age group	Residence	Salary	Art sales	Total income
Artist #8	30-34	Beijing	9,000	40,000+	49,000+
Artist #16	40-44	Beijing	12,000	69,000	81,000

Avant-garde artists

	Age group	Residence	Salary	Art sales	Total income
Artist #5	35-39	Beijing	None	23,000	23,000
Artist #14	35-39	Shanghai	15,600	1,200	16,800

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Artist #21	20-24	Shanghai	14,000	None	14,000
Artist #26	30-34	Shanghai	6,500	20,000	26,500
Artist #28	30-34	Shanghai	Amount not stated	169,945	169,945+
Artist #29	25-29	Beijing	None	26,380	26,380
Artist #30	35-39	Beijing	None	165,800+	165,800+

Artist #29's income above includes $US 2,700 from an overseas gallery which he had not yet received at the time of the interview. Without this it would be only 4,000 yuan for 1998. Of the artists with jobs or other sources of regular income, Artist #18 was a freelance industrial designer, Artists #21 and #28 worked in the advertising industry, and Artist #26 was employed in a publicly funded arts institute. Artist #4 was retired and on a pension, and Artist #10 was completing an MA on a postgraduate scholarship. The remaining 13 taught art, at tertiary level art institutes or specialist secondary schools, though Artist #14 also did occasional interior design for corporate clients. Of the artists without jobs, Artist #17 was on leave without pay from the provincial library where she was regularly employed, and to keep her job available while painting and exhibiting elsewhere was obliged to pay the library 3,000 yuan a year. Artist #5 did occasional casual work setting up galleries for exhibitions of sculpture and installations. Artist #29 occassionally painted "commercial paintings", formula landscapes and still lifes copied from a photograph on order from a commercial painting dealer, as did Artists #21 and #27, although these two also had regular work. The remaining eight were solely occupied with art production. Four of these earned very high incomes by their own account, one was moderately disabled and was supported by her family, and three did not state their incomes.

These figures confirm that established Chinese artists earn high incomes by any standards, and indicate that teaching or other salaries are not a very significant income component. In view of this, it looks surprising that many successful artists continue to teach, considering that there are much more financially rewarding uses for their time. The Chinese art market is still a new and unpredictable phenomenon, and these artists may be making money while they can and holding on to their jobs for the approaching time when they will need them. Apart from this unpredictability of

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the near future in China, the reasons that make most sense are extra-economic ones; social and personal commitment to an institution, or interest in teaching art for its own sake.

The amount of time that the self-supporting artists listed above had been self-supporting is significant. Artist #1 had been an interior designer until 1994. Artist #5, who was mainly self-supporting, had supplemented his income from art with a series of casual jobs; construction work, keeping watch in a *chuandashi* (the office at the gate of a Chinese production or education unit, where visitors register and state their business), making stage scenery, working in a plastic factory; and still did occasional labouring work. Artist #9 taught at an Academy of Fine Arts until 1995. Artist #11 taught privately until 1992. Artist #12 had achieved artistic and political notoriety in Shanghai in the mid-1980s, had then spent a year at an American institution and had been self-supporting (in China) since 1987. Artist #19 had taught in a middle school until 1993. Artist #20, who was moderately disabled, had never been employed. Artist #22 studied overseas in the early 1990s, taught briefly in a specialist middle school on returning to China and left in 1995. Artist #29, like Artist #5, had had a long series of occasional occupations: being an artists' model, making trips to buy materials from cheap sources for other artists on commission, sketching portraits in parks, washing cars, selling wooden theatre masks from a roadside stall, helping an art critic build a house, painting commercial paintings. Artist #30 had worked in a tractor factory until 1995. Only one had been entirely self-supporting for more than ten years, and four for five years or less.

The descriptions of artistic genre are not hard and fast. At the time the survey was conducted, between March and May 1999, Artist #5 was first and foremost a conceptual artist, but almost all of his income for 1998 came from sale of (non-traditional) watercolour paintings and small sculptures in red lacquer. Artists #6 and #7 were *guohua* painters, but their work was profoundly non-traditional in appearance, so much so in Artist #6's case that a job offer from the Tianjin Academy of Fine Arts was turned down in 1983 and he was sent to work in the Tanggu municipal library. Artist #9 made and sold prints as well as oil paintings, as did Artist #27. Artist #15, though basically known as a lithograph printmaker, also sold approximately 10 oil paintings in 1998. Artist

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#18, a silk screen printmaker, regarded prints as a way of earning an income rather than genuine art, and was preparing for an exhibition of oil paintings later in 1999. Artist #11 had started out as a lithograph printmaker but had successfully turned to oil painting. Artist #10 studied oil painting in Shanghai, then engaged in conceptual art for about 10 years between 1984 and 1994 before taking up painting again. Artist #26 had studied sculpture and was employed as a sculptor at the Shanghai Oil Painting and Sculpture Institute, but divided her time between decorative sculpture done on commission for corporate clients in China and exhibiting installations, usually overseas. Artist #28 engaged variously in video and computer imagery, performance art, photography, and painting on newspaper and other non-conventional surfaces. Most of his income for 1998 came from sale of newspaper paintings. Artist #30, after practising oil painting and then conceptual art for some years while employed full time as an industrial worker, had been a self-supporting photographer since 1995.

Sorting of the figures by artistic genre points to the rather trite observation that paint on canvas, particularly oil paint, is the most likely means towards earning a high income from the art market, while conceptual and performance artists are required to have other ways of supporting themselves. Out of the seven avant-garde artists interviewed, four had earned most of their income from sales or commissions of painting or sculpture, two relied on their salaries - one was a teacher, the other worked in advertising - and one, as a photographer, produced only collectable objects. Only Artist #28, who was awarded a $US 3,000 prize by an overseas contemporary art society in 1998, made any amount of money that year from conceptual art.

Sorting of the figures by city of residence points to a few tentative conclusions. Teachers' salaries in Shanghai are noticeably higher than they are in Beijing and Tianjin. Conceptual art is better established, among younger artists, in Shanghai. The only two oil painters interviewed who did not sell a canvas in 1998 lived in Tianjin. Only one of the four artists - two *guohua* painters and two oil painters - in Tianjin sold paintings to overseas buyers in 1998.

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In order to separate the domestic from the foreign component of the market for Chinese art, the income of each artist is broken up below into salary, domestic commissions, domestic sales and overseas sales. Where artists have quoted earnings in American currency, these figures have been retained in American currency. All other amounts are in yuan.

Guohua painters

	Salary	Commission	Domestic sales	Overseas sales	Total (yuan)
Artist #4	Pension, amount not stated	4 paintings, amount not stated	14,000+	Amount not stated	?
Artist #6	9,600	None	3 paintings, 15,000	None	24,600
Artist #7	12,000	None	Amount not stated	None	?
Artist #23	12,560	None	20+ paintings, 55,000. 8 *bihui,* 15,000	7 paintings, $US 3,000	107,430

Oil painters

	Salary	Commission	Domestic sales	Overseas sales	Total (yuan)
Artist #1	None	None	2 paintings, amount not stated	Several paintings, amount not stated	?
Artist #2	10,000+	None	3 paintings, 70,000	None	80,000+
Artist #3	17,000	None	10 paintings, $US 35,000	10 paintings, $US 10,000	390,050
Artist #9	None	1 painting, $US 10,000	5 paintings, $US 10,000+ and 110,000 yuan	12 paintings, $US 10,000+	358,700+
Artist #10	Scholarship, less than 12,000	None	Amount not stated	Amount not stated	?
Artist #11	None	None	None	248,000+	248,000+
Artist #12	None	None	Amount not stated	Amount not stated	?
Artist #13	18,000	None	10 paintings, 100,000	5 paintings, 100,000	218,000
Artist #17	None	None	5 paintings, 24,000	None	24,000
Artist #19	None	None	None	20+ paintings, amount not	?

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				stated	
Artist #20	None	None	10 paintings, 10,200	None	10,200
Artist #22	None	1 mural, 70,000	10 paintings, 75,000	Several paintings, $US 10,000	227,900
Artist #24	20,000	None	None	$US 30,000+	268,700+
Artist #25	35,000	None	None	None	35,000
Artist #27	13,000	None	None	None	13,000

Printmakers

	Salary	Commission	Domestic sales	Overseas sales	Total (yuan)
Artist #15	12,000+	None	40 prints, $US 40,000 and 6 paintings, $US 45,000	25 prints, $US 25,000 and 3 paintings, $US 22,500	561,200
Artist #18	8,500	2 murals, 10,000	40+ prints, 11,000	None	29,500

Sculptors

	Salary	Commission	Domestic sales	Overseas sales	Total (yuan)
Artist #8	9,000	None	3 sculptures, 40,000+	None	49,000+
Artist #16	12,000	1 sculpture, 40,000	None	3 sculptures, $US 3,500	81,000

Avant-garde artists

	Salary	Commission	Domestic sales	Overseas sales	Total (yuan)
Artist #5	None	None	3 paintings, 13,000 and 7 sculptures, 2,000	2 paintings, 5,000+: 2 sculptures, 3,000+: installation fee	23,000+
Artist #14	15,600	None	1,200	None	16,800
Artist #26	6,400+	1 sculpture, 20,000	None	None	24,000+
Artist #28	Amount not stated	None	7 paintings, $US 17,500	Art prize, $US 3,000	169,945
Artist #29	None	Mural, 2,500 and *hua biao,* 1,500	None	3 paintings, $US 2,700	26,380
Artist #30	None	None	$US 20,000?	Couldn't separate domestic & overseas	165,800+

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The initial difficulty with separating the domestic from the foreign market is that some artists regularly sell artworks through galleries in China to foreign buyers. If the sale is made by a gallery, the artist does not necessarily know the identity of the buyer.

If total domestic sales declared, including commissions, and excluding the $US 20,000 that Artist #30 wasn't sure about, and total foreign sales declared are added up, the figures are 2,000,075 yuan for domestic sales, and 1,348,313 yuan for foreign sales.

If amounts quoted in United States currency are included with foreign sales, on the assumption that these sums were paid by foreign buyers in China, the figures are 616,500 yuan in domestic sales and 2,736,888 yuan in foreign sales.

The artists' statements about what kind of people bought their artworks tend to confirm the impression of the preponderance of foreign demand. They are summarised below.

Artist #1 said most buyers of his paintings were foreign. He thought his own hyper-realist style appealed more to foreign buyers.

Artist #2 said both Chinese and foreigners bought his paintings. He described Chinese buyers as industrialists (*qiyejia*). Foreign buyers included overseas Chinese.

Artist #3 could only recall ever selling two paintings to Chinese buyers. One was a gallery owner. Artist #3 considered that Chinese, like foreigners, bought paintings for their value as investments, but Chinese buyers preferred to invest in *guohua,* even though it appreciated slowly compared to modern art. They understood it better, while modern art looked incomprehensible and risky. Artist #3's paintings were non-figurative.

Artist #4 said both Chinese and foreigners bought his paintings. He had sold one to a visiting American two days before being interviewed. In 1998 he sold a few scenes of the Welcome Pine on Huang Shan to foreign buyers. Artist #4 painted traditional *guohua.* A 4 square foot landscape would cost $US 500. He had recently had two landscapes auctioned locally for 7,000 yuan each.

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Artist #5, a conceptual artist, commented on the relative convenience of exhibiting installations overseas, compared to China. In China, artists participating in exhibitions of installation and performance art were hardly ever offered remuneration, and he himself had never received any. Overseas institutions provided the airfare, necessary materials, and maintenance costs. Some also offered living expenses. Artist #5 received an exhibitor's fee from a gallery in Taiwan in 1998, and had sold an installation to a public gallery in France.

Artist #6, a *guohua* painter, painted two distinct types of *guohua*: traditional and modern. The traditional ones portrayed birds and flowers. The modern ones were infernal cityscapes full of flesh-eating machinery and severed heads. These were labour-intensive, and cost more than the traditional ones: 6,000 to 7,000 yuan for 6 square feet and 10,000 to 20,000 for larger ones, as against 3,000 to 4,000 for scenes of birds and flowers. Artist #6 said Chinese buyers preferred the traditional ones. Some were interested in the modern ones, but the prices put them off, and he sold those mostly to foreigners.

Artist #7 said his paintings were bought more by Western and overseas Chinese buyers than by Chinese, and though this was related to the non-traditional character of his work. His customers were either Chinese business people or foreigners resident in China, entrepreneurs and embassy personnel.

Artist #8 said she sold sculptures to both Chinese and overseas buyers. One had been collected by a Chinese public gallery. The *shoucang fei* (collection fee) offered by the gallery was well below what a private buyer would pay.

Artist #9 said most of his customers were foreign. If Chinese, they were high officials (*gaoji ganbu*).

Artist #10 said he sold paintings mostly to foreigners in business in China, sometimes to art dealers, and sometimes to young Shanghai people with money. Older Chinese weren't interested in his paintings.

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Artist #11, who painted political pop, only sold paintings overseas. In 1998 he had been approached by a Chinese gallery but had decided not to sign a contract with it. Artist #11 considered the opportunities were better overseas, though this would change with time.

Artist #12 said he occasionally sold paintings to Chinese collectors or galleries, but most buyers were foreign.

Artist #13 had only ever sold one painting to a Chinese buyer - another artist. He considered that most Chinese did not have enough money, while those who had found other uses for it. Art education was defective in China.

Artist #14 did not produce art that was saleable, but exhibited installations both in China and overseas.

Artist #15 said his works were bought by both Chinese and foreigners, but mostly foreigners. In China they were bought by intellectuals with money, and a few public galleries. Artist #15 thought foreign buyers' tastes had changed. They used to buy *guohua,* but now preferred modern art. Overseas Chinese bought modern art as well as Europeans and Americans.

Artist #16 sold sculpture mainly to foreign buyers, but also performed commissions for Chinese local government organisations and private companies.

Artist #17 sold paintings to both Chinese and foreigners. She thought that while the foreign buyers tended to be specialist art collectors, the Chinese buyers were not.

Artist #18 made silk screen prints of *minjian tese* (folk character) - Beijing hutongs and old buildings - and sold these more to foreigners than to Chinese.

Artist #19 had never exhibited or sold a painting in China, but had sold paintings regularly overseas since 1994. The character of his work made public exposure in China problematic. Colour reproductions were circulated by galleries on the Internet, though, and art books containing illustrations of his paintings were available in China.

Artist #20 had sold paintings to both Chinese and foreign buyers.

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Artist #21, who was less than 25 years old, had started exhibiting performance art in Shanghai and hoped to attend his first international exhibition, the Maia Festival in Portugal, later in 1999 if he could obtain a passport.

Artist #22 sold paintings to both Chinese and foreign buyers.

Artist #23 sold paintings to both Chinese and foreign buyers. Most foreign buyers were overseas Chinese, from Southeast Asia or the USA. Not many were non-Chinese. Artist #23 thought Chinese buyers were more interested in *guohua* landscapes. Local Chinese buyers were businessmen with a liking for art, other artists, or art critics.

Artist #24 rarely exhibited in China, due to the awkwardness of exhibiting political pop, and had sold paintings only to overseas buyers in 1998.

Artist #25 had sold paintings only to Chinese buyers since 1995, when his contract with a foundation in Taiwan lapsed. They were other artists, critics, or collectors known to him through art circles.

Artist #26, a conceptual artist, exhibited installations both in China and overseas, and did sculpture on commission for private clients in China.

Artist #27 had sold paintings only to Chinese buyers.

Artist #28 exhibited conceptual art both in China and overseas, but sold newspaper paintings mainly to foreigners in China. Considering performance art in China, Artist #28 thought there were no political difficulties with it, but it was still incomprehensible and unheard-of for most people. However many exhibitions in Shanghai now opened with a performance. No nakedness was the only condition.

Artist #29 took part in exhibitions of performance art both in China and overseas, and sold paintings, junk sculpture and performance photographs to both Chinese and foreign buyers.

Artist #30 sold photographs through four galleries, one in China and three overseas. He thought most or all buyers from the Chinese gallery were foreign.

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In spite of the per capita income of the top 10% of the urban population increasing by a factor of 7.44 between 1985 and 1997, the difference between per capita disposable income and per capita expenditure for the same income group increasing by a factor of 25.92 between 1985 and 1997, and domestic savings of the urban population in general increasing by a factor of 29.16 between 1985 and 1996, the high proportion of overseas sales reflects the difference that still exists between current Chinese incomes and prices paid for critically recognised works of art by European and American collectors. This state of affairs creates a complex of societal influences on the form and content of art that are probably less dangerous for artists than those of the 1960s and 1970s, but are just as real. The dominance of overseas Chinese buyers at art auctions in China is reflected in the preponderance of *guohua* and oil painting of a relatively conservative character. The high prices paid by foreign buyers make it worthwhile for Chinese artists to do business with foreign art dealers based in China, in spite of the 50% commissions, and these dealers act as conduits for overseas buying trends. Among the artists who gave their incomes as over 100,000 yuan in Chinese currency, the predominating styles were surrealism in the European tradition qualified by iconic Chinese elements, abstract minimalism, and political pop. Further analysis in this direction requires someone qualified to do it. Present-day Chinese artists are able to choose from, or create, an unprecedented variety of forms and styles, but the alternatives bear different economic weights, and present different prospects for recognition and cultural survival.

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CHAPTER 9.1b

The structure of the Chinese art world in the 1980s and 1990s

Shao Yiyang (Department of Art History & Theory, University of Sydney) with John Clark[20]

National data for tertiary art schools and other tertiary art departments

There are 14 tertiary art academies (excluding performing arts), and 4 other visual tertiary art departments. Those institutions which are directly under the Ministry of Culture are shown with an asterisk. The remainder come from other department or under provincial, city educational committees.

Central Academy of Fine Arts*, Beijing;
China Academy of Fine Arts*, Zhejiang,
Central Academy of Crafts, Beijing
Tianjin Academy of Fine Arts;
Luxun Fine Arts Academy, Shenyang;
Hubei Academy of Fine Arts, Wuhan,
Guangzhou Academy of Fine Arts;
Sichuan Academy of Fine Arts, Chongqing;
Xi'an Academy of Fine Arts;
Jilin Art Academy;
Nanjing Art Academy;
Shandong Art Academy, Jinan;
Guangxi Art Academy, Nanning;
Yunnan Art Academy, Kunming.
Central Drama Academy*, Beijing;
Shanghai Drama Academy;
Beijing Dance Academy*;
Beijing Film Academy;
Art Academy of the People's Liberation Arour, Beijing.

Other tertiary institutes with art departments:

According to Beijing sources in the Ministry of Education, there are over 100 fine art departments in teacher's academies in Beijing and in every province of China. These offer 3-4 years training and the major aim is to produce art teachers for non-tertiary art schools and normal middle schools.

1978, 130 tertiary academies with art department, 3,500 undergraduate students
1986, 145 tertiary academies with art department, 6,000 undergraduate students
1993, 170 tertiary academies with art department, 8,000 undergraduate students
1999, 200 tertiary academies with art department, 10,000 undergraduate students

These academies also had about 30-40 art research students per year.

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There are also over 400 vocational or technical art schools, or those with fine art departments, accepting around 20,000 students.

Under the Ministry of Culture, in 1988 there were 116 vocational or technical art schools – with the number increasing every year - including six schools of fine arts, one of crafts, and another 32 schools with fine arts departments. In 1998, there were 2714 graduates in fine arts and 364 in crafts.

Art teaching at the Secondary Level

In most junior high schools over a 9-year curriculum students have at least one class of 45 minutes per week on fine arts and musics. This is a regulation set by the Ministry of Education. In our understanding, more than 50% of children between the ages of 3 and 11 years in junior school in big cities are also sent to weekend art schools or have private class at home to study musics, painting and dancing. Many of them dropped when they were getting older, when they had more pressure from other studies, particularly if their parents understood they had no talent or interest in becoming an artist. It is noteworthy that students who have a specalism in arts or sports are advantaged in gaining entry to a higher school, even to a normal Academy.

There are 6 high schools attached to tertiary art academies, that is only to those with fine arts and excluding those in Guangxi and Xinjiang.

Number of students at attached high schools, 1988-1996

	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
Attached School to Central Academy	153	157	149	148	141	141	145	195 est.)	240	244
Attached School China Art Academy	120	152	130	126	93	111	131		164	214
Attached School to Hubei Art Academy	25		83	78	89	115	93		122	96
Attached School to Guangzhou Art Academy	126		132	127	148	155	181		206	205
Attached School to Sichuan Art Academy	134	143	147	163	193	215	199		202	304
Attached School to Xi'an Art Academy	132	155	139	199	268	302	341		304	261
Total	690		780	841	938	103	109		123	132

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Number of graduates from attached high schools, 1988-1997

	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
Attached School to Central Academy	33	35	37	37		40	30		35	34
Attached School China Art Academy	none	42	35	23		31	19		17	48
Attached School to Hubei Art Academy	20		23	none	24	32	22		55	35
Attached School to Guangzhou	19		40	45	21	38	19		39	51
Attached School to Sichuan Art Academy	35	27	29	32	35	38	54		61	35
Attached School to Xi'an Art Academy	31	51	47	28	20	58	29		90	90
Total	138		211	165		237	173		297	293

The above figures show that the number of students in attached schools has steadily increased. Blanks are for the data which unfortunately I could not obtain. The whole data in 1995 is missing. However, if we take the attached school to Central Academy of Fine Arts as an example, we find they accepted around 40 students from 1984-1994, but in 1995, this number must have jumped to around 80, since in 1996 there were 95 more students at school than 1994. Thus the estimated number at this school for 1995 is 195. There is no annual data evidence for intake of at tertiary art school from the attached schools, but it is normally taken to be the case that over 80% of applicants from each attached school are accepted by tertiary art school each year.

Tertiary Art Academies

Among all the attached schools, the attached school to Central Academy of Fine arts supposed to have the best technical level. Most teachers there graduated from the Central Academy, its students come from all over the country, and the entry examination is the most competitive. After four years strict art training, it is rare for its graduates to have a problem in reaching technical standards for acceptance at a tertiary art Academy. More than 80% graduates in their first year of

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application to the tertiary Academy were accepted at the Central Academy or at other tertiary art schools such as the Central Academy of Crafts, or the art department of Beijing Drama Academy. If we include those applying the second year after graduation, 90% were able to be accepted, and they dominated the oil painting, sculpture and print departments since these departments have more demand on technical level. Perhaps the only reason they could not all be accepted by those academies is that less than 10% of them could not pass the examination in normal courses laid down by the Ministry of Education for all high school students who wish to go to university, even though the entry line for art students is much lower. Attached school students are less competitive in normal courses than ordinary high school students since they spend much more time on drawing and painting, but they are more competitive than other vocational school students.

For example in 1988, of 65 students accepted in the Central Academy, 33 or nearly half, came from its attached school.

Number of students accepted at tertiary art academies under the Ministry of Culture
(total number including performing art, percentages rounded)

	Total	Fine Arts	Crafts	Subtotal of Visual Arts	% of total
1979	798	172	153	325	41%
1980	957	215	237	452	47%
1981	1362	365	285	650	48%
1982	1723	507	344	851	49%
1983	2159	691	372	1063	49%
1984	2965	983	431	1414	48%
1985	4587	1676	658	2334	51%
1986	3255	1053	636	1689	51%
1987	3886	1113	752	1865	48%
1988	4441	1502	900	2402	54%
1989	3897	1238	684	1922	49%
1990	3576	1311	775	2086	58%
1991	3708	1218	617	1835	49%
1992	4532	1501	751	2252	50%
1993	5783	2115	841	2956	51%
1994	5027	1285	1012	2297	46%
1996	5850	1681	1125	2806	48%
1997	5704	1569	981	2550	45%

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Number of graduates from tertiary art academies, 1979-1997

	Total	Fine Arts	Crafts	% of visual arts
1979	640	158	153	49%
1980	384	61	38	26%
1981	488	164	15	37%
1982	2849	706	558	44%
1983	861	169	148	37%
1984	1306	372	153	40%
1985	1892	752	326	57%
1986	2826	944	509	51%
1987	3910	1395	765	55%
1988	3363	1110	686	53%
1989	3578	1141	707	52%
1990	3934	1311	775	53%
1991	3893	1344	577	49%
1992	3260	1149	501	51%
1993	3157	1162	489	52%
1994	3717	1128	628	47%
1996	4625	1433	872	48%
1997	4896	1452	705	44%

Number of Research students accepted at Art Academies, 1979-1997

	Total	Fine Arts	Crafts	% Visual Arts
1979	160	96	13	68%
1980-81	none			
1982	37	19	4	62%
1983	20	7	2	45%
1984	51	25	3	54%
1985	167	70	22	55%
1986	126	54	20	59%
1987	137	54	18	53%
1988	158	51	25	48%
1989	109	34	16	46%
1990	69	22	17	57%
1991	77	26	14	52%
1992	65	21	15	55%
1993	128	62	21	65%
1994	158	63	26	56%
1996	214	86	25	52%
1997	231	87	38	54%

The above figures exclude overseas students, students for further professional study, night courses and correspondence courses (*jinxiusheng, yedasheng, hanshousheng*). The visual arts apparently takes an important role within the arts area in China, with around half the total students. In the past two decades, undergraduates in fine arts have increased far more than that of crafts. In 1979, the

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number of undergraduates in fine art and crafts was not too much different when there were only slightly more students in fine art. However, in the 1980s, the number of students in fine arts increased to twice that of crafts.

But things are the different in research area where postgraduate students in crafts increased comparatively faster than in fine arts. In 1979, the number of postgraduate students in crafts was much less than that in fine arts, but since 1988, nearly half of the research students in visual arts are in crafts, which used to be in a lower position. The crafts were taken more seriously in the mid-80s, possibly to some degree as the result of modernist art movement since 1980. A history and theory of crafts department was set up in the Central Academy of Crafts in 1983, and it started to accept research students in 1985. It was the only department to have PhD students on crafts in China until at least 1991.

It is noticeable all the figures dramatically increase in 1985. This was apparently due to the government spending more money on art education and the overall expenditure on education dramatically increased in that year as well. The economic and educational reforms reached their highest level in 1985. Thus the '85 New Wave' art movement was the result of the reform, but not the cause.

The figures for art students have varied from year to year, and have not shown stable and regular increases but have dropped and jumped, partly because the number of graduates from high school has varied every year. In some years the number of graduates from high school are higher, since they were the born in a peak periods of new births.

Teachers and other staff in tertiary art academies under the Ministry of Culture, 1979-1997 (including performing art)

Year	All staff	Teachers
1979	7953	3652
1980	8890	3893
1981	8845	3901
1982	10222	4770
1983	10788	5027
1984	10992	5135

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1985	11210	5222
1986	10801	5076
1987	11128	5144
1988	11534	5239
1989	11676	5433
1990	11651	5374
1991	11711	5338
1992	11799	5381
1993	11814	5445
1994	11768	5420
1996	12075	5632
1997	11511	5346

National Expenditure on Art Schools

This information is not in the public domain. However, from many sources it is known that the government expenditure on art schools has been steadily increasing with strong economic growth. Most academies increased in size, particularly around 1985. The above figures also indicate that the number of students in tertiary and non-tertiary art schools has increased over the long term since 1979, with some short-term variation.

One should note that since 1989, students have begun to pay a small part of their tuition fees. Since 1996, some students (in 1997, it was 20%) needed to pay full fees. In 1999, all students will pay full fees. The cost of educational fees has increased every year, and in 1999 these are expected to be 10,000 yuan per year. A teacher's annual salary between 1979 and the late 1990s on average has also jumped from around 1,000 yuan to 20,000 yuan, although most of them do not rely entirely on their salaries to live, especially from the mid-1980s.

Art Schools and Art Departments Compared

First year students at some art academies, 1988-1998

Institution	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
Central Academy of Fine Arts, Beijing	138	111	39	65	47	76	91		77	83	
Central Academy of Crafts, Beijing.	133	157	152	157	187	189	215		302	348	
China Art Academy, Hangzhou	123	98	81	54	84	127	99		110	128	

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Sichuan Fine Art Academy, Chengdu??	205	230	203	167	279	328	379	373	369
Lu Xun Fine Art Academy, Shenyang	360	241	199	238	227	273	147	170	210
Guangzhou Academy of Fine Arts	315	217	217	231	217	292	174	217	207
Total	1274	1054	891	912	1041	1285	1105	1249	1345

The above figures include undergraduates, and also students in intensive technical upgrading courses which are normally 1 or 2 years' coursework. For some years the number of students has dramatically dropped because the first-year students in that year were all undergraduate, such as 1990. Some departments also do not accept students every year, like the art history & theory department in Central Academy which accepted students 3 years within 5 years.

Total graduates from some art academies, 1988-1997

Institution	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
Central Academy of Fine Arts, Beijing	65	67	88	98	77	78	40		46	98
Central Academy of Arts and Crafts, Beijing.	186	231	147	153	128	149	157		183	179
China Art Academy, Hangzhou	136	141	93	101	92	52	69		63	97
Sichuan Fine Art Academy, Chengdu??	109	200	181	213	231	208	259		332	293
Lu Xun Fine Art Academy, Shenyang	290	246	318	273	149	172	103		198	278
Guangzhou Academy of Fine Art	319	197	298	230	188	190	199		205	228
total	1105	1082	1125	1068	865	849	827		1027	1173

The above figures include undergraduates and students in intensive technical upgrading courses. Please note that the undergraduate course in the sculpture department is five years.

Research students accepted at some art academies, 1988-1997

	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1996	1997
Central Academy of Fine Arts, Beijing	16	6	4	6	5	9	17	8	7
Central Academy of Arts and Crafts, Beijing.	15	11	12	12	10	16	14	18	17

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China Art Academy, Hangzhou	7	5	5	5	4	4	14	23	18
Sichuan Fine Art Academy, Chengdu??	2	2	2	2	2	3	1	4	5
Lu Xun Fine Art Academy, Shenyang	6	6	4	3	4	8	7	4	11
Guangzhou Academy of Fine Art	9	7	4	5	5	9	10	14	12
Total	55	37	31	33	30	49	58	71	70

There is no national data collection for the number of applicants to art academies but the number of applicants is limited, even if the qualification for application is highly competitive. Competition for entrance has been extremely high, both for undergraduate and postgraduate, especially during 1978-80, the first few years when the entry examination was re-instituted after the Cultural Revolution. For example, In 1978, there were 2000 applicants for Central Academy of Fine Arts with only 54 accepted. Until 1982, less than 4% of applicants could be accepted but this proportion decreased after 1983, since there is more limitation on the number of applicants(only 20% people who want to apply are qualified to do so, and the number of accepted students has increased. The number of applicants accepted each year is normally 5-6 times the number of students accepted.

From 1978-82, many of those applicants may have spent the last 10 years in a factory, or laboured as a farmer. Some of them were former graduates of the attached schools, some of them learned art from an artist, some of them were taught in workers' cultural palace classes. They obviously have much more social experience than those students who were to come directly from high schools in the following years. There were no applicants from attached schools at the Central Academy from 1978 to 1982 because those schools had no graduates. But since 1983, such schools occupied almost half of the Academy's annual intake, as we saw above.

However, in other academies, like the Beijing Teacher's Academy, most applicants come from technical school or normal high school students who have studied art in their spare time. It is very rare that applicants from the attached schools ever apply to the PLA Art Academy, or to the fine art

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departments of the Minorities' Academy or other Teachers' Academies, because these are considered as technically second-rate.

Most applicants for research came from outside institutions before 1984. Later, the number of applicants accepted within and from outside an institution was almost same. In Beijing, the graduates originally coming from another place were more likely to apply to doing research, because this was the best way to have a job in Beijing and become a resident, since most research students could become tertiary art school teachers in Beijing. To our knowledge, more than 95% of Academy students who come from other cities want to stay in Beijing, because it offers the best cultural environment and research conditions. Before 1994, people got job offers from the government, and they had to go back to where they came from, and only the top students could stay. In the 1990s, the government no longer offered jobs to graduates. Moreover, people were able to survive in Beijing without a resident certificate because of the economic reforms.

After 1994, there were more applicants for research, since teachers' salary and promotion opportunities depended more on their education background. Before 1988, even undergraduates at honours level had the opportunity to become a teacher in the Academy, but after1989, mere undergraduates had no chance to become a teacher at all, and it became more and more difficult to find a professional job.

In any case, art is a popular profession is China, especially since the 1980s when the art market was formed, and art students who come from academies have not much difficulty in finding professional employment even nowadays, if they do not always manage to stay in one of the big cities. Those artists jobs in big cities are able to live on their salaries like other professionals, but they also have other incomes from the sale of their works. Sometimes these incomes are much higher than their salaries. So the artist may actually make a better living than other professionals. The main challenge is to live in a highly populated modern city. Since Chinese people traditionally care for their children's education, more and more of these have been sent to study art in their spare time. Since the mid-1980s in particular, most families have only one child and there have been more

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and more vocational art classes in workers' cultural palaces and art academies. Many art teachers have become better off from the fees for these classes. But the increased demand has not necessarily effected the intakes of art academies since the number of students accepted in such an Academy is incompletely determined by the market, but is also due to government planning which is supposed to take consideration of broader social needs.

Data on some Chinese Art Academies

a. Central Academy of Fine Arts, Beijing

The departments of oil painting, ink & colour painting, and prints were established in 1953, and the ink & colour painting department was changed to the Chinese painting department in 1958. The art history department was established in September 1956 and accepted students from September 1957. The sculpture department was established in 1955.

The department of applied art was established in1950, and but the name was changed to craft art in 1953, and in June of 1956 it was moved out of the Central Academy on the establishment of the Central Crafts Academy.

In 1960, three studios were established in the oil painting department, four studios in prints department, and the Chinese painting department was divided into sections for landscape, bird and flower, and figure painting.

A department for new year pictures and serial pictures [narrative story-cartoons] was established in 1980, as well as a mural painting department in the same year.

Department Heads:

Chinese painting: Ye Qianyu, 1977-1983; Huang Runhua, 1983

Oil painting: Ai Zhongxin 1977-1979; Feng Fasi 1979-1983; Wen Lipeng 1983, Jin Shangyi. The fourth or experimental studio which was for the study of modernist art was established in 1988 and its supervisors in sequence were: Lin Gang, Wen Lipeng, Ge Pengren, Yuan Yunsheng.

Prints: Li Hua 1977-1983; Wu Biduan, 1983-87; Song Yuanwen 1987-, Su Xinnping.

Sculpture; Fu Tianchou, 1977; Qian Shaowu, 1983-87; Cao Chunsheng; 1987-98; Sui Jianguo.

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Art history: Jin Weinuo, 1977-87; Xue Yongnian, 1987-97, Luo Shiping, 1998-

New year and serial pictures: Yan Han; peputy head, Yang Xianrang, 1980-

Mural painting: Hou Yimin, 1980-87; Li Huaji, 1987- (Deputy head, 1980-87)

Director: Jiang Feng 1979-1982; Wu Zuoren, 1983-; Gu Yuan, 1983- ; Jin Shangyi

Deputy Directors, 1979-1983: Liu Kaiqu, Zhu Dan, Gu Yuan, Luo Gongliu, Ai Zhongxin, Zhang Qiren; 1983-1987, Hou Yimin, Jing Shangyi, Liu Buoshu.

Party secretary: Chen Pei, 1979-1983; Hong Bo, 1983-85; Sheng Yang 1987-1991; Ding Shizhong, 1992-1999.

Deputy party secretary: Hong Bo, 1979-83; Yang Li, 1983-85; Sheng Yang, 1985-87; Du Jian, 1986-94; Wang Hongjian, 1995-

In the 1980s and 1990s there were less than 10 students going to study abroad for a degree on government funds, and about 20 students on private funds. However, many teachers have had the opportunity to make short-term visits abroad via exchange programmes and for exhibition with government support. Since 1985, 8 teachers in the Central Academy have gone to a studio in Paris every year financed by an overseas Chinese businessman. A studio was also established in 1988 in Spain for teachers to visit and work there with travel and living costs being met by the artists themselves.

b. Central Academy of Crafts, Beijing

The dyeing and weaving, ceramics and decorative arts departments were established in 1952. The decorative arts department was changed to the decorative painting department with three workshops of commercial art, book binding and layout, and mural painting in 1959. In 1962, pottery, porcelain, pottery and porcelain carving studios were set up in the ceramics department. Since 1980 there have been eight departments altogether.

Department heads, 1977-1997

Dyeing and weaving: Cheng Shangren, 1977-83; Wen Lianchang, 1984- ;

Ceramic design: Mei Jianying, Chen Ruoju, Yang Yongshan

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Decorative design: Yuan Mai, A Lao, Qiu Ling, Chen Hanmin.

Book art: Yu Bingnan

Environmental art: Pan Changhou, Zhang Shili, Zhang Qiman

Costume design: Yuang Jieying

Industrial design: Liu Guanzhong

Decorative art: Yuang Yunfu

Craft art history and theory: Xi Jingzhi

Director: Zhang Ding, 1979-1983; Chang Shana, 1983-1998; Wang Mingzhi, 1998-1999.

Party secretary: Luo Yangshi, 1977-1982; Ji Xiying, 1982-84; Zhou Dongxian 1984-86; Zhao Long, 1987-1991; Lin Shaoyan, 1991-96; Zhao Hongliang, 1997- 1999.

c. China Academy of Fine Arts, Hangzhou, Zhejiang

(changed from Zhejiang Art Academy in 1993).

There were only departments of sculpture and painting in 1952. But in 1955 the painting department was divided into the departments of ink & colour painting and oil painting, and a separate prints department.

In 1957, the ink & colour painting department changed to that of Chinese painting which included studios for figure, landscape, flower and bird painting. In 1963 a calligraphy and seal-cutting studio was added.

The Craft art department was established in 1961, included weaving &dying, commercial art, and ceramics art courses.

In 1983, departments of art history, art education and a computer art centre were established, with the addition of an environmental art workshop, as well as mural painting, and wall-hanging art studios .

Director: Mo Pu, 1977-1984;Xiao Feng, 1984-95; Pan Gongkai, 1995-1998

Deputy directors: Li Binghong, Wang Bingsheng, Wang Dewei, 1977-84; Zhao Zongzao,Song Zhongyun, Gao Eryi, 1984-95.

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Party secretary: Gao Peiming, Zhu Chi, 1977-83; Chai Ji, 1983-1987; Zhou Yongxiang, 1987-91; Wang Bangfeng, 1991-92; XuJiamu, 1991-99

d. Sichuan Fine Arts Academy, Chongqing

It was established in 1959, and the fine arts department included 4 courses in Chinese painting, prints, and sculpture. The craft art department included 3 courses in weaving and dying, lacquerware, and ceramics. In 1989 a Lingnan Group research studio was established.

Director: Ye Yushan; Fan Pu, 1992-1997; Yang Guiyan, 1997-99.

e. Lu Xun Art Academy, Shenyang

It was established in 1958 with 6 departments of Chinese painting, oil painting, prints, craft art, sculpture, and teacher-training. Crafts were divided into 4 departments: weaving & dyeing, decoration & environmental art, industrial design, and custom design.

Director: Zhang Wang, 1977-87; Song Huimin, 1987-1998; Deputy Director: Wang Shenglie, 1983-87.

Party secretary: Wu Jian, 1977-82; Liu Pingzhi, 1983-87; Liu Wenfu 1987-

f. Guangzhou Art Academy, Guanzhou (Canton)

It was established in 1958 with the 5 departments of Chinese painting. oil painting, sculpture, prints, craft arts.

Director: Hu Yichuan, 1978-83; Gao Yongjian, 1983-85; Guo Shaogang, 1985-93; Chen Mingcheng, 1994-97; Liang Licheng, 1997-99.

Party secretary: Wu Biaokai; Lu Simou, 1985-.

Note:

The post of director of an art Academy has normally been taken by a well-established artist, and the Party secretary has been assigned by the government, who does not necessarily have any specialism in art. But since 1987 the director has taken the major responsibility in art academies.

The Artists' Association and its organizational structure

Director: Jiang Feng, 1979-85; Wu Zuoren, 1985-1989; Jing Shangyi, 1998

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Deputy Directors: Wang Zhaowen, Li Shaoyan, Li Keran, Wu Zuoren, Hua, Junwu, Huang Xinbo, Ye Qianyu, Cai Ruohong, Liu Kaiqu, Guan Shanyue, 1979-85;

Wang Zhaowen, Gu Yuan, Qin Zheng, Huang Yongyu, Ye Qianyu, Cai Ruohong, Liu Kaiqu, Guan Shanyue; 1985-89;

Liu Dawei, Liu Wenxi, Liu Boshu, Li Huanmin, Yang Lizhou, Xiao Feng, Lin Yong, Chang Shana, Hazi Aimaiti, Cheng Yunxian, Zhan Jianjun, 1998.

Party secretariat: Hua Junwu, Liu Xun, Zhang Ding, Wang Zhaowen, Jiang Yousheng, Shao Yu, Wu Guanzhong, Yu Feng, Yan Han, Gao Hong, Kan Fenggang, 1979-83;

Qin Zheng, Liu Xun, Kan Fenggang, Jiang Yousheng, Yan Han, 1983-85;

Kan Fenggang, Shao Dazhen, Dong Xiaomin, Lei Zhengmin, Dai Zhiqi, 1985-89;

Li Zhonggui, 1998.

Committees by year of establishment and chairman for each category of practice

	established in	Chairman	Vice Chairman
Oil Painting	1985	Zhan Jianjun	Wen Lipeng, He Kongde
Mural Painting	1985	Zhang Ding	Hou Yimin, Li Huaji,Yuan Yunfu
Prints	1985	Yan Han	Zhang Zuoliang, Ma Ke, Yang Xianrang
Illustration Art	1985	Zhang Shouyi	Sun Zixi, Guo Zhenhu, Qin Long
Serial Picture-Story Art	1986	He Yongzhi	Fu Shengfu, Gao Yan
Caricature	1986	Ding Cong	Wang Fuyang
Childrens' Art	1987	Yang Yongqing	Zhu Yanling, Ding Wu
Art Theory	1988	Shao Dazhen	ShuiTianzhong, Xue Yongnian, Shen Peng
Chinese Painting	1992	Pan Jiezi	Yao Youdo

The above committees have not changed until the present.

The Artists' Association is not an official organization of the state, and all members of the executive are artists or art historians. The executives are not officials, though they have to be approved by the Propaganda Department of the Chinese Communist Party. From 1979-85, Cai

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Ruohong, Wang Zhaowen, and Hua Junwu were in charge; from 1985-89, Hua Junwu, Shao Dazhen, Ge Weimo took the major roles. After 1990, Wang Qi took over the leadership, though he was not elected. After 1998, the middle-aged artist Liu Dawei took major responsibility.

The role of *Meishujia Tongxun* (The Artists' Association Newsletter)

Circulation of *Meishujia Tongxun* (Artists' Newsletter)

1980-1987 3000 copies

1988-1999 5000-6500 copies

In 1992 this newsletter received no funds from the Artists' Association, but was partly funded by the Association from 1994-95, and has been fully supported since 1999. It is free for the membership of the Association and its contents include: commentary on exhibitions, essay on current issues, focus on recent hot issues in the art world, artist interviews, conference records, reports by artists (on foreign art after an overseas visit, reminiscences by older artists, comments on past art movements), and reviews of exhibitions, galleries, publications, and artist activities. From 1994 -1998 there were frequently reviews younger artist activities in the focu on recent hot issues, even including mention of performance art and installation art. *Meishujia Tongxun* has taken a more important role fin contempoary art during the 1990s when the public journal of the Association *Meishu* has had only limited information. The principle writer of this coloum is Zhang Xiaojun, who works in the Cadre Training Institute of the Ministry of Culture, and who also works for *Meishujia Tongxun* in his spare time.

Chief editor: Yang Yuefu, 1988-1998; Wang Chunli, 1999- ; Editors: Chi Xin, Gao Yan 1980-82; Cheng Liying, 1983-84; Yang Yuefu, 1980-1998; Feng Boyi 1988 -

The above writers are all from the Artists' Assocation research studio.

Circulation of other Art Media, 1979-1985, 1985-1989, 1990-1998

Note: here > indicates 'declines to'

	1979-85	1985-89	1990-98	Overseas Circulation
Meishu	180,000 >	70,000 >	60,000 >	200-300

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(Art)	80,000	60,000	50,000	
Meishu Yanjiu	80,000 >	50,000 >	20,000 >	145-160
(Art Research)	50,000	30,000	9,000	
	200,000 >	70,000 >	25,000 >	35-50
Shijie Meishu	80,000	30,000	14,000	
(World Art)				
Xin Meishu	15,000		5,000	around 30
(New Art)				
Jiangsu Huakan		80,000 >	50,000 >	around 40
(Jiangsu Art Pictorial)		50,000	25,000	
Zhongguo		1985-1986:		none
Meishubao		10,000 up to 20,000		
		1987-1989		
(Fine Arts in China)		40,000 up to 80,000		
		1989		
		80,000 down to 30,000		

The above figures indicate the maximum and minimum copies circulated during the three periods given, and that the circulation of all art magzines has inevitably shrunk during the 1990s. *Meishu* used to dominate the art media before the early 80s, and it has still managed to keep the largest circulation. Since 1980s, and especially during 1985-1989, *Meishu* made great efforts to promote modern Chinese art. It organized debates on many major issues at that time such as 'Content and Form', 'Realist art', 'The 1985 New Wave', 'Nude Art', 'Contempoary Chinese-style Painting', and 'Oil Painting', 'The Art Market'. Since 1989, *Meishu* has also had exchange programmes with the prestige art magzines in Taiwan, *Yishujia* (Artists) and *Xiongshi Meishu* (Lion Art Monthly), and with the Chinese Art Promotion Center of Hong Kong. It has comprehensive content on traditional art, folk art, art teaching and foreign art. As the major magzine in Chinese art world it needs to give voice to all artists, not just the avant-garde, but alsoto the mainstream of both left- and right-wing. Since it is directed by the Artists' Association, the Chief editor usually is an important figure from it, and there is also greater political sanction over it from the Propaganda

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Department of the party, especially since the 1990s when conservative left-wingers were in control of that department.

Meishu Yanjiu and *Shijie Meishu* are produced by the Central Academy and both are influential. *Meishu Yanjiu* focuses on art history and theory, especially that of Chinese traditional art, but has discussed more current issues and contemporary art in the 1990s, especially in recent years, *Shijie Meishu* used to be the major venue for the introduction of Western Modernism. It had also systematically introduced world art history, especially Western art history and artists. During 1982-83, according to Shao Dazhen, who was managing editor at that time, its highest circulation used to reach 200,000 copies a quarter, the highest among all art magzines at that time. The Chief editor for both magazine has been Jin Weinuo, Tong Jinghan, and Shao Dazhen, in that sequence.

Jiangsu Huakan was established in 1974. It changed into new format in 1985, and since then has concentrated on contemporary art. Its main contents are Chinese modern art, studies of new wave art, traditional and modern culture, art theory research, art criticism, contemporary theorists and critics, research on artists. Since 1990, it has been the major magazine in promoting and surveying Chinese contemporary art. The chief editor since 1985 was Liu Dianzhang and currently is Gao Yun. It has been published by Jiangsu Fine Arts Press in Nanjing and has much more freedom than Beijing.

Zhongguo Meishubao was directed by the fine arts department of Research Institute of Chinese Art, itselfunder the Ministry of Culture. It was established in July of 1985 and stopped publication at the end of of 1989. The director was Zhang Qiang, vice director was Zhang Zuying, the chief editor was Liu Xiuchun, and the deputy editor was Yang Gengxin.

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CHAPTER 9.1c

Statements about art and modernity in the *People's Daily* since 1990

Lewis Mayo (Melbourne Institute of Asian Languages and Societies) with John Clark

Prefatory Remarks

Art practice and art discourse in China over the last 10 years has unfolded in the broader context of the project of socialist modernization with Chinese characteristics initiated by Deng Xiaoping in the period after the death of Mao. More specifically, it has unfolded in the aftermath of the violent assertion of the Dengist vision of what that modernization programme should entail in 1989. The practice of art and discourse about art since 1989 have taken place in an environment where the major project in which the forces of the state claim to be engaged is the production of a Chinese socialist form of modernity. The state's monopoly on defining the project of Chinese modernization had to be defended with violence in 1989, but it has not subsequently been subjected to any serious organized challenge.

The repression enacted by the Chinese government in 1989 is habitually represented as a defense of a threatened privilege. Those in power were faced with a challenge to their own authority, which they sought to crush. The ideological campaign that followed the crackdown therefore appears as an attempt to defend that privilege and power by the manipulation of the sentiment of the governed. It conforms, this line of argument suggests, to a general use of culture as a tool of political domination in totalitarian states. The ideals that this government-sponsored discourse invokes such as "spiritual civilization" are part of an apparatus of ideological concepts that are deployed to defend and justify power monopolies. Symbolic structures are systems for ensuring the stability of the foundational material order – control of the economy and the state. They are manipulated in the name of fulfilling the material drives of the programme of economic modernization, to suppress dissent in the name of national unity.

What happens if we suggest that the project of modernization and material betterment is a drive to realize a particular ethical and symbolic order? Anthropologists take this way of viewing the relationship between cultural and material systems very much for granted: for many of them it amounts to a professional orthodoxy. In the English language academic study of relations between the state and culture in the People's Republic of China, there is a rival consensus that culture is a system which functions to either uphold or challenge state power or relations of authority in society more broadly. In part this is because this is what official statements about culture and the arts tend to affirm: culture's value lies in its ability to mould good citizens who will serve their country and their society. The arts are to supply the spiritual staples whose nourishment will sustain a healthy

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and strong body politic, and strengthen the people for the work of building the nation. But the modernized nation is also a vehicle for spiritual transformation: it is a means to the realization of the awakened spirit.

The totalitarian violence of 1989, so often explicated in realpolitik or pragmatic terms, can be understood as an attempt by its perpetrators to defend a vision of modernization as a spiritual quest which would culminate in a state of disciplined self-realization of the national collective. Art has a major mission in articulating this vision. This vision, which is the product of a particular historical experience – Chinese socialist modernization, above all that of the reform era – had its own aesthetic system. I would suggest that the coherence of this vision, which was seen as the sole possible version of Chinese modernity, was perceived as under threat in 1989. The accent placed on aesthetic issues, in particular the attempt to draw a divide between socialist and Chinese/ethno-national cultural forms, ideologies and social arrangements and those of a liberal capitalist West, can perhaps be taken as something more than crude ideological co-ercion, or the action of cultural hardliners. I would suggest that Euro-American capitalist modernity and Chinese Socialist modernity were held to constitute different *cultural* systems, and the fear was that the cultural system of Chinese socialist modernity was under threat. The arts as both makers and markers of that cultural difference became the focus of this struggle. Chinese socialist modernity was constructed as a cultural totality, and it was held that a movement that initially arose from within that system was in fact going to undermine its integrity and replace it with a rival vision of modernity. Aesthetic choice, which means affiliation to specific aesthetic histories, was emblematic of this structure of rival cultural totalities.

Here I should stress that this notion of rival cultural systems and rival aesthetic projects is not simply a matter of stressing national differences in ascribed values, practices or histories. It means the conception of cultural production as part of a total historical order, a past, present and future that are held to constitute an organic structure, and which differentiate it from the rival historical order of capitalism. I emphasize the socialist component here not to denote a strong commitment to the maintenance of public control of the economy and culture, or perhaps even to the continuing dominance of a Leninist party. The socialist component is important not because China's present and future are supposed to be socialist in an institutional sense, but because modern China has a socialist history. Present-day social and cultural structures have emerged from that socialist order, and modern culture in China is supposed to acknowledge that socialist past as its core history. The modern era in China, according to the official dogma, is the socialist era. Prior to socialism, in historical periodizaion, there is no true modernity, just the incomplete modernity of capitalism. An aesthetic system which invokes forms of modernity that are not socialist is by definition not "Chinese", because ethno-national culture has come to be defined in terms of the history of Chinese

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socialism. Elements of foreign cultural modernities can be incorporated, but only as innovations or modifications within the established tradition. The strength of Chinese socialist culture is to be registered in how successfully it can fend off these rival modernities or how successfully it can appropriate and therefore neutralize them. One can argue that there has been surprising success in creating a cultural identification with Chinese socialist tradition amongst the broader public in the 1990s. The willingness to defend this tradition violently, and the ability to produce some form of "popular" engagement with it, seems to me to arise from the conviction that Chinese socialist modernity and 'Western' capitalist modernity are imagined as rival systems of value. Rather than a substantive difference in "real" patterns of economic organization, levels of inequality, or commitment to communal rather than personal enrichment, the central thing is the imagination of the system as a whole, and the identification with the past that has produced the present.
Art has a key role in producing this imagination of cultural totality. The threat to this imagined order and this mode of imagining, as much as any "real" demand that power be ceded, was, I would suggest, a decisive factor in the severity of the response in 1989 and in the cultural campaigns of the following period. At the same time, the longevity of what appeared to commentators a decade ago as an ideologically bankrupt programme, seems to rest on making Chinese socialist culture into a central component of ethno-national culture, as well as on disseminating the notion of a Chinese modernity which would be distinguished morally and culturally from that of Euro-American capitalism – the core of this distinction came from the heritage of idealistic struggle for ethno-national liberation carried out in the name of socialism, values which in the reform era coalesced around ideas like building spiritual civilization.

Art is intertwined with the fate of the nation and with the fate of modernization The art that is associated with the socialist project of modernity is the definitive form of modern art in China: Chinese/Ethno-national art means socialist modern art. Modern art means Chinese (Ethno/national) socialist art. Socialist art means Modern Chinese/Ethno national art.

The modern and modernizing experience to which the cultural discourse in the *People's Daily* chiefly refers is not so much a generic and global process or stylistic mode as one relating to a specific nation and a specific state. Questions about global or international modernity refer to how the art which has evolved from and records the experience of Chinese socialism which in the 1990s is increasingly understood as a struggle of ethno-national modernization, but an ethno-national modernization which is understood as aiming to secure the achievement of the ideals of spiritual civilization, a modernity which will offer wholeness, harmony and radiance, and the perfect mediation of the relationship between part and totality, the specific and the general. These part-whole relations clearly invoke elements from both socialism and nationalism

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It is easy to read this as an attempt to stir up nationalism and foster a sense of national unity as a way of distracting attention from internal political division. Such a reading would see the greatness of the Chinese past as a way of legitimating a government which had blood on its hands. But if the core of the ethno-national culture being invoked is in fact modern Chinese socialist culture, rather than the Chinese cultural inheritance which is outside of modern, socialist experience and its forms of art, it becomes clear that the thing being defended is not so much a great national past but a specific formulation and ideology of modernity. It is this tradition, culture and ideology with which the *People's Daily* is above all concerned, and it is this culture, tradition and ideology which its writers want (by and large) to analyse, preserve and foster. This tradition has a specific series of representational codes and a particular history with which it is engaged. It is the set of representational codes and the history associated with the struggles in the name of the Chinese ethno-nation since the May 4th movement of 1919 and in particular those associated with the history of the Chinese Communist Party as a force of ethno-national liberation, and the standard bearer of Chinese cultural modernity.

The statements about modern art that have been made in the pages of the People's Daily are, I would argue, best understood as a series of comments on this tradition. There is intense concern with how this tradition fits in with other versions of modernity and other forms of art, but it is this tradition with which the discourse is primarily engaged. Once this is grasped, elements of this discourse that seem inconsistent, provisional or contradictory, such as the praise given to the use of "a modern art style" (*xiandai yishu fengge*) or simply "modern art". (*xiandai yishu*/*xiandai meishu*), paired with frequent denunciations of "modernist art" (*xiandai pai yishu*), the ongoing stress on the pre-eminent mission of art being to serve socialism or to serve the people and the condemnation of crass commercialization coupled with the stress on art entering the market, the promotion of a private collection ethos, and the conception of art objects as commodities.

The discourse about modern art in China that has appeared in the *People's Daily* in the years since 1989 is thus related to a specific history and a specific aesthetic system, which is bound up with a particular set of art institutions, art lineages and art ideologies: those which have been formed in the 50 years since the foundation of the People's Republic. There is much scope for misusing the concept of alternative modernities and it may even appear as a justification for acts of repression, under the guise that each version of modernity has its own autonomous logic. But in simple historical terms the discourse of modernity and art that the *People's Daily* deploys, which is the authoritative public version of the "official" formulation of these concepts (albeit hedged around with statements appearing in the same publication that do not so unequivocally constitute an "official voice" – the comments of journalists, academics, art practitioners and members of the

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interested public), is something that has emerged from within the structures and struggles of Chinese socialism. It is not a discourse from outside that system which seeks to overturn it by stealth or force. Rather it is a discourse produced by agents who have themselves arisen within that structure.

I would suggest that a close look at this discourse helps to explain phenomena that might seem paradoxical, such as the high price which some classic works of socialist realism command on the auction market in the 1990s or the co-existence of statements that reaffirm commitments to the values of Mao's dicta about the mission of art issued at Yan'an with invocations of post-modern theory. Likewise, the movement from statements in the early 1990s which stress the values of ethno-national tradition to those of the late 1990s in which the May 4th critique of the traditional inheritance has to be reaffirmed against the charges leveled by those who see it as a thoughtless attack on Chinse culture, can be grasped as part of an ongoing discussion about cultural modernity which has the Chinese socialist tradition as its primary referent. Art practice and art discourse in the People's Republic of China from the 1990s to now is a product of and an engagement with this tradition of Chinese, socialist modernity.

c.1 The aftermath of 1989 and the legacy of the 1990s

Throughout 1990 and into 1991 the *People's Daily* was replete with statements about the need for socialist Chinese culture to be reaffirmed as the central culture of the nation. As would be the case with official policy statements right up to the present, the core of this program was the assertion of the need for art to serve the people and to serve socialism, and at the same time that there should be a plurality of art products available, and a plurality of theories and interpretations, provided that the sovereignty of socialism was accepted. The major slogan under which this program was to be carried out was that of 'making the arts prosper' (*fanrong wenyi*). This was a strategy to displace corrupt or anti-socialist art products by producing a vast outpouring of socialist art forms. The project affirmed the need to increase creativity, explicitly represented as a production of new products and new objects (*chuangxin*). Rather than repression or limitation of artistic variety, the project was envisaged as countermanding challenges to socialist cultural sovereignty through an increased output, both in terms of quantity and quality. Thus the campaign against pornography and other manifestations of 'bourgeois liberalism' with which this movement was directly associated was structured as an intensification of artistic activity rather than a constraint upon it. One form of this is an increased production of 'critical' work, which took as one of its major targets the art and literature associated with western modernism. Western modernism was stereotyped as the definitive form of bourgeois-liberal art. In other words, the reassertion of the Dengist modernization program

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involved an explicit and radical contrast between Chinese socialist forms of modernity and those of the capitalist west. This position has been reiterated in general policy statements about the arts appearing in the *People's Daily* up to the present.

In the early 1990s this attack on anti-socialist art forms was parallel with an increasing expansion in the market for cultural products. Particularly after Deng Xiaoping's 'Southern Tour' of 1992, the cultural industries in all of their forms experienced tremendous growth. This was particularly the case in 1994 and 1995, when a commercial market for and private investment in visual art products expanded enormously.[21] The co-existence of the market, which is both an index and a mechanism for increasing the prosperity of the arts, with the ongoing insistence on upholding the cultural distinctiveness of the Chinese socialist modern order, has been the fundamental element in structuring the discourse about art in the *People's Daily* from the mid 1990s into the present. In 1996 and 1997 a new assertion of the need for 'socialist spiritual civilization' was manifested in renewed criticisms of the absurdities of 'modernist' art practice. While continuing to assert that China required and was producing a modernized culture, the art styles of western modernism were periodically denounced as exemplars of the failures of capitalist modernity. Beginning approximately with the death of Deng Xiaoping and the retrocession of Hong Kong in 1997, much art discourse in the *People's Daily* focused on narrating and summarizing the trends in art practice and theory that constituted a unique Chinese socialist modernity extending back to the beginnings of the Reform period to the early years of the People's Republic to the May 4th movement of 1919 and beyond that to the first incursions of European industrial imperialism and its culture into China in the 19th century. Collectively, these articles sketch a lineage and a prescription for the shape of a distinctly 'Chinese' version of modern culture whose chief thread is the history of Chinese socialism, particularly in the era of Reform. With the attack on the Falun Gong movement of 1999 the validity of modernity and modernization itself had to be defended, in contrast to the situation in the early 1990s when a modernist critique of Chinese 'backwardness' was the main force that the pronouncements of official cultural policy sought to refute.

The great paradox of this period has been the ability of a government and an ideology which seemed in 1989 to be morally bankrupt and bereft of resources to preserve itself and to disseminate a model of culture which, if it is not actively endorsed by the wider public, is not actively resisted or resented by it either.

c.2 Arts policy

Introduction

As a matter of policy and administration the visual arts are classed in the broad category of "literature and the arts" (*wenyi* 文艺 - which connotes essentially the same domain as "the arts" in

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most contemporary forms of English) – this includes oral and written literature, film and television, the performing arts (music, theatre, acrobatics) as well as painting, sculpture, calligraphy, print-making and design. Architecture is perhaps a more ambiguous category as it is on the borderline between construction, public works and art. Overall administrative responsibility for the arts is in the hands of the ministry of culture and to a lesser extent the propaganda ministry.

The revolutionary traditions of the CCP, as is well known, locate the arts firmly in the domain of mobilizing the people for the achievement of socialism. In Marxist Leninist theory, the arts belong to the ideological superstructure erected on the productive base. (Mainland Chinese Marxist terminology adheres closely to German in depicting the superstructure very concretely (sic) as a building (*shangceng jianzhu*). At one level, culture is not seen as an autonomous domain, but as part of a total social ideology, and beyond that, part of the overall social system. This is something that statements in the *People's Daily* which can be categorized as statements of "theory" (in the Leninist party sense of ideas which have the characteristic of broad administrative orientations) are at pains to point out: socialist theories of art do not see cultural practice as outside of other social relations. It is the alienation of capitalism, the commodity form and private ownership which produces the false notion that culture exists in isolation from other types of social practice. Culture, as a public good and a social product, is misrecognized as a private, individual entity, reflecting and reproducing the logic of economic alienation in capitalist production and ownership. Under socialism, this is not supposed to be the case – culture will be recognized as part of the total ensemble of social relations and practices. According to this reasoning the administration of culture is one of the tasks of the vanguard party, and belongs within the domain of thought work and propaganda. As is well known, one of the major "innovations" of Maoism was the stress on the transformation of consciousness as one of the prerequisites for the realization of socialism. As part of the ideological apparatus, the arts are a major element in this project, and they are thus part of the overall structure – a fusion of mental and material element – through which socialism will be brought into existence.

But at another level, utopian socialism envisages an uncoupling of spiritual activity from bondage to material structures, in particular the subordination of spiritual impulses to the chains of the commodity form. The arts contain within themselves the germ of this future, a time when material forces no longer appear as limitations or constraints on the realization of human aspirations. There are thus two possible tendencies within the orthodox socialist theories of art circulating in China over the last two or three decades: one which continues to assert the place of art within the general mission of creating forms of consciousness that conform with the overall structures of the socialist system (however much this system may be inflected with the distinctive characteristics of the "New Era" announced by the reformers and by the special features of market socialism) and another in

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which art is envisaged as a presage of a future liberation of the spirit, articulated within the framework of spiritual civilization (*jingshen wenming*). The autonomy and dignity of the spirit, securely placed in the frameworks of "civilization", are what the project of socialism will realize.

While the Dengist formulation is easy to dismiss as "pragmatism", and its apparatus of "theory" as merely post-facto justification for a compromise between the stereotypically opposed poles of hardline "leftists" and liberal reformers, at the formal level of argument - the level that applies in *People's Daily* articles - it presents some decree of theoretical coherence. From a simple historical point of view, official statements about art are formulations that arose from within institutional and rhetorical structures that had been evolving in China since the 1940s. The conceptual vocabulary and administrative relations within which the "new" culture of the Dengist era arose, were established under Mao. In this very concrete sense, the modernity of the PRC in the last two decades has a specific historical lineage: it is a product of the struggles of Maoist modernity, a project its official spokespeople claim to inherit and to refute. Deng and Jiang-era Arts policy, the art market, art theory and institutions, and indeed the people who make and consume art – the entities who collectively constitute the world of modernity and art in contemporary China – are historically rooted in the structures of Chinese socialism. The argument of this paper is that this makes for versions of art and modernity that are to some extent different from those of capitalist Euro-American artistic modernity.

Of course, the notion that historical conditions in contemporary socialist China are special, and that the strategy of socialist construction announced by Deng is a response to China's distinctive national circumstances (*guoqing*), something that marks off China in the New Era from other prescriptions for socialist development and from capitalist development, is one of the major ideological platforms of the Deng era. It has an obvious utility as a tool for deflecting criticism, and for producing assent to the established relations of administrative power, which are thereby presented as rational responses to this historical and national distinctiveness, and the only possible way of managing them. To stress that the form of modernity and the forms of art associated with it in Deng's China have their own particular lineage, the lineage of Chinese socialism, is not simply a capitulation to these assertions, and their hegemonic or repressive effects. If there is no acknowledgement that this is a particular historical formulation of art and modernity, which at the very least is a form of rhetoric that is widely disseminated, both modernity art practice and discourse in China will only appear incoherent or imitative, a deviation from some imagined standard of art and the modern. The problem is therefore one of trying to look at this rhetoric as a distinctive discursive system connected to a particular set of institutional arrangements without assenting to its own claims to truth, especially when so many of those to whom this rhetoric is directed find its

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claims incredible. (This is of course a classic anthropological problem, one that is attendant on any attempt to explicate a cultural system as something that can be explained in terms of its own internal logic.) If we do not try to address this rhetoric *as if* it had some kind of logic, what chance is there of explaining the peculiar power of the category "modern" in China over the last two or three decades, and how it can be for some a dream of escape from current relations of power, and for others a fulfillment and realization of the structures of order in the present which have not yet been able to exert their full potential?

The *People's Daily* and statements about art in the last decade, the 1990s

The pages of the *People's Daily* have been home to a plurality of discourses about art and the arts in the decade or so since the political and cultural crisis of 1989. Statements about art in the *People's Daily* are spread through a wide variety of different kinds of writing: there are official statements of basic socialist principle, including areas of policy, given by members of the leadership or by the senior administrative organs in charge of the arts. There are also critical or theoretical articles, usually by authorized cultural figures, which set forth general comments on the arts scene and the direction in which it should move, or on more abstruse areas like aesthetic philosophy, which is usually closely allied with prevailing theoretical and policy positions on maters of art and culture. Finally there is a whole body of reporting on art practice, the arts scene in general, less theoretically charged writing about what should be done in art, profiles of artists, reports on exhibitions and so on. The willingness in these 'magazine' sections to discuss collecting, the auction market, the choices between loyalty to pure art and the market, define its position as something which is authorized, in the sense of being a legitimate discourse, but which does not fall within the domain of official policy on art. The diversity of statements, which may seem at times to be mutually contradictory, is arguably the product of a publication addressed to multiple constituencies and which is home to several different histories of the present. At the same time, it can be argued that this diversity represents the fulfillment of the policy of 'letting a hundred schools of thought contend' that is a platform of the Reform era and which serves as a marker of the vigour and creativity of the Chinese socialist art tradition of which it can be said to form a part.

Given that the *People's Daily* is not a specialist art publication, the question of the arts is dealt with as part of wider questions of national construction: developmentalist rhetoric is pervasive and the defining framework of the paper is the nation. The *People's Daily* is moreover conceived of as a public domain, one in which the different sectors of the nation are brought into dialogue with each other under the overarching authority of the government as both the greatest co-ordinating force and the representative of the people. This is the arena of generality – instead of specific administrative directives, those that apply to the internal management of the relevant sectors, and

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specialist discourses, statements about art in the *People's Daily* are things that exist at the public interface with other domains – such as the domains of economics, the military, science, agriculture, the provinces – and with the imagined totality which embraces and transcends all of these – "the people". This produces two kinds of audience-effects: specialists, in this case art workers, are made aware of the position of their activity in relation to the other domains which appear on neighbouring pages, with their kinship to other sectors, and their position as a constituent element of "the people" being affirmed. On the other hand, the general public, the audience for art products, are brought into contact with arts discourse, and constituted as a participant element within this discourse. Literature and the arts, moreover, as the pre-eminent and most readily identifiable manifestations of "culture", have a central place in the constitution of "cultural identity". If the *People's Daily* aims to promulgate a culture that is irrefutably Socialist and Chinese, it also makes it possible for people to recognize and articulate what "Chinese" and "Socialist" mean by showing them examples of artistic production. In this way, it seeks to create an audience that recognizes itself in these products.

As noted above, visual art belongs to the larger category of literature and the arts. Both at the top level of policy and the macro administrative level, art is encompassed within this sphere. But statements about the arts in general, and in particular their social function and responsibility, may not be primarily targeted at the visual arts. In many cases, it seems that the prime referent of statements about the arts in general is literature and film and television, and to a lesser extent, the performing arts. There seems little doubt that the leadership sees the social impact of literature, film and the performing arts as more significant than that of the visual arts, as statements about literature, film and the performing arts are far more numerous. As a question of shaping ideologies, media which are verbal and which are mechanically reproduced (and thus capable of mass circulation), have a much more obvious and direct impact than those which involve images and where mechanical reproduction has the character of a secondary dissemination of the work, adding a level of mediation between the work and its audience (in contrast to literature, film, television or the performing arts in which there is only one stage of interaction between a work and its audience). With the performing arts, the question of social impact relates also to questions of crowd control and the uncertain consequences of the gathering together of an audience together with the difficulty of managing its responses (clearly an issue in the wake of mass protests). With tape recording, the reproduction of music is something that can be easily done in an unauthorized way. The high cost of colour printing, by contrast means that the illicit circulation of works of art is less serious an issue, and poses much less severe policing problems. Given that visual art by and large has to be sold, the mechanisms for shutting it down if necessary are much easier to enact than is the case with literature and the performing arts.

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One consequence of this however is that statements which may relate to the literary field can be seen as relevant to the field of the visual arts – this is especially the case with such broad categories as "modernist" and "ethno-national/Chinese" art. One might argue that this is more than the simple breadth of the theoretical and administrative category of "the arts", but is also part of the long established rapport and interpenetration between literary, visual and to some extent the performing arts in China, so that the spirit manifested in one field may be reproduced in another area. One could argue further that the modernism of the 1980s in particular saw a close relationship between poetic and artistic modernism, and that the cynical consumer art of the early 1990s had direct corollaries in literature. Perhaps the formation and strength of the art market as an autonomous sphere, which has to some extent removed the monopoly of the old arts administration, has reduced the coherence of the notion of *wenyi*.

The basic official platform that has been promoted in the most formal of statements in the last decade is as follows (it is fairly consistent across the decade):
Art is supposed to be socially responsible: it is supposed to serve the people and serve socialism. Artists are supposed to go deeply into life and produce works that fit with the reality of their lives Art is also supposed to reflect the distinctiveness of national culture and of the socialist system. Art is part of the social system which gives rise to it, and it reflects that system: for this reason art produced under socialist conditions ought to reflect the reality and the aspirations of those living in socialist society. Art is supposed to project ideals and fuse the depiction of reality and dreams of the future. There will be diversity of products in the arts field, but it will be diversity under the centralized structure of Marxism. There is not supposed to be art that challenges the ideological leadership of Marxism. In particular there is not supposed to be corrupt art which threatens social cohesion, promotes individualism and is affiliated to the value system of liberal capitalism Yet art has its own rules, and administrators need to respect the distinctiveness of creative labour, they should struggle to promote products that are unique and are of outstanding quality. In contrast to the Maoist era politics is not supposed to command art. Art is thus granted relative autonomy. Art should respond to the demands of the people but it should not become mindlessly commercialized; art is a spiritual product and as such is part of the values of spiritual civilization, which is opposed to crass materialism. The state is to make art flourish (or prosper) and is supposed to endeavour to inculcate in artists an awareness of works of excellence. Art is a search for excellence and refinement.

At the beginning of 1990 the text of a speech given by Li Ruihuan at a national conference to exchange opinions on work in literature and the arts held on the 10th of January, appeared in the *People's Daily*.[22] This was a major statement of the official cultural response to the crisis of 1989 and

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was intended to set forth a blueprint for cultural development which in many ways structured the cultural scene for the next few years and arguably up to the present. The core goal that this text sets forward is the necessity of strongly promoting ethnic/national culture for the purpose of making the arts flourish. This is a matter relating to the unity of the country, to the self-respect of the nation, and a means to strengthen cross-straits links and to increase ethnic cohesion.
The promotion of the arts functions to stabilize society and to encourage the people. At this stage the party must simultaneously wipe out pornography and cause the arts to flourish. Success in the former has wrought a transformation in the cultural field. Cultural products must be healthy and must occupy the leisure space and spiritual space of the people. If not corrupt products will flood back. (Art products thereby understood as part of the constitution of leisure as a governmental object: there is time outside work and spiritual space that must be occupied. In other pronouncements of the early 1990s, the question of amateur arts and spare time arts is also raised: arts policy, geared to the creation of ethnic awareness, must engage the population as a whole). The influence of bourgeois liberalization is serious on the cultural front, with some cultural products violating the 4 cardinal principle, spreading distrust towards the party, with a small number of people from the cultural sphere participating in the chaos of the previous year, the 4th plenum of the 13th party committee having decreed that all party members had to join in the struggle against bourgeois liberalization. This will be achieved by making the arts flourish and producing a multitude of outstanding art products to compete with their bourgeois rivals. The arts have a special function in guarding social stability and in generating a fighting spirit. (In other words, simultaneously stabilizing and invigorating, the arts are at once a social cement and a social stimulus). Making the arts prosper is both a means and an index of social stability – stability affects everything: the stabilizing of the economy, the stabilizing of politics, the stabilizing of society first requires the stabilizing of people's feeling: the solution of problems in people's lives requires the creation of a stable atmosphere, and cultural products will produce this – these products must be excellent, healthy and varied. Educational instruction is to be grounded in pleasure: when people are happy they will be responsive to the lessons which they need to receive. But the spirit is also militant – Deng Xiaoping has upheld a spirit of combat with all enemies, a spirit of being unafraid of martyrdom, a revolutionary spirit, a spirit of struggle against obstacles. This is the spirit that art workers should display. Art workers have scored successes in putting into practice the policies since the 3rd plenum of the 11th committee, based on the Yan'an talks and the directives of Deng Xiaoping, upholding the principle of serving the people and serving socialism, and conducting multiple explorations and attaining clear success in the depth and breadth with which they reflect real life and in the area of artistic expressive power. But he concludes that in the last 10 years, really outstanding

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works have been few in number, and so they must seek to provide the masses with the finest spiritual grain and earnestly work to satisfy the endlessly increasing requirements of the masses.

The central part of this mission is the active promotion of the culture of the Chinese ethno-nation. There is increasing cultural interchange, but overall a country's culture still has a clear ethno-national distinctiveness. In the last few years there has been a controversy surrounding the question of ethno national culture, comprising a major struggle of thought politics. "To negate ethno-national culture, to promulgate ethno-national nihilism and historical nihilism, is part of the "total westernization" advocated by those who stubbornly maintain the standpoint of bourgeois liberalization" He said that regardless of whether it was the east or the west, every ethno nation in the world has its own distinctive culture. Culture art and literature are inseparable from the life, customs, thinking, emotions and language of the people; they are inseparable from the ethno-nation's historical development. (Art here is clearly part of a system of ethno-national constitution, in which the ethno-nation is an ensemble of ways of living, habits, modes of thought, systems of feeling and structures and patterns of writing and speech. The practice of art is thereby constituted as part of a totality of practice which has an overarching distinctiveness). Bourgeois liberalization has upheld the doctrines of ethno-nationalist nihilism and historical nihilism; it is presented, in other words, as against the ethno-nation. It claims that Chinese culture is dead and incapable of producing a new culture…they have fled overseas and sold out on their country…they insult their ancestors and worship and fawn on foreign things. The socialist new culture with Chinese characteristics is a new culture formed from the fusion of our ethno-national form and socialist culture.

At the same time there should be positive borrowing of useful foreign culture to praise the socialist spirit of the age. To uphold ethno national culture is not to exclude foreign culture. But there has been indiscriminate borrowing and coarse products produced as a result.

Art is supposed to depict the heroic persona of the socialist new person, his/her inner life and heroic achievements, producing a vivid image of a flesh and blood being, expressing the scientific attitude and revolutionary thought of the creators of the new age, as well as his or her exalted sentiments and creative ability his her wide outlook and truth speaking spirit. (The object that the art of the socialist new age is clearly mapped out: it is human and heroic – it is a depiction of a spirit and an emotional condition, the disposition towards the world of those who create the new age. The new being is an ideal but a humanized one, and the job of art is to disseminate this ideal.) At the same time art workers must research the habits of appreciation of the broad masses, and create historical works with a deep ethno-national character and local distinctiveness.

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There should be a strengthening of party guidance, to create a public opinion environment which stresses ethno-national culture. Ethno-national culture needs to be propagated and spread, and linked with thought work to increase progressive thinking

One key platform of the speech is that there will be increased investment in ethno-national culture, including more payment for schools. The response to the crisis of 1989 from one of the government's senior members was to intensify investment in the art and literary forms of the Chinese ethno-nation. A new sentimental identification with this culture was to be promoted to promote a sense of social cohesion and participation in an ethnic totality. Critics of the existing order of power were thus identified with a platform of total westernization. More extensive research on audience tastes would allow these national cultural forms to enjoy greater prosperity. One may note that national style painting, as a form which, unlike the Chinese performing arts, was already popular before 1989, could only have benefited from this stated concern to promote Chinese ethno-national art forms and to increase investment in them.

At the same time as this reassertion of the ethno-national there is a restatement of the centrality of Marxism and a stress on its centrality as an ideology for guiding literature and the arts.[23] The concern here is to see Marxism as able to produce prosperity, an argument that surely mirrors the contrast between the supposed plurality of products on the capitalist market and the paucity of products on the socialist market. Deng comments "Our socialist literature and art need to reflect the nature of people in all kinds of social relations, they express the need for the times to advance and the trend of historical development and to industriously use socialist thinking to instruct the people, and give them a spirit to advance positively, and work hard for the prosperity of the country." This is in contrast to a capitalist literature of privilege, a literature of hotels, which is the literature of capitalism and its sympathizers.

In tandem with this is a denunciation of false visions of creativity and exploration that involves only ugly, strange and filthy depictions, which are proclaimed to be marks of "contemporary consciousness" "the tide of the times" "avant-garde art", and the new concepts of the 1980s, with works and critical perspectives possessing Marxist, socialists, revolutionary realist spirit and ethno-national features, being seen as conservative, uncreative and unexploratory.[24] The writer asserts that the false newness and exploration of this work arises from failing to recognize that what is beautiful is not necessarily new. There is an ancient beauty, and the ideal solution is that the new and the beautiful be discussed together. The dialectic of novelty and beauty is what is required in all creation, those who fail to recognize this are simply picking up on some of the remnants of western modernist thinking, which are half understood.

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The opposition that is set up here is not between modern and non-modern, but rather a critique of a certain false modernity, that of the imported avant-garde. This discourse does not criticize the modern in itself, simply a modernist school.

The critique of modernist art forms appeals to a notion of art's accessibility by and responsibility to "the people". To some extent, this notion could claim the kudos of all causes which position themselves against privilege. If the thrust of the 1989 demonstrations had been against the luxurious lifestyles and corrupt living practice of senior officials and those with access to economic advantage, a populist rhetoric which drew on the residual rhetorical power of everything connected with speaking on behalf of the people might capitalise on this tendency. In particular, the critique of western bourgeois liberalization was founded on the association between a particular cultural style, an ascribed lack of responsibility to anything other than the self, and wealth monopolies.

The rhetoric of the People's Daily at the time seems intellectually barren, bereft of any response beyond the restatement of dogmas whose popular appeal had long since been eroded. In trying to understand how this seemingly arid rhetoric might have been able to survive, one might note that the figure of "the people", as at once an ethno-national constituency and the community of those who have less - less, that is, than capitalist countries who are constructed as rivals, and in some cases aggressors – is something that can be redeployed even in a structure where wealth differences and the structure of economic relations moves the system further and further away from anything that could be meaningfully called socialist. Given that the early 1990s saw also the emergence of the consumer Mao cult, the socialist appears as much as a mark of an ethno-national cultural style as a compelling ideological platform. Some have argued that this was a system of complex revaluing, partly parody (a claim to self-determination by laughing at the legacies of totalitarian rule) and partly a critique of current power holders by invoking an idealism and material restraint supposedly characteristic of the pre 1976 era. Yet such practices also appear as a paradoxical implementation of the cultural directives of an unquestionably unpopular regime, one which had only been able to enforce its rule by violent means.

In this way, the cultural proclamations of early 1990 and 1991 are part of a complex reassertion of the Communist Party's right to define the attributes of "the people." The banishing of critics to overseas, that is to a Euro-America stereotyped as richer than China, linked them with wealth and privilege and placed them at odds with "the people". The critique of modernist art practice is a critique that stresses the association between incomprehensibility, private enrichment and the loss of national self-determination. Modernist art forms are stereotyped as anti-Chinese. By invoking the promotion of ethno-national/Chinese culture (which for a long time designated so-called traditional art practices: National style painting, Chinese theatre and instrumental music, and calligraphy), the

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leadership of the early 1990s sought to mark with greater clarity the cultural specificity of Chinese art practice. Although it is likely that what was meant in the first place was an increased investment in pre-socialist art forms, particularly Chinese theatre and instrumental music, the identification between the ethno-national and the socialist, (grounded, one could argue, in the enduring rhetorical power of the category of "the people", a category which simultaneously connoted an ethno-national totality (for whom patriotic capital acts) and those without administrative or economic power) meant that it was Chinese socialist culture of the Mao era which perhaps came to constitute the most popular form of ethno-national culture in this period.

It is easy to argue that the reinvigorated appeal of "old" Chinese socialist culture was that it constituted a form of modern culture in which "Chinese" sovereignty and dignity were not in doubt. At another level, Chinese socialism is presented as a true successor to the great moments of "modern" western culture in the Renaissance and the Enlightenment. In place of the deliberate ugliness and perversity of western modernism, with its anti-humanist positions, detached from socio-historical realities, by its denial of the "Marxist" theory of reflection (fanying lun), i.e. the doctrine that art reflects the structure of the society that produces it. Chinese socialist modernity is one in which the new and the beautiful are harmoniously joined. The philosophies which are most thoroughly condemned as symptomatic of the alienation of western bourgeois liberalism are anti-humanist ones (structuralism and Freudianism) which deny human dignity. The obligation of art to depict the socialist new person as both heroic and human, refutes the stress on the inhuman and anti-social visions ascribed to modernism. Clearly the aesthetic doctrine being invoked is a representational one, with representation an obvious corollary to the party's place as a representation of the people, as a reality which is yet to realize itself. The denial of reflection is based, party critics argue, on the notion that the autonomy of art means that art systems can be detached from their social context. In stating that art has its own rules, Deng had conceded relative autonomy to artistic production – something that was of practical political utility in destroying the influence of the Gang of Four in the cultural arena, where the doctrine of art directly reflecting class identity and the socialist system (as these were defined by the ruling party) was strongly enforced. In the insistence on the theory of reflection as the basic principle of art, it was argued that modernism was a reflection of "Western" capitalism and its values and was therefore incompatible with the basic social structures and ideals of Chinese socialism. Not only did it supposedly have no history in socialist culture (Soviet constructivism and futurism were conveniently omitted in this discussion) and was thus in origin and ideology affiliated with capitalism, it was also non-representational. It suggested that culture, which is a part of ideology, was not primarily something that involved representing reality. Underlying this critique of non-representational art was the dependency of the

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party on a representational theory of reality and politics: if "modern" art could be argued to represent nothing but its own internal logic, could it not then be suggested that "modern" political parties represented nothing but a closed system, a structure with an internal logic, but with no ability to represent history or society? The implication of accepting modernist epistemology was that socialist ideology had no relationship to reality. Stucturalism was the key target here.[25]

The importance of defending the theory of reflection was also a matter of arguing that art had to reflect national-ethnic circumstances. To deny the theory of reflection said that art had no such obligation and that an "imported" modernism was just as legitimate an artistic mode as forms of art that were rooted in national specificities. The existence of two rival positions on the question of human nature was connected with this question of the relationship between art and national circumstances. If modernism could be attacked for its anti-human tendencies, reducing art to either a manifestation of the conviction that the human subconscious was made up of bestial drives, or else to arbitrary cultural structures, it could paradoxically also be criticized for an excessive humanism. Theories of "human nature" denied historical and national specificities in the name of a false universalism. What was to be reflected was not only the socialist mode of production and the values which it endorsed and which contributed to its art, but the structures of Chinese ethno-national historical experience. Humanism was not a true universalism, but a code word for the intellectual hegemony of Euro-American capitalism. Those who endorsed it were affiliated with the ethno-national and historical nihilism whose great incarnations were Liu Xiaobo and the writers of the TV documentary series River Elegy, not to mention the more explicitly humanist Marxists like Su Shaozhi.

One could suggest that the aesthetic unpopularity of modernist art, stereotyped as celebrating the ugly and the distorted, was deployed as part of a critique by association of the "liberal" forces calling for greater government transparency in 1989. Although the thought of such figures as Yan Jiaqi and Fang Lizhi is distinguished by a strong commitment to a scientistic Enlightenment rationality and to a positive account of modernity as effecting liberation through the production of a faithful representation of the true nature of the world: political institutions are supposed to conform to the same representative form. Paradoxically, the critique of non-representational forms of art accompanies an attack on those who affirm the value of representation as both an epistemological system and a mode of political organization. (Fang is however renowned for having grown disenchanted with Maoism for its failure to take account of relativity theory in physics). Because modernism was identified as the characteristic aesthetic style of bourgeois liberalization, political activists whom the ruling forces had defined as their opponents who in fact favoured an account of the world much closer to representational realism than to artistic modernism could be associated

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with the ugliness and distortion of modern art. Rather than beauty and cleanliness, it might be argued, the advocates of bourgeois liberalization would produce a world that looked like the ugly landscapes of modernism. We can extrapolate from the theory that art is a reflection of social reality that the broken, pessimistic landscapes of modernist art denote a fractured reality. Whether as misrecognition of the true nature of human existence through the distortions of the commodity form or as a faithful picture of the woes of capitalist civilization and the spiritual crisis of a West which has abandoned the traditions of the enlightenment and the renaissance, artistic modernism is a metonomy for and a sign of a bankrupt and alien system.

As a mark of the kind of art that is to be upheld, the People's Daily of the 5th of April 1990 contains an article on the deputy director of the Xi'an Academy of Fine Arts, Professor Liu Wenxi.[26] A Zhejiang native who has lived for 30 years in Shaanxi, he is distinguished by a personal plainness and sincerity, which make people think he is an authentic native of Northern Shaanxi. His concern is with the cultural building of Northern Shaanxi, and the solution of the practical problems of this region, and secondly to call for people to pay attention to the achievements of the cultural figures of the Recent and Modern Eras, to collect their famous works and excellent products, and make an exhibit of them, to make foreigners understand China's modern culture and arts. For our young people this will also be a form of education in patriotism and in the excellent cultural traditions of our ethno-nation. Third is to recommend to the relevant sectors that when they are deciding and enacting cultural policy, they need to have clear standards, that under the premise of putting into practice the shuang bai and er wei policies, they need to make clear what they are promoting and what they are opposing. One should encourage artists to get into life, to go amongst the masses to carry out activities of art practice, in order to create works that have the social effect of moving history forward. Artists' practical life problems need to be solved, to prevent their being "trouble in the rear" (Here there is a practical recognition of the material factors in artistic discontent; artistic support is to be ensured by adequate funding). Liu argues that artists and the people should become as one, and they should get nourishment from life. He said that when bourgeois liberalization was spreading osme people have made some works that depart from reality and depart from the masses of the people, and regard this as "creativity".

There is a stress on how this art and its creators contrast with the effete urban style of intellectual modernism. It is an art formed by bold struggle in the open air, not cosseted in the studio.[27] (We can note here the claim on an alternative form of modern time, in the assertion that it is elderly painters of revolutionary realism that are in step with the times, emphasizing how the product of a rival modernity involves the articulation of another time, and a refusal to accept the hegemony exerted by Euro-American capitalism over the control and description of modern time).

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Ever since Shao Yu entered the arena of painting he has not been part of the "salon school" or "the hotel school", nor one sponging on the powerful from the "hanger-on school"; he was of the "open air school", "the field operations" school, the "group school". It is notable here that the art referred to here is battle art – the army, a group generally not catered to by modernist art, is thus identified as a constituency for painting. This of course is in line with the directives of the Yan'an talks and the constitution of the audience for art as, collectively, workers, peasants and soldiers.

Overall the stress on the answerability of the artistic consciousness to the society in inhabits should be seen not simply as a broad theory about ethical conduct in the arts, but also that the artist is concretely located in a particular work environment and is therefore required to conform to the norms and disciplines of the organization in which he or she is placed. Society, as well as an abstract totality, is a particular localized administrative entity – the work unit, with its structure of subunits. Questions of style must be resolved at this level. In 1990 artistic production was still very much framed by these organizational forms, but their cohesion and comprehensiveness was decreasing.

The insistence on an art that is for the classic Maoist audience of workers, soldiers and peasants appears periodically in the rest of the decade, but it is replaced by the much more undifferentiated community of 'the people' or the ethno-nation. This transition does not mean, however, that the policy of ensuring the production of socialist art has been abandoned. It is simply that the object to whom this socialist art is directed is much less clearly articulated in the terminology of the Yan'an talks. The general tendency is to stress the authority that the state has for ensuring that artistic production will help to strengthen the project of building 'spiritual civilization'.

One of the most explicit statements of this is the resolution passed at the 6th Plenum of the 14th Party Committee in October 1996 and stressed the overall mission of moral and spiritual governance and the complete interdependence of material and spiritual development. In this case, the primary issue appears to be asserting that economic development should not compromise the fundamental mission of spiritual transformation.[28]

"The Plenum clearly pointed out that the guiding idea of socialist spiritual civilization is: to take Marxism Leninism, Mao Zedong thought and the theory of socialism with Chinese characteristics established by Deng Xiaoping as the guide, to maintain the basic line and the basic overall policy of the party, to strengthen the building of thought and morality, to develop education, science and culture, to arm the people with scientific theory, to guide people with correct public opinion, to mould people with an exalted spirit to encourage people with excellent products, to cultivate thinking, moral, cultured and disciplined socialist citizens, to raise the quality of the thought and morality and the science and culture of the whole ethno nation, to unify and mobilize the people of

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each nationality/ethnicity to establish our country as a rich, democratic, civilized socialist modern country.

The plenum emphasized that the crux of constructing material civilization is with the party, and the crux of constructing spiritual civilization is also with the party. Party committees at each level need to recognize and manage correctly the relationship between material civilization and spiritual civilization, and maintaining throughout, seizing with both hands and both hands needing to be strong, to take both kinds of civilization as a unified target of struggle, and deeply them together, put them into practice together, and examine them together. At no time can one secure temporary economic development at the price of sacrificing spiritual civilization. The plenum decided to committee for directing the construction of spiritual civilization at central level. Each province, autonomous region and municipality can establish corresponding structures.

The plenum decreed, the comrades of the whole party and the peoples of each nationality in the whole country need to unite around the party central leadership with Jiang Zemin at its core and raise high the mighty banner of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, the myriad masses with one heart, to open up and advance, and work solidly, and with outstanding results in the construction of the two kinds of civilization, welcome the opening of the 15th assembly of national people's representatives.

In the aftermath of Deng Xiaoping's death in February of 1997, a restatement of the foundational meaning of his theory of literature and the arts was published on the arts page of the *People's Daily*.[29] It occupies the position of an obituary, and, one presumes, constitutes a formal and public affirmation of loyalty to his legacy.

It is affirmed that Deng's theory of socialism with Chinese characteristics is Marxism which contemporary China has developed. His thought on literature and art is an inheritance and development of Marxist Leninist art theory and Mao Zedong's theory.

The clearest special feature of Deng's thought is the use of dialectical and historical materialism to examine the development of art under the new historical conditions and to sum up the experience and lessons of the development of our country's revolutionary socialist art., uncovering the artistic rules which are those of socialist aesthetic ideology, particularly socialist art ideology, and thinking through the parties art strategies and policies, from the heights of a broad vision of the world and historical struggle, setting out from the construction of socialism with Chinese characteristics, carrying on after Mao Zedong, and pointing out for us an even broader road for enriching socialist art.

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The core of Deng's art thinking is that art must serve the people and must serve socialism. Because seen through the historical view of dialectical materialism, the people are at all historical periods always the main body in the creation of history, and socialism must protect the complete results of historical creation which the people enjoy. Although art is an aesthetic ideology, if examined as a whole it still belongs to the superstructure of a particular society, socialist art must necessarily reflect the socialist economic base and make its own special contribution to the consolidation and development of the whole socialist system.

Deng stressed: "We need to maintain the direction that Comrade Mao Zedong put forward that art must serve the broadest mass of the people, and first of all the workers, peasants and soldiers", stressing that art workers, just like each the cadres and masses on each front, need to be the stimulating faction in the construction of the four modernizations. The enterprise of socialism is the enterprise of the people- it is where the basic interest of the masses of the people resides. He said "Our art belongs to the people. Our people are industrious and brave, steadfast, intelligent, idealistic, they deeply love the motherland, they deeply love socialism, they look at the overall situation and keep discipline…artistic creation must fully manifest the excellent qualities of our people, and praise the great victories attained in the revolution and in construction, and in struggles with every kind of enemy and with every kind of difficulty. Our art ought to make even greater efforts in the area of describing and cultivating the socialist new person, and achieve an even greater result."

(Art here is part of the capacity of the leadership to name and describe the qualities of "our people": its representations are meant to manifest the claims of the party to represent the authentic identity of the masses. Because Art belongs to the people it must project their qualities – the qualities that the leadership has named – that they are industrious and brave, intelligent, idealistic, patriotic and loyal to socialism and disciplined. Art therefore is part of the ability of the party to articulate the national character (and it is a representation of national character which systematically refutes the old colonial critique of the failings of the Chinaman, as lazy, cowardly, stupid, cynical and duplicitous, bereft of authentic patriotism, and indifferent to collective welfare in the pursuit of private profit, concern only with parochial self interest and without discipline). The responsibility of art is to "manifest fully the excellent qualities of our people": its job is indivisible from discourse about national character, which is also a moulding and shaping of that character, by awakening the masses to their own excellence by showing them representations of their own qualities. It tallies closely with the general project of improving quality that joined both population policy and cultural policy – the preoccupation with the *suzhi* of people. A discourse which is clearly governmental in the sense of being directed towards the larger question of population and its governance, thus translates neatly into a series of judgments about artistic worth. Dengist modernization is about the

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enhancement of the quality of the governed population, which is to be brought into line with the representations of its true nature as a disciplined, intelligent, patriotic, socially responsible, steadfast body – with the ultimate aim of making this population self-governing. This system of character and quality enhancement, wrought by healthy cultural products as much as by other modernized technologies and systems, will produce, it is hoped ever greater levels of self discipline. It reflects the socialist base and consolidates it, by acting on the conduct and thought of those who "people" that system.

But art must also record the results of preceding struggles, it must attest to history. The character of the people is what has unfolded through history, a history of victories against enemies and difficulties. The qualities of the people that art must represent are not outside of history. Instead the movement of history is the unfolding of these qualities, their progressive movement from obscurity to full manifestation. Art assists this historical movement and also records it. It is a history that is recorded in the production of the socialist new person; not a disembodied history but one which is concretely manifested in the character of those who incarnate the virtues of diligence and discipline that Deng asserts are matters of national character. Because modernization is the goal, the process of bringing this character into full visibility is identified with the generation of a true and complete modernity. These national qualities are both the driving force of modernization – the things that make it possible – and what the project of modernization is supposed to realize. John Fitzgerald has argued that realist fiction became central to the political projects of Chinese states in the 1920s: the core plot structure of realist fiction involves the awakening of the hero to the true nature of reality. The internal plots of novels translate into the social function of art as an To produce art that is in some sense counter realist or anti realist is thus associated with reproducing the slumber of the unawakened, and thus enslaved, nation. Thus the insistence that art must reflect the excellence of the national character is linked to the conviction that art is an instrument of modernization, and the achievement of national dignity and sovereignty.

He not only required that "Art workers who fulfill their responsibilities to the people, need to face towards the people without deviating, to seek excellence/refinement amongst excellence/refinement in art, and strenuously inhibit creating with crudity and excess, they need to conscientiously and seriously think through the social effects of their own products, and strongly seek to offer the finest spiritual grain to the masses"

(Here the project of social responsibility is one of creating refinement and avoiding crudity and roughness. Chinese socialist modernity involves the production of a concentrated essence, something that is sublime, excellent and refined. The vitalist eugenic concern here is very pronounced: the avoidance of vulgarity, is like population control, a matter of the concentration and

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conservation of life essences so that it will bring forth only the finest products – instead of the coarse and uncontrolled production of an over populated Maoist command economy, the vital essence of the nation had to be held back and cultivated, so that in the place of coarse grain and crude iron there would be refined concentrated products. The rhetoric of the engineer of the soul and of spiritual grain has a new inflection in the age of population planning and light industry production. Seed will not be wasted here).

(Like the refined, high quality population that would be generated by the programme of population control, art would renounce coarseness and excess. There would be no waste, simply the search for ever higher levels of refinement). Furthermore, he pointed out, "The people are the mothers of art workers. The artistic life of all progressive art workers, lies in their flesh and blood relation with the people." He said " The people need art, but art needs the people even more". This recapitulation of the Yan'an rhetoric, allows of course, the party leadership, as the incarnation of the people to preside over the judgment of works of art: because the party is also the representative of the form of advanced personhood which has not yet come into existence, the truth of the people-who-are-not-yet-aware-of-their-true-nature, it is able to arbitrate over which works truly reflect how the people truly are. The critique of coarseness, the call for refinement and the discovery (or recovery) of the essence, permit attacks on pessimistic forms of realism, which show only the surface. It is worth noting the ambiguity of the term "the people" –does it connote a national body or a class group? In both cases the claim to representative powers permits the leadership of the party to present itself as the arbiter of both national and popular identity.

At the same time as holding fast to the artistic direction of serving the people and serving socialism, Comrade Deng Xiaoping paid great attention toe the laws/norms/rules of art, including the special laws of socialist art, maintaining that art workers and party leaders all needed to respect/adhere to the laws of art. He stressed the character of art as a social ideology, and stressed that our art ought to "diligently use socialist thinking to educate the people." But he also deeply knew the specialness of art, as an aesthetic ideology/form of aesthetic consciousness, in the total social ideology. He adopted Lenin's pronouncement, emphasizing that the socialist enterprise "absolutely must guarantee the open space of individual creativity and individual preferences, the open space which possess thought, dreams, form and content." He pointed out that "art, this complex cultural labour, greatly needs artist to give play to their individual creative spirit.

What to write and how to write, can only be progressively resolved by artists exploring it in their artistic practice. In this respect, one should not wantonly interfere. With great theoretical courage

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he abandoned the formulation of "art belonging to politics" that had been circulating for many years, completely elucidating the relationship between art and politics.

He said " We maintain the guiding principle of "letting one hundred flowers bloom and one hundred schools of thought contend" and "the doctrine of "three nots", and we won't continue to promulgate slogans like art belongs to politics, because these slogans easily become the theoretical basis for wanton interference in the arts, and long practice testifies that they do more harm than good to the development of art. But, this is of course not to say that that the arts can part company with politics. The arts cannot part company with politics. Any progressive, revolutionary worker in the arts cannot not think about the social influence of their works, and cannot not think about the interests of the people, and the interests of the country and the interests of the Party. To build the socialist new person is indeed politics." These judgments are without profound conclusions founded on the lessons and experience of the development of revolutionary art, they are something produced on the basis of a deep understanding of the special features which an art that acts as a social ideology must possess, and so they shine with the radiance of an irrefutable truth!

(Art has an autonomous space, or rather a semi autonomous space. The suspension of the slogan that art belongs to politics is not equated with a complete dissociation of art from politics – art is politics because it is part of building the socialist new person. Workers in the arts, who are progressive and revolutionary, must contemplate the effect of their work on the wider constituency: they must think of its relationship to "society", to the interests of "the people", the interests of "the country" and the interests of "the party". It is a process of self-regulation, and its rationale is a developmentalist one: the old formulation of art belonging to politics caused wanton interference which obstructed artistic development. Here the position mirrors that of the relaxation of political controls on the economy as the centre of the reform: political interference is criticized because it was held to stand in the way of development. The arts now serve not politics, but two different entities: the people and socialism. In other words, art is moved to a space where what it is answerable to is the institutional structure and ethical programme of socialism (itself placed at a remove from politics – Dengist socialism being distinguished from the Maoist variety in that it did not place the political at the centre of the socialist, but rather saw socialism as a system of organization for production and a set of values and commitments, an attitude towards the world, defined as "society" rather than a set of relations of power) and to the abstract totality of "the people". So long as art is engaged at some level in the creation of the socialist new person – the specific embodiment of "socialism" and "the people", fused into a single entity - and does not define itself against either "socialism" or "the people", its existence is legitimate).

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Deng "paid great attention to opening up the struggle against the corrupt thinking of the exploiting classes and anti Marxist thinking, opposing the false viewpoints of both "Leftism" and "Rightism", and also dogmatism and vulgar sociology, and he resolutely opposed the remnant consciousness of feudalism and the thought vogues of bourgeois liberalization…"

Some people, he noted, wantonly promote the thought of the west's so called "modernist school", publicly proclaiming that the highest goal of are is to "express the self", or propagate abstract theories of human nature, humanism, considering that the so called alienation under socialist conditions ought to be a subject of creation, and various works also propagate sex" These earnest exhortations and criticisms, can be called sincere and earnest wishes, remaining fresh in one's memory, for ever being an example to lead us on the path towards the future.

(Western modernism is identified here with an ideology of self expression, in which, by implication, private interest is placed above the associative community – society as a whole or the nation – it is further affiliated with abstraction, and with the purportedly ahistorical doctrines of humanism and human nature, which assign a permanent nature to human beings and place it outside of its concrete social environment. The chief problem with this doctrine of affirming human dignity, in the eyes of critics, is its suggestion that alienation is possible in a society where the means of production are supposed to be publicly owned, and where, by definition, people are not alienated from the products of their own labour. The critique of the Western Modernist school is its selection of this sense of social disease as its subject matter. While abstract form may be targeted as denying the basic principle of art serving the people and socialism because socialism and the people are identified with linearity and a supposed ease of understanding, it is the supposed connection between western modernism and the problem of alienation under socialism, that a few weeks after Deng Xiaoping's death could still be cited as promoting discontent through a false representation of the real. If the real character of "the people" is that they are hard-working, intelligent, disciplined, patriotic and committed to the values of the collective, a modernism of alienation can only appear as an imported distortion, a slur on national dignity, and potentially, a threat to sovereignty, since the portrayal of an alienated populace does not favour the production of a superior strain, and echoes the critiques of national character which formed a rationale for imperialist incursion prior to 1949. There is thus a false form of modern art, one which is inimical to the project of modernization and which will produce not autonomy, dignity and beauty, but national backwardness. In this sense, modernist art is associated with the production of non-modernity in China, and with the dissipation of national vitality, through crudity and excess).

Almost a year and a half later, another tribute to Deng Xiaoping's thought on the arts offered the following summation of his doctrines.[30] Its stress is on his creativity, his capacity to create the

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new. The post-mortem writings about Deng's thought have the privilege of summation to which their ascribed author cannot respond: they may be reordered and represented according to the needs of the times. Condensed and displaced from the context of their original formation – the struggle with an established concept of the arts with institutional vested interests.

The creativity of this thought, a thought that is distinguished by its creativity is a product of its age, inseparable the larger environment in which it was found, the great change in which it was enmeshed. The author enumerates eight features of Deng Xiaoping's thoughts on art:

First: it produced new judgments on the path that the development of socialist art ought to travel, with a firm footing in China's national conditions. This was the logical starting point for a series of Deng Xiaopings theoretical viewpoints on constructing socialism with Chinese characteristics, and was the basic point of departure for examining and analyzing the various enterprises and industries in China in the initial stages of socialism, which necessarily included the arts. The socialist arts of the new age in China ought to travel their own road and needed to have an ethnic/national style and the special features of the times."

(The arts are a sector within the larger framework of enterprises which Deng Xiaoping theory is supposed to have encompassed as a totality, bringing a unified theoretical gaze to them all but recognizing their specificity).

Second: Deng's thought gives a new scientific definition to socialist art, upholding the principle of comprehensive harmonized development. (Socialist art, this theory implies, is distinguished from capitalist art because its place is one of harmony with the totality of other social activities, the ensemble of institutions and structures. It is not in tension with economic activity or subordinated to it, but harmonized with it). Art needs to be adapted not only to the socialist economy and socialist politics which are in the process of changing and perfecting themselves, but it also needs to be adapted to the highly developed socialist democracy and the total/complete socialist legal system. Next to this socialist art has an important influencing function in the new era, and artists need to increase their awareness of responsibility firmly and thoroughly. Next to that in line with the core of the party's work moving from taking class struggle as the guideline to making economic construction the centre, the heart of socialist art work is liberating and developing the productive power of art, fully activating the positiveness and creativity of those in the arts, making them put the entirety of their energies into the creation of, research of or critique on the arts. (Art work is a matter of creation, research and critique: three kinds of activities are envisaged, activities which differ in kind from those thought of in the paradigm of production, distribution and sale).

Third: in Deng's thought can be seen the expansion or broadening of the scope of service. (note the amibiguity here in the move from the maoist notion of serving he people and socialism to the

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idea of the service industry, the tertiary sector into which economic analysis classifies art work): To make real the direction of serving the people and serving socialism. Deng pointed out, that one should not continue to promote slogans like art should serve politics." In the new historical era, the scope of the people has greatly expanded and so the object of service is to serve the very broadest masses of the people. Art cannot sim;y serve politics and co-ordinate with the centre, but ought to serve the entirely of the socialist enterprise. (Thus a sociology which adopts an expanded definition of the people allows a space for the existence of types of art which do not serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. In the 1989 crisis it was possible to assert that the art production of the late 1980s had been transformed into an instrument of a small group of reactionaries rather than the mass constituency of the workers, soldiers and peasants).

Four: Deng boldly rectified arts policy and injected new content into the arts policy of letting 100 flowers bloom and 100 schools of thought contend. Deng seriously raised the issue that arts policy needed to be corrected in the latter phase of the Cultural Revolution and in the new era did work for rooting out chaos and returning to rectitude and developing creativity. His main contributions were, opposing usurpation, separation/isolation, and upholding "understanding totally and correctly" second was a new interpretation of the concreted contents of guiding principles in the arts, He put forth " promoting the free development of different forms and styles in artistic creation, promoting free discussion of different concepts and schools in art theory, emphasizing that the key for pushing out the old and bringing forth the new is in daring to create. Artists and critics should have a high degrees of create freedom and freedom of critique but that artists should treasure the glorious title of engineers of the human soul, and establish a strong sense of social responsibility, and pay attention to the social effects of the art as and offer the finest spiritual grain to the people.

Five: Satisfying the different requirements of the masses of the people, making a new explication in the area of the function of art. Deng Xiaoping said, "majestic and fine, serious and harmonious, emotionally expressive and rational, so long as the people can obtain education and enlightenment obtain entertainment/pleasure and enjoyment of beauty, they all ought to have their own place in our garden of art. (Art supplies understanding and education, entertainment and pleasure and the enjoyment of beauty)

Six: Starting from reality, he conscientiously combed out a new path of thought for opening the struggle against negative tendencies. In facing new art practice he brought forth a way of thinking for resisting erroneous thought tendencies. He criticized the tendency of not daring to criticize mistaken tendencies, and then reacting violently as soon as you criticize, which is especially unhelpful for the healthy development of the socialist art enterprise in the conditions of reform and openness and the market economy. One needs for establishing, through lively art criticism and other real

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work, the new concept that "whether something is the beneficial or harmful to the realization of the four modernizations ought to be the most basic standard of truth and falsity for measuring all work" making people self consciously defend against and resist the influence and interference of all kinds of erroneous thought tendencies and causing socialist art to maintain from beginning to end a correct direction and to be full of vitality

Seven: Correctly understanding the special character of art, and at the same time raising the new issues that artistic development faced in the conditions of the of the socialist market economy. The establishment of the socialist market economy system raised new and higher requirements for the development of the socialist arts enterprise. The arts of the new era needed both to dare to seek development in market competition, and also to resist and rectify the tendencies of "in everything search for money" and totally commodifying artistic products. One needs to correctly manage the long term development of the arts and short term consumption, high culture and popular culture, culture's character as an enterprise and culture as a matter of public benefit, in particular its social effects and its economic effects, taking social effects as the highest standard, to deploy economic, legal and administrative means to make the production of artistic products conform with the basic requirements that socialism with Chinese characteristics has for art, and healthily and in an orderly fashion develop into the future

Eight: Thoroughly grasp the special features of art and raise to a new level the respect for the rules of art and the creative labour of artists. The question of respecting the rules of art and the labour of artists is a key question that relates to the prosperity of the arts, and whether or not the CCP, this ruling party, can properly lead artistic work, In the question of treating the concrete art creation, critique and research, he considered that the most important thing was to grasp the special features of art and the laws of its development…He thought that the party's work in leading the arts, is absolutely not a matter of making administrative orders. One must abandon the Yamen style, and exchange opinions with artists on an equal footing, and one wants in all respects to guarantee that artists can give full play to their talent and intelligence.

The article gives rise to a number of possible observations. As part of the ideological system, the system of thought, art falls directly within the domain over which the party claims sovereignty. Deng is credited with presiding over a change in values in relation to art (a change which it might be suggested may have arisen from the desire to neutralize the arts sector in the political struggles, to deprive it of political influence by claiming to rid it of political interference) One can argue that the transformation of the arts system is a corollary of the overall ideology which Deng pursued, a project which is best categorized as 'decollectivisation'. Following a standard Marxist doctrine of the superstructure reflecting the base, one could hold that the semi-privatization of the means of

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production had its necessary parallel in the semi privatization granted to artists, who were required to be self regulating, rather than controlled by techniques of mass evaluation and critique (like the system for setting work points in the Maoist era).

In this official statement however, Deng is credited not primarily with the transformation of artistic practice through the effects of the market but with an intellectual transformation of the place of the arts within the theory of socialist transition and construction. This has a number of key points, but among the most fundamental is the expanded and reformulated definition of "the people" and the notion of art possessing its own laws and norms. This is a specific type of historical awareness, formed by defining the character of the age, and the representation of a socialist new era, driven by the unleashing of productive forces harnessed by the inflexibility of the system of class struggle and keeping politics in command.

The original context for the propagation of Deng Xiaoping's art theory is presumably one of a battle with the area in which Cultural Revolution ideologies and their supporters were most strongly entrenched: the cultural establishment, by repute a power base of the Gang of Four. One can argue that to win this battle a cultural counter revolution had to be launched, by offering a space to those whom cultural revolution culture had deprived of power, which in the cultural field is above all the power to represent (in the concrete form of art products) At the same time, orthodoxies had to remain in place, to ensure both the appearance of continuity and to uphold the central tenets of party ideology, an ideology which increasingly focused on the party as the primary force of organizational coherence. Art had a powerful revaluing role, a mechanism for representing transition. It could do so at low cost – it was cheaper to make the new in Art than in other areas (military technology or transportation for example), and arguably, cheaper in terms of political cost, since the production of art is not a key part of economic infrastructure, and thus the suppression of unhealthy developments can be done without excessive damage to the overall functioning of the system. At the same time, it can produce representations of modernization in other sectors which are in a very real sense, enchanting. Images or descriptions of rockets or of nuclear power stations can be made far more cheaply and quickly than "the real thing": they can effect a transition in representational codes, and implant a simulacrum of the modern very pervasively in social life. They offer a sense of the new, and with them a new system of sense, a system of sense which is prepared for the realization of these visions in the concrete stuff of the lived world. The modality of modernity that Dengist art produces is one of anticipation. Rather than a false view of the world as it isn't, images structure expectations and preferences. With the revolution in the cultural sector, effected by capitalizing on internal alienation and licensing a certain number of those previously denied the right to disseminate cultural products, a rapid restructuring of preferences and

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expectations could be effected. This is now presented primarily as a response to concrete discontents over material conditions and political oppression. Deng and his supporters, it is argued, simply tapped into pervasive desires for more consumer goods. But one can also assert that the project of the four modernizations was also something that needed to be represented – the revaluing that went on was a process of giving shape and names to things and of producing hopes, which are by definition representations of hopes.

Modern, socialist and ethno-national

As is well known, the past two decades have seen art practice in the People's Republic of China carried out within an official ideological project of "modernising socialist construction Chinese characteristics" (you zhongguo tese shehuizhuyi xiandaihua jianshe). The modernised, socialist, Chinese/Ethnic-national formulation appeared first when Deng Xiaoping and his associates initiated the programme of structural reform in the late 1970s. It was supposed to break with the rhetoric and ideologies of the Cultural Revolution era by identifying modernisation rather than the struggle between classes as the central element in construction. At the same time it was to be distinguished from other modernisation programmes by its socialist character and its distinctive Chinese qualities. The aim was not to build a capitalist modern world but a socialist one, and it was to produce not a generic modernity but one which would exhibit special Chinese or ethnic-national qualities. In short, the project was constituted as simultaneously part of a universal modern order and as a special manifestation of the modern and the socialist: socialism and modernity had an alternative Chinese lineage.

Modernisation was meant to produce and enhance Chinese and socialist distinctiveness rather than to erase them. The job of culture, as one of the primary domains for the production of difference, thus had a special responsibility for inflecting this modernity with the special marks of the Chinese ethno-nation and its socialist system. As much as historical or institutional legacies, the socialist and the Chinese constituted a distinctive moral order and set of commitments. Increasingly, the socialist stands less for a non-competitive mode of economic organisation but for a particular stance towards the world which may be defined in contrast to a supposedly individualist ethic driven by the false interests of the self. The socialist commitments of the approved forms of modernised and modernising art produced in China in the 1990s are supposed to mark it off in spirit from the art of capitalist modernity. What distinguishes it is supposedly an awareness of the social nature of human existence, and an orientation towards the social and a sense of responsibility to it, rather than the fractured, alienated consciousness purportedly at the heart of capitalist modernity. Paradoxically, official rhetoric about socialist modern art distinguishes if from capitalist art in its animating spirit

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rather than in its mode of production, exchange and ownership, or in the account of historical processes which it offers.

On the surface, this rhetoric resonates very strongly with that of other authoritarian modernisation programmes in their insistence on differences of spirit. Aesthetic value is both the exemplar and the agent of this production of spiritual difference within modernity. Conservative nationalist developmental regimes have all tended pretty much to say much the same thing about culture and responsibility. The modernising discourses of Menzies' Australia or those of New Order Indonesia all stressed spiritual differences between themselves and their opponent modernities – godless communism or secular humanism. What distinguishes reformer art rhetoric and practice is its historical relationship to the forms of social organisation and ideology articulated in the cultural revolution, institutions and ideas which it set out to reform rather than to overthrow. The Chinese socialist modernity of the Deng era is an historical transformation of the very different Chinese socialist modernity of the Mao period. This difference is at once a fabricated or artificial break which invents discontinuities in institutions and practices where there is substantial continuity and a real break where ideologies and actions displace what they claim to inherit and uphold. Cultural practice both fabricates these institutional breaks and conceals them. On the one hand, modernisation is supposed to have thoroughly overturned the legacies of the Cultural Revolution (depicted as non-modern) and also upheld the underlying systems and principles of socialism. It simultaneously ends global isolation and strengthens national integrity.

Modernised, socialist and Chinese construction has become a kind of catechism which is repeated in the annual ceremonial cycles, above all in public meetings of committees and on the anniversaries which constitute the temporal order through which this construction project is reviewed, reaffirmed and remade. In the late 1990 they sit alongside other discourses about cultural markets (wenhua shichang) and cultural industries (wenhua chanye) and the processes of marketisation and industrialisation that these involve. Over the last half decade or so official rhetoric is increasingly inflected with the language of an economistic managerialism, in which culture and economics blur into each other: cultural systems are economic orders, with markets, prices, supplies and demands, producers and consumers and laws of transaction and economies are cultural systems in which economic behaviour is structured by the logic of culture. There is an increasing concern with the cost of culture and how these costs are to be sustained; the job of cultural management is not simply to ensure that the right forms of culture are produced but also to ensure that expenditure is not excessive, and that the market in symbolic goods is properly regulated. From being the chief sponsor and adjudicator of art production, the governmental apparatus has shifted to being a market regulator, which must ensure fair trading and conformity with market laws and

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regulations. Yet the notion of cultural economics is not simply a matter of the economics of culture: if economic behaviour has a cultural logic, the transactions of the market place may be identified as something more than simple acts of buying and selling. Transactions belong within a cultural system, and the nature of those transactions, some statements in the People's Daily suggest, forms part of an overall spiritual and material totality. The economy-culture will ultimately constitute an organic unity, in which economic and cultural action will fuse into one. The contradiction between the notion of culture markets and the structure of Chinese socialist modernisation may thus be resolved at a textual level. The official claim that this kind of unification is possible seeks to challenge the dichotomy between culture and marketplace that supposedly characterises capitalist society. If this utopianism is heavily indebted to the prevailing ideologies of global cyber capitalism of the end of the 1990s it can also be seen as an extension and development of the alternative modernisation platform first articulated by Deng Xiaoping and others in the late 1970s.

It is easy to see this mantra of socialist, modernised and Chinese as a pragmatic cliché, one formulated in the era immediately after the Cultural Revolution to hold together an unstable collection of rival political forces and thus something riven with contradictions and essentially incoherent, just like the economic mode it promotes – "the socialist market". It might be argued that it as simply a device for "the party" to continue to "hold power", by insisting on the moral gap between being modernised, socialist and Chinese and the backward tradition, selfish individualism and loss of cultural identity and integrity to which these qualities are structurally opposed. (This approach takes power to be simply manipulation. Power relations are held to be nothing more than a process through which power holders take and keep power from those over whom they rule, either through force or through deception. The desire to keep power, it would be argued, produces ideologies which are without coherence, and which manifest nothing more than primitive justifications for the continued domination of a particular authoritarian group).

If the question of why this seemingly unstable formulation has proven so durable is not sufficient to make us question this account of the official rhetoric of the reform era, then an examination of why art practice in contemporary China is in style, content and the manner of its production different from those in Euro-American centres and indeed different from that in other centres of Chinese culture like Singapore, ought to make us look more closely at this project and its internal logic. The argument that the current order in China is simply an incomplete modernity or an incomplete capitalism (or for that matter an incomplete socialism) can only treat the present in contemporary China as a mixture of pasts (or "traditions") that have not quite gone away and futures that have not quite arrived. From the viewpoint of a sociology of culture this reduces social and

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cultural practices in the People's Republic to transitional phenomena which are intelligible only within a framework of a modernisation. (Curiously, this kind of approach reproduces the developmental rhetoric of the government itself whose account of the present is saturated with movement towards the future, a rhetoric which to a great extent precludes any thorough analysis of relations of social power, relations that are historical in origin. The focus on where the present is heading obstructs the moral critique of the present and the exploration of its relationship to a group of historical interests and structures. This classic instance of the denial of the social, which Bourdieu has suggested is one of the distinguishing features of the art field as a domain of practice, shifts all attention away form the present and onto the future, in a way which seems ideological in the crudest sense – a systematic mystification of relations of production by referring solely to an imaginary order. One can of course locate this articulation of art and the modernisation project as a matter of futures as an emanation of a series of personal and institutional mobility agendas, in which people and organisations are driven by a relentless desire to get ahead, to attain greater levels of recognition and dominance. To some extent this is a useful way to conceive of the issue – relations of knowledge, which are fundamental to the production of artistic value (above all on the market place), depend on relations of cognition and recognition, of which "reputation" is the most explicit instance, and the drive for reputation and the attainment of personal and national dignity is practically located in a future which has not yet arrived. Modernisation is both the process through which these relations of cognition and recognition are to be played out, and the state of attaining a recognised place in the world. The trajectories of a career, a movement from obscurity to fame through the accumulation in the course of a life time of a personal capital registered in accolades, titles and awards (the objective marks of reputation, which in the art field are paradoxically likely to destroy ones reputation in some circles), and the trajectories of a project of economic modernisation are both processes of becoming recognised, through the accumulation of credit and credentials.)

At the time of Mao's death economic and cultural capital were concentrated almost entirely in the public sector. In other words, sources of symbolic and material credit were primarily state-owned. The state granted credit to artists in the form of affirming the status of those whose work was deemed the most creditable and in the material form of "loaning" them the resources to pursue their work. This was a "social credit" in that the "loan" took the form of a permanent salary and housing to designated art producers, rather than a creditor-debtor relationship of loan and repayment. Practically speaking the command art economy of the Mao era was one free of debt: sanctioned producers created with a full state subsidy, and those who were not sanctioned produced goods that were completely unrecognised because they did not circulate on any official market. Art reputations in the official art economy were made and remade through the mechanisms of state

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acclaim, of which the major newspapers like the People's Daily were the most overt and obvious form, since they translated the acclaim held within a specialised sector of the art economy (like an art school or a cultural troupe) into a public domain

A social history of art which is framed as a history of individual and collective career trajectories is thus a history of the transformation of this state-owned credit and its transfer to other locations in the reform era. Most overtly and obviously, it is the transfer of art resources from the state sphere (among which we may include objective resources like paintings, sculptures, studios, gallery space and art materials and also the embodied resources of artistic talents trained in state institutions) into the private art market, where the state can no longer fix the value of artistic reputations. Co-terminous with this is the declining rate of state support for full time artistic work. Given that this process of transferring the production of artistic credit away from the state is arguably the basic historical dynamic in of art economies in the reform era, how can we define the place of the institutions which previously exerted the greatest authority in the production and ratification of artistic credit – the official media like the People's Daily? The art credit institutions of the planned economy era have not simply gone bankrupt; rather, they maintain a credit regime which coexists with but is nonetheless distinct from the other modes for determining artistic value.

This is partly an historical process – artistic capital and credit were initially concentrated in the state sector, and thus the process of establishing new credit regimes is something which the public art economy has itself presided over. The legacies of this earlier system of art credit and credentials survive not simply as the hoary hand of state interference in the work of art producers, but rather in the perpetuation regimes of taste and aesthetic judgment which were shaped by the planned economy. Practically speaking, this presence is marked by the high prices which famous socialist realist works from the 1950s, 60s and 1970s commanded on the auction markets of the 1990s. What was valued under the structures of the planned economy continues to command high values in the reform era markets. Through the course of the reforms these institutionally structured systems of aesthetic discrimination have been deployed on "the socialist art market with Chinese characteristics" both as systems of preference which govern acquisition choices and concretely as objects for sale. Practically speaking, in the late 1990s state forces are no longer simply those who regulate and control art production and judgment. They are now a market player whose systems of art preference they are naturally interested in promoting. Put simply those who sponsor or possess art works which have been produced by and for the institutional demands of socialist modern culture wish to see the value of these stocks being preserved and enhanced by the market. The market becomes an instrument for the ratification of "socialist" value.

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At the same time, one cannot interpret the art discourse of the reform solely through the categories of a political economy of art production and exchange. From the outset, the reform sought to articulate an alternative vision, to displace that of the Cultural Revolution and to enlist and articulate a particular aesthetic of modernisation.

Beauty was central to the reform: the project of modernisation was not simply a technological or managerial one. It aimed to create a beautiful world. In this sense the propaganda of reform was more than simply a window dressing. Modernised life was characterised by an aesthetic unity between the modern, the socialist and the ethnic-national. If the project of Deng Xiaoping is often seen as pragmatic and anti-idealistic in its goals, there is a strongly utopian element in it, that the project of socialist art is meant to produce as well as envision. The critique of the cultural revolution and the critiques of culture in the 1980s were each of them indebted to a vision of stellar progress in which the stars are not simply signs of what is remote and what may be conquered by technology. The stars which are iconographically central to the early reform period are points of beauty, a beauty which becomes a goal for collective striving. This unites the scientific-technical aspects of the reform, represented above all by space programmes, and the aesthetic preoccupation of artists from the "dissidents" of the New Stars group to those designing posters for the Four Modernisations. Socialist time and modern time were now sidereal and aestheticised rather than the command economy times of the factory shift and the annual harvest.

c.3 Socialist art

At the crudest level the service of socialism in art can be seen as ensuring that art works do not challenge the power of the ruling party or suggest that its monopolies of power should end. Many would argue that it has no meaning beyond this. Under this reasoning the vast amount of ink spilled about a socialist aesthetic is really a way of camouflaging political passivity.

Perhaps the durability of the rhetoric about socialism in the 1990s connotes less a system of ownership distinct from capitalism but a category something like "societyism", where the values of some imagined totality are constructed in opposition to individualism, where gain is personal. The act of accumulation it can be argued is motivated not by selfish interest but by a desire to add to the overall wealth of the nation, or if not that, to its prestige. When the term socialist is deployed it connotes these values. Hence the persistence of socialism as a concept may have less to do with the ideological weakness and simple repressiveness of the state than with a shift in its meaning. A contradiction like Socialist market economy is thus intelligible since it refers to something like a market economy which is supposed to engineer collective prosperity rather than individual enrichment. The popularity of socialist art rests not in a strong identification with anti-capitalist

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ideologies but with the value of iconic representations of leaders distinguished by personal probity, and the beginnings of a collective struggle for material betterment.

Interpretative monopolies and cultural economies

In the immediate post Tiananmen period, criticism is a practical technique for the production of socialist art: art is supposed to respond to and correspond with social discipline, which means that it coheres with the organisational units in which the artist is working. Criticism and production are fused into a single process in which they aim is the production of a perfected personality, conscious of his or her membership in the hierarchy. This is the same principle as in the economy of the Cultural Revolution – criticism is carried out to achieve the perfection of production and producers within the unit, the concrete site of the social (rather than an abstract collection of people who have never met each other, the society is a network of units and departments – its fundamental form is the meeting). Thus the reassertion of socialist management in art is practically speaking a call to hold more meetings through which the identity of art work and the social can be reaffirmed.

In the 1980s and the early 1990s, the aesthetic unity of the socialist life in the Dengist programme – modern, socialist and "ethno-national" – is to be achieved by having art administratively organised in a way that differs from the individualist structures of bourgeois liberal art. The artist acknowledges a responsibility to the institutional structures in which he or she is working. Criticism is designed to assist in the development and enactment of this sense of responsibility. Here the analogy is clearly with engineering, the improvement of crops, and the military view of criticism in the production of soldierly conduct: growth is not natural, but something that must be constantly improved upon. The evaluation of the soldier's performance, the success of the seed strain or the deployment of a prototype all involve techniques of observation and advice which aim at further modifications. This contrasts somewhat with Maoist criticism where the act of critique is more or less coterminous with the human, and where critique is part of action against the ever-present danger of bureaucratic consolidation.

Criticism is a mode for the production of a social art: art will be made by collective action through criticism and collective judgment of the individual work. This is the basic position of Maoist art theory. Yet the operation of this system depends practically on a fully subsidised art system where all workers are salaried employees. The fiscal constraints on this system as well as the art desires of the rich lead to the displacement of this notion by an alternative model of cultural economics. Built into this is the sense of an economics of culture, dominated by the rules of cultural costs, but there is a contemporaneous sense of the culture of the economy, through which modes of economic behaviour do not conform to a single authoritative model – that of liberal capitalism.

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Rather there are different economic cultures – the Chinese socialist market has a cultural and economic logic which differs from that of "Western" individualism. This culture is supposedly registered in specific modes of conducting economic transactions, in which, the glory of "the social" and "the nation" are the aim of accumulation. The specific dynamics of this are registered in a specific set of aesthetic preferences. Art collecting can be phrased as patriotic duty rather than privitisation. The entrepreneur undertakes a responsibility to the collective patrimony, upholding its value and dynamism. Those whose products are exceptional (*jingpin*) are those that condense a national essence (*guocui*). The vitality of the economy allows the accumulation and concentration of this essence in art and in sites of vital power. The world art market serves both to exhibit this national essence and to deplete it. Hence the history of modern Chinese art is conceived simultaneously as one of the concentration of this vitality and of foreign expropriations of it. Chinese art is part of a history of national shame, above all in the removal of art treasures by foreign powers (the looting of the *Yuanming yuan*, Langdon Warner's removal of the murals at Dunhuang etc) and the loss of important art works as foreign students took them abroad.

Critiques of the psychology of the subconscious, of structuralism, and of existentialism rest on the reassertion of an overall coherence to reality which is founded on the historical and the material. Culture and politics must assert this organic unity, which is the unity of the subjective and the objective dimensions of human existence. Art objects cannot be treated simply as things: they are emanations of mindsets. Structuralism's "objectivity" – the confinement of thought by structure - is rejected because of its attention to the arbitrary and constructed nature of cultural systems, and because of the corresponding lack of human volition in them. The transformative power of subjective intent (central to Maoism, but also significant in the Dengist project) is asserted as an essential component of the distinctiveness of the human. It marks people off from beasts
At the same time, subjective extremism is rejected as a denial of the material determinates of individual psychology. In place of the health and happiness of a life lived in conformity with objective laws – the health and happiness of a scientific life – modernist subjectivity can only restate the emptiness of the world. The Dengist modernisation project is designed to refute this nihilism through the affirmation of the beauties of the objective regularities which scientific observation brings to the surface.

Socialist modernity is articulated as a particular form of beauty. It is not the aesthetic of artistic modernism with its disjunctures, dissonances and illogicalities. The divide between the modernities of science and technology and the grasp of autonomous and absolute regularities and the modernities of introspective subjectivity are to be practically and aesthetically integrated into a harmonious totality. There is a distinctive aesthetic that surrounds the unity of socialist, modern and

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national-ethnic: it is an aesthetic that aims to articulate an entire mode of living. If the rhetoric of newspapers like the *People's Daily* seems little more than a shallow and hollow defence of authoritarian political privilege, it is nonetheless notable that it strives to present itself as a complete and distinctive view of the world, which will promise beautiful forms of life. The critique of modernism is bound up with this assertion of a vision of beauty. To external viewers this aesthetic seems a pastiche or a sham, especially because of its sentimentality and its violation of style codes, related closely to the forms of more or less naked force which underpin it. The difficulties of sustaining this aesthetic are registered in constant scandals, above all in the consumption of pornography and in corruption, where it seems that the organic unity of a life regulated by adherence to historical and material laws is dissolved by corrupting influences. The supposed purity and regularity that underpins this aesthetic of life cannot survive the challenges of impurity and excess. The harmony and cleanliness of the well executed plan cannot survive the uncontrolled forms of non-useful growth that accompany it – rubbish or weeds that accumulate at the same time as the fertile forces of productive life are harnessed.

Socialism may be the basis for denouncing philosophical idealism and forms of art that place intellectuality above social responsibility and comprehensibility, but in the mid to late 1990s what is asserted about socialism is the centrality of spiritual values, and ideals. Socialism is an ethic of the soul rather than a crass materialism.

A socialist art constituency – the army

The durability of socialist rhetoric is partly due to the durability of some of the institutional structures which are formally affiliated to it: the state art apparatus is one of these and so is the army. In the wake of 1989, the need for the army's artistic requirements to be acknowledged and catered to was pronounced. Perhaps the central position of the army in the entire modernization project creates one of the determining features of Chinese socialist art rhetoric and perhaps art practice as well. The anti-nationalist drives of modernist art are necessarily antagonistic to the disciplines, technical advancements and organizational clarity that military systems entail. The socialist army is one of the major bearers of socialist history in the 1990s, because it is the history of wars that forms one of the major objects of commemoration that the modern Chinese art which the Party seeks to uphold should depict.

Paraded collectivities, above all on national day, made it possible to see society as a governed structure. This might contrast with the forms of the social that were experienced and seen in crowds, and in other unstructured forms of assembly. One experience of the modern is the well-organised ranks of soldiers on parade, a modernity which has its own aesthetic unity and its own fusion of

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socialist, modern and national. The army is one of the premier sites not only of alternative modernity, but of an alternative account of the nation. The "sense" of nationality or ethnicity in the army, of lineage and of the people, is one which is powerfully made by the experiences which constitute it- parades, controlled marching and so on.

Armies require patriotism. For them an assault on patriotic value is a threat to their entire organization. Given that the army is constructed as a socio-cultural constituency in China, the production of a modern art that will fit the needs of the army, and most importantly, commemorate its traditions and the institutions and entities it defends has a centrality in the PRC that it perhaps lacks in many other modern art contexts. Modernization, after all, happened first in the army. One can argue that the modernism of Europe and America in the 1920s was shaped by the effects of a loss of confidence in war, and that the effects of war were profoundly influential in shaping Modernist Art in both the Soviet Union and Japan after World War 2, creating a strong sense of alienation from the military domain. The effects of WW2 in China were perhaps rather different. The antipathy between art and the army is not so clearly pronounced in Chinese modernism.

c.4 Modern art

Art has a profoundly developmentalist rhetoric: since the 1970s it has been saturated by the idea of development and progress. It is part of ethno national progress and at the same time it must itself be forward-moving. Art is itself being modernized following the Chinese dictionary definition of modernization as involving the application of the most advanced scientific techniques (which in this case refer less to representational codes than modes of technical reproduction, administration and distribution). At the same time, art is part of the production of the mental dispositions of those who will produce modernity in its socialist Chinese form.

The project of modernisation and the discovery of the real

The official modernity of the Deng Xiaoping era announces itself in terms of a quest for the real (*shishi qiu shi*) This association of the modern with a project of investigation has a complex relationship to the articulation of the modern as the market. On the one hand the socialist market offers new possibilities for verification: real demand can be known through consumer choice – it is no longer the planners' fantasy of what the masses want and need. But the market is haunted by the fake, and by the strategic deceptions of those who sell what does not deserve to be sold. For art of course, the market is constructed as a threat to the integrity and authenticity of creation; it compromises integrity. By the late nineties art discourse has begun to dwell on these problems: how can creativity be marketised? The market offers freedom, it is said, but under the command economy art was produced and consumed for free.

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The modernization project defines modernity in terms of futures: its art as a system of ideals, involves aspirations for their realization in the future. Rather than a complacent or pessimistic relationship to the present, it understands time in terms of a quest, an endless searching for the future realization of ideals.

Temporalities of Modernisation

Modernisation is of course a preoccupation with time. Much of the official discourse about culture and socialist modernisations that would be called general policy statements appears within a particular calendar – it is dominated by anniversaries and a consciousness of decades and years. The articulation of an art programme is set forth within an account of yearly time over which the party presides. Its command of this calendar is central to its practical monopoly on the modernisation programme: as it talks about culture, it affirms and re-affirms a particular grasp of time.

Art was sought for commemorative purposes: in particular the various anniversaries that dotted the 1990s. This art, so much tied to rituals of state celebration, had its own traditions and was literally co-existent with the history of the PRC state. The notion of defending a tradition is the defence to large measure of this tradition, and the emotional investment in it. This is a modern history which cannot claim the loyalty of an international art buying public: that art buying public is situated in opposition to this history, both in the style of its representation, the form of emotion it involves, and the things it celebrates, which are now understood not as a history of liberatory struggle but as part of totalitarianism. The antipathy between contemporary art buying publics and military commemoration, or indeed any form of state sponsored heroism is a major element in creating an opposition between Chinese socialist art as a total system, and the individualist art of the capitalist west.

The party must have a commemorative art which marks its distinctiveness, and commemorates its history in a way that affirms its commitment to the people and to socialism: it must mark the specific dates of that history and the Modern history of which it is the telos. Modern History begins with May 4th and the culmination of May 4th according to orthodox party representation is the party itself. The party is modern China. There must be modes of marking this history and this modernity which acknowledge difficulties (such as the Cultural Revolution) but which ultimately affirm it. The global style of Euro-American and Japanese Modernism will not fulfill these functions adequately because a central fact of the party's history is that it has been defined by the struggle against these imperialist modernities. To surrender to them aesthetically will refute the revolutionary cause and concede the failure of the modernization project of the party. It would admit that individualism and socialism had not distinguishing features, that the values of the ethno-nation were ultimately not of sufficient importance for their distinctiveness to be worth trying to represent.

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The modern art of China in the People's Daily is the art associated with this history. In the late 1990s the problem faced by government propagandists changed from needing to defend ethno-national distinctiveness against critics who charged it with failing to produce full modernity to having to defend the modernization project against charges that it had compromised ethno-national tradition. In particular, art was enlisted in the defence of scientific modern culture challenged by the 'superstition' of Falun Gong. As part of the arsenal of socialist modernity the arts were required to affirm the socialist and modern vision and to reaffirm the validity of the tradition represented my May 4th. [31]

c.5 Chinese / Etho-National

In contemporary English, the category nation refers quite often to a geo-physical entity rather than a group of people – people speaking of a nation often have something more like a place than a race in mind. This is especially true in the White settler-dominated societies in the Americas and Australasia. The Chinese category of minzu (derived, as is well known, from Japanese) is something which very clearly has in mind a nation as a group of people – for this reason I have used the rather ugly coinage of ethno-nation, The category *Minzu* is affiliated to but distinguished from State-Country (*Guojia*) which is clearly geo-political entity. When the term Ethno-national is used as an epithet in much of the material discussed here it refers to what in English would be called "Chinese" – things that are supposedly distinct from the cultural technologies which are identified as "imported" – above all oil painting and western classical and popular music. Discussions of the present, future and past of "national culture" thus involve two possible levels: they may be concerned with the state of culture and art in the ethno-nation (and in particular how the state of art and culture is related to the wider question of the past, future and present of the ethno-nation), or they may refer specifically to "Chinese" forms of art and culture, such as Chinese instrumental music, Chinese theatre, Chinese painting, and Calligraphy.

Why is modern art discourse in China so powerfully linked to discussions of the ethno-nation? Writings about art that discuss questions of modernity in the 1990s have consistently discussed it in conjunction with the question of the ethno-nation. Culture is not a system of symbolic representation which can be discussed without reference to location or history (as it can even in contexts as supposedly reflexive as English language Cultural Studies), it is something which is by definition ethno-national. It is not possible to raise the question of culture without reference to ethno-national or at the very least regional structures. Closely bound up with this is that Dengist modernization is a project which had the ethno-nation as both its subject and object: the ethno-nation was what sought modernization, what would bring it about, what needed it and what modernization would be applied to. It is simultaneously an external object, something outside

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oneself on which, and for which, one should work, and the self itself. Modernization is a process designed to realize this collectivity more fully, to produce self-identification rather than to corrode it.

At the same time the project of modernization is one which introduces the notion of national backwardness: there cannot be modernization without some sense of being behind. It intensifies a consciousness of national difference. The renunciation of class leadership makes the CCP primarily a party of Ethno-National salvation. Its leadership is based to large measure on its claim to be not simply the representative of the ethno-nation but the key force preserving its integrity – particularly after 1989 it had to assert that its actions were justifiable in the name of long-term ethno-national integration. Modernization could not be used to justify the disintegration of the Ethno-nation, and the most powerful charge against critics was that they threatened the dissolution of the ethno-nation.

If the socialism of class equality was quietly moved off stage, the party had managed to define Chinese socialist culture as ethno-national culture. The logic of this position is not hard to see: it follows directly from the modernization project. The thing that is modernizing and is the object of modernization is the ethno-nation. Socialism has been the force which definitively threw off imperialism and feudalism, securing ethno-national sovereignty. The alternatives are seen as either an unmodernised "Chinese" cultural tradition – that of the empire and "feudal" society, or a modernity in which sovereignty was compromised by foreign domination. The CCP had made itself synonymous with modernity in China: the modern era in official periodisation begins around 1919 with the May 4th movement (The *Xiandai Hanyu cidian* of 1983 defines *xiandai* as

1 "the present era – in the periodisation of our country's history it generally denotes the time from the May 4th movement to now"

2 "the socialist era"

In official historiography, the great legacy of May 4th is the establishment of the CCP, so the party is the incarnation and harbinger of the modern age in China. The modern is the socialist, so even a concept like "Modern Chinese" (in the sense of the language) is inflected with the socialist. The establishment of modern China is a matter of national liberation accomplished by socialism: the Guomindang and other rivals had failed to achieve this, and as a result, socialist culture is Chinese culture. In this respect, the CCP succeeded in wresting the right to define the culture of the nation from the political force whose ideology stressed its identification with the nation as its defining feature – the "Nationalist" Guomindang. It is worth reminding ourselves here that the Nationalist party is in fact a party that deployed the name not of the ethno-nation, but of the citizenry. The defining attitude of citizens *guomin* was their state (*guo*) not their ethno-nation. If the *guo* was in the 1910s and 1920s as much an ethico-moral and spiritual entity as a political apparatus (visible in the

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category of *guohua*, or "National" painting), the ethico-moral and spiritual entity that is most resonant in the 1990s is arguably the ethno-nation, something to which emotional attached, when the state has perhaps rather less unambiguous appeal as a focus of cultural and symbolic investment. This of course is further heightened by emigration in the 1980s and 1990s, in which there were modes of attachment and identification that were not limited by simple criteria of citizenship.

In the reform era, and in the wave of nostalgia for Maoist cultural products that swung up in the early 1990s and has not really abated, the constitution of socialist culture as the major form of ethno-national or "Chinese" culture, has an obvious ideological utility. The aura attached to both the modern and the ethno-national necessarily favours a party which claims to represent both, and to have brought them both into reality. If this equation is convincing, then socialist culture can be constructed not only as the key modern culture, but also as the key ethno-national culture. This also follows when one considers that the pervasive way of understanding global cultural relations is of relations between ethno-national units: the contrasts between China and the United States, or, for that matter, "the West", are not only those between different political and economic structures with different histories, but different ethno-national totalities. One effect of this is to identify ethno-national structures with state cultures: the culture which the socialist state has promoted *is* Chinese culture: a challenge to socialist culture can therefore be presented as a challenge to both modernity and to the ethno-nation

This has fundamental importance for the reading of statements about promoting ethno-national culture in the early 1990s. The Chinese socialist cultural tradition is the defining form of ethno-national culture and its only authentic modern variant. Renouncing this tradition therefore constitutes ethno-national nihilism. Since the ethno-nation lives in the present, and it is the ethno-nation on whose behalf modernization is to be undertaken, ethno national culture cannot be a simple restoration of "traditional" forms: the Marxist doctrine of reflection – that art must reflect the society in which it is produced – bolsters this formulation. The socialist art tradition is the tradition which the party should uphold because the logic of the concept of the ethno-nation means that there is no other tradition to which one can authentically appeal: to do otherwise is to suggest either that the modern Chinese nation is without a past and must therefore create an ethno-national culture anew in the present, presumably using resources from a more archaic cultural stratum, or else that ethno-national cultural boundaries do not matter and

At the end of the 1990s, with 50 years of the People's Republic, there was almost no-one below retirement age who had experienced pre-socialist Chinese culture as an adult. For most of them, the ethno-national cultural traditions to which they had been exposed were those of socialism. This is particularly true with art: given the high cost of colour reproduction, the "Chinese" or ethno-

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national art with which most people were familiar was what had been produced from the 1950s onwards.

The ethno-national discourse about painting is one which focuses on the question of ethno-national dignity and parity with world art. Since modernization is part of bringing about an ethno-national *florissance*, the idea of the modern is indivisible from the question of national destiny. Rather than the modern as a deracinated condition it is in these modernization drives something whose framework is the ethno-nation. The advance of modernization is designed to bring the ethno-nation into parity with others.

Herein lies the paradox: ethno-national stands for non-western art forms, those often presented in English discourse as traditional, but it also stands for a shared identity and thus encompasses all people, and is the unit which is to advance towards modernization.

Rather than a condition of ethno-national doubt, modernization is supposed to produce a clearer sense of certainty about ethno-national distinction. Modernist art is paradoxically presented as not ethno-national. This accounts for two forms of discourse about modern art: an art form that has no heritage in China and cannot take shape there except slowly, and a modernized version of existing art, an art that will attest to the project of modernization with difference. Unlike the "modernity without agency" of colonialism, Dengist modernization is one in which uphold sovereignty over the formation of the modern in the People's Republic of China. The Chinese ethno-nation cannot by definition be un-modern, its defining character being solely features from the past that do not belong to the modern world. At the same time it must negotiate the idea that the symbolic system of modernity, its ornamental codes and so on, are "Western". Modern art is constructed as an ethno-national structure: it is "Western." – it defines and symbolizes the West which is categorized in terms of a group of countries and nationalities. It does not simply constitute a specific style of art, but is depicted as part and parcel of an ethno-national totality. To deploy it is to sacrifice ethno-national distinctiveness.

So if modernization is a project whose primary concern is the fate of the ethno-nation, an art which is seen as the identifying marker of a rival ethno-nation will be seen as anti-modern. This art moreover is an art which individuates: it denies collective character, and the essence of the ethno-nation is participation in a collective history, and a shared identity.

c.9 Rhetorical structures of art discourse

Art is spiritual grain.

The first markets in China after the reform were agricultural. The market appeared first not in the profusion of manufactured goods but in the form of vegetables and fruit. The market offered an injection of planted energies into the austerities of a diet based on grain. These are both direct

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emanations of growth and abundance and instruments for the production of health and vitality. The muscle and nerve fibres of the nation were to be invigorated by these new foods producing a vigor that was not only shared by directly invested in the individual body. It is these bodies that would produce modernisation (and it was modernisation that would produce these bodies) This sense of organic profusion rather than the energy of exchange or the proliferation of consumer goods underpins the structures of official discourse about art. Calls to make art flourish transplant and transfigure the injunctions to plant in the years of collective agriculture. Yet they are also deeply indebted to the relationship between marketisation and non-grain agricultural production in the reform. The privitisation of vegetable growth, the source of the earliest forms of private wealth and the earliest forms of private consumption (since the vegetables bought in the market would be consumed at home rather than in communal spaces.

Of course the connection between fruit and vegetables, the beginnings of capitalism and the earliest stages of European art modernity are exemplified in the still life and the simultaneous coding of an iconic system of references and resemblances and a presentation of the proliferation and concentration of plant life wrought by the energies of mercantile capitalism.

The beginnings of modern art in the reform era in the late 70s are coeval with these transformations of the conditions under which plant foods were produced, distributed and consumed. The attacks on poisons, pollutants and weeds, which are exemplified by works which show bleak and barren landscapes, those incapable of transformation into flourishing vegetable plots, are thus linked to a broader attempt to produce modernity and order in the economy and society which originate in the emergence of private vegetable growth.

The regulation of the production, distribution and storage of art emerges not from the attempt to provide public control over private art collections, to make an aristocratic monopoly into a collective patrimony (as is the case in the growth of the art museums of Europe), but rather out of the attempt to manage private nutrition through decollectivisation of the growth, sale and eating of vegetables.

But it is spiritual *grain* to which the official art discourse refers. The growth, distribution and storage of grain was supposed to be what the state ensured. The collective was ultimately collective access to grain through the public storehouse. The state art gallery has the same function, as do the art shows which are part of the cultural work of state owned enterprises. This monopoly on, and responsibility for grain, and the monopoly on and responsibility for culture as the source of national vitality, are interlinked phenomena. The responsibility for and command over the sate the organisation of meals, which produces uniformity of diet, is relinquished by the state. On the one

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hand this produces and articulates the drives for differentiation which are at the heart of the practices of modern art production and consumption and the habits of the so-called middle class.

The modernisation of grain production, distribution and storage is a different modernity from the modernisation of technology and the circulation of information. For one thing, the problem of storage is central both practically and economically: market value is a matter of the handling of stockpiles, but this is also a matter of the preservation of the grain itself. Those forms of art which are most challenging, most "modern" – performance art, art made of organic materials that cannot be prevented from decaying – directly confront the notion of art as storable and stored value. Often this has been phrased in terms of the durability of masterworks versus the ephemerality of contemporary art actions. The master work is beyond decay, like grain that will never rot and can never be used up, but it is defined in opposition to the concrete embodiment of all "spirit", and the dependence of the spirit and its nerve fibres on daily nourishment. In this sense art work (work in the art field) is all about the remaking of the spirit through new injections of energy, from which a collective prosperity will be generated. The storehouse/granary must be replenished. What it provides is vitality – the job of modernisation is to enhance and extend this.

Art struggles are struggles over the spirit – performance art, or art subject to decay are the most detached from objectification, the most dominated by a vital energy, and thus the most challenging to storage: in these works, vital energies and process are directly enlisted. But the notion of spiritual grain or spiritual food is frequently directly challenged by this, since it suggests a form of spirit which is not able to be stored. Both ideologies are equally indebted to the notion of the spirit. Performance art seems the furthest from material interest an assertion of the superiority of the spirit over the administrative practicalities of the storehouse. Of course, photographic technology permits the storage

The struggles over access to galleries – which are spaces for the production of recognition, recognition which is the life of the spirit and on which the spirit depends, for it is relations of recognition that distinguish spiritual from material production – outlines the difference between art storage and grain storage. Yet the acknowledgement of being stored in the public gallery is not simply a mechanism by which the public access to art is remade, and the site of struggles over public space – of which the art gallery protests and the Tian'anmen protests are both exemplars – it is also the mechanism through which art value is created. The private collection – personal storage – is a transference of the collective stockpile in much the same way as the privatisation of state assets. The acceptance of small scale production – the capacity of artists to use public assets (including studio space, teaching jobs, training and access to books) for private work – emerges slowly from the work of supplying the collective and public need, in much the same way that the private supply of

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vegetables emerges from the sideline use of public land (chiefly intended for grain production) for land. The legitimation of initially illegal markets, in alleyways near state markets, is closely affiliated with the great symbolic gestures of setting up art galleries in alleyways near the great public galleries.

Art produced privately promises nutrition and diversity in a way that supplements what is available cheaply in public spaces. The profusion of vegetables produced by the free market provides the space for the profusion of art, because the notion of the private stockpiling of grain was the great fear of the command economy, and so there was no acceptable model of private storage that did not upset the public order of grain distribution.

In grain private storage was associated with the loss of public control of the grain market, a threat to public order and dangerous to national vitality. Vegetables cannot be stored – they simply rot - so there is no possibility for their long-term private concentration apart from in the daily labours of the bodies that produce them. The superior storage capacity of the state ensures the reproduction of a collective art patrimony in the public collection.

The art reform follows the agrarian reform rather than industrial reform because artists in public organisations can so easily produce products for private sale. This creates an export market ruled by the energies of private entrepreneurs: this market is generated first, and the fact that it produced little then judged of storable value means that it can be sold off overseas. By the 1990s this emerges as a loss of the collective patrimony: modern China's art history has been lost through the failure to develop adequate stockpiles, a matter of public and private activity. The paradox here is that items produced and sold as if they were vegetables are in retrospect understood as part of a national treasury, capable of producing an endless spiritual charge. Those who accumulated at this time are now beneficiaries of this stored energy.

The close relationship between campaigns against pornography and art rests in the common relationship that these two domains have to a male dominated concept of the spirit as seminal energy. The enhancement of energies, the concentration of nervous activities, the activities of the spirit – which is the job of art as part of the overall production of a modern proliferation and bounty – is associated with the same states of energetic intensities that prescribe the male response to pornography. The job of the state is to preside over and organise these energies, to direct the force of vitality and prevent profusion from becoming the choking growth of weeds, the proliferation of rubbish. It is a task of managing the storehouse to ensure public access and to ensure that what is stored will not spread decay, but will rather facilitate the endless renewal of energies. Art as spiritual grain will be constantly re-invested in the production of more energy and vitality. This energy should not be misdirected, as it is in pornography, which is mere expenditure without issue.

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Clearly the spirit is organised within eugenic frameworks. These are not simply human but also floral. The superior strain is not just the superior race, but the most productive seed strain, capable of reproducing itself with the most spectacular and effective profusion and thus filling the granary without devaluing itself.

The state as the agency charged with grain management, and the setting of prices, which is of course a duty to the reproduction of the stored energy of grain, has an interlinked responsibility for art management and for art as a stored energy. The storage of art – the recognition and creation of value by purchase, which is the essential function of art galleries in societies where artists are not full time salaried employees of public organisations – is less significant than the responsibility for the production and reproduction of art growth. Art is much more an activity – a controlled discharging of energies of the spirit – than a production of things. In part this is to do with Marx's conception that the commodity form led to the misrecognition of social relations as things, and a stress on the importance of the vitalism of labour and life, rather than the dead matter of capital and things.

The vandalism of the Cultural Revolution is not merely an assertion of the power of the new over the old, or an attack on the way in which objects reproduce mindsets and ideologies. It is an assertion of the energies of the spirit against the inertia of things

The new and the harvest cycle: an alternative source of "now"

A bio-power account of the ethnic-national would grasp beauty as part of a eugenic structure in which the realm of private desires fuses with a collective organic vitality, in which modernisation is a harnessing and concentration of these energies and the forces which they involve. Turbine and seed – the work of engineers and the qualities of grain – are both mechanisms for the storage and production of vital powers.

This vitalism is present in Marx, and it is perhaps the notion that capitalism is a deathly enervating force that is the chief rhetorical legacy of socialist theory in the market era. The socialist market is thus distinguished by a vitality and energy which is the centre of the modern. The notion of tradition as death that underpins Heshang and much May 4th movement discourse, focuses on the new as growth. Prosperity must be distinguished from waste and what distinguishes it is the way in which it permits the concentration of seed essences of the spirit. The unifying force in the account of socialist art is his notion of a harnessed vitality, and a growth regulated by law.

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c.6) Texts: **Critiques of modernist art**

Text 1: Wang Zhong. "Ping "Meishu xinchao"" [Evaluating new-wave art]. People's Daily 13 December 1990.

"On the great stage of Chinese culture in the New Era, of the art which has the most explosive social effect, there is perhaps nothing which surpasses "New Wave Art". It started at the end of the 70s, rose to its renaissance in the mid 1980s and reached its greatest pinnacle with the 1989 "China Modern Art Exhibition" to the accompaniment of gunshots and the selling of shrimp. Now the tide has receded. For a few years, the theorists of the Artistic New Wave have continually trumpeted it as the vanguard or avant-garde of the reform/renewal of Chinese art, currently there are still people writing to affirm that it conforms with the direction of China's modernization and the global tide, predicting that it will certainly be "the eastern peak arising again". How to comprehend correctly the phenomenon of the Artistic New Wave, created by New Wave Art and New Wave Art Theory, and its basic tendencies and nature, is the topic this article will discuss

The artistic tradition the Artistic New Wave wants to destroy.

"The Artistic New Wave" puts "destruction" in pride of place, projecting the visage of its own "innovators". Its theorists and artists all proudly say "There is a slogan that is collectively promoted and widely denounced – "wholesale opposition to tradition" "wholesale importation of western culture", one must "launch a destructive move against tradition" "borrow foreign culture to make a total attack on the traditional cultural structure" "Use stones from the quarry of western culture to pulverize the solid structure of traditional culture. This slogan in which the two elements of "wholesale opposition to tradition" and "whole sale importation of western culture are fused as one", encompasses to a great degree the basic tendency of the Artistic New Wave.

As to the scope of the Chinese culture and art tradition that this Artistic New Wave wants to completely destroy, attack and pulverize, they haven't made an extensive exposition. One said "If you say that the weapon borrowed to oppose tradition at May 4th was the western civilization of the recent era (the 19th century), which included Marxism, now it is mainly the Western Modern Civilization of the 20th century which includes science, philosophy, aesthetics and art." This clearly excludes Marxism; One said: the target of opposition to tradition includes classical Chinese art, classical western art and the composite Sino-western Art of the last 40 years. The "composite Sino-Western Art of the last 40 years" is the socialist art of "making foreign things serve China and making the past serve the present." Another was even more brief and to the point "The destruction of tradition is in particular the destruction of the centralized/unified new tradition that has been formed over the last few decades", i.e. the destruction of the Marxist centralized/unified varied socialist new cultural tradition and the socialist new art tradition. A large amount of similar

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theoretical stances and their practice, express that the tradition the Artistic New Wave wants to destroy is not the old cultural tradition and old art tradition of the feudal society of the distant past, and is not chiefly the vestiges of old feudalist tradition and the influence of "left" dogmatism which do not have a leading position in socialist society, but it is in the main the socialist new art traditions and socialist new culture traditions which have Marxism at their core, and which have the leading position in socialist society – it is in the main the foundational principles of Marxist philosophy, aesthetics, art theory and socialist art.

The Aesthetic New tide completely refutes the world socialist art tradition, it takes the Soviet and Chinese socialist realist art as being completely the artistic model of leftist dogmatism, and condemns it out of hand. This is unscientific and unfair. Socialist realist arte was indeed not perfect and flawless, and it was not the sole school or method of creation for socialist art – socialist art ought to be socialist realism and romanticism adding beauty to each other, ceaselessly developing a centralized/unified but diversified scenario with multiple schools and styles. The great historical achievement and mighty historical contribution which socialist realist art had in establishing and shaping the historical position of socialist art, is still full of vigour today and its is still a strong major force in socialist art. This is something no-one can erase.

Theorists of the Aesthetic New Wave have put forward a view of the history of modern art in China of "the dual variation of the art of the flower/cream genius-elite and popular art, they think that the May 4th movement produced the upsurge of a Chinese art of the cream which took an "individualist worldview, view of life and value standard" as its core, but " after the anti-Japanese war broke out it was not the same", in particular "in 1942 Mao Zedong promulgated the "Yanan talks on literature and art" , giving the final word, creating "the upsurge and wild prosperity of mass popular art, and so China's "cream" art disappeared. The art of the cream and even the culture of the cream entered a trough for a long period of more than a century, losing vigour and creativity, the art which served the broad masses of the people was "absolutely the same in a thousand cases, empty and pale" "When China entered the post-Mao era the popular mass culture which was strapped to the political battlewagon rapidly faded and broke up" "Cream" art needed to again be reborn. The Artistic New wave affirmed that "vanguard art, modern art and avant-garde art was the true "cream" art.

This kind of historical argument, plainly refutes Mao Zedong's thinking about art and refutes over half a century of art serving the war of resistance, serving liberation and serving socialism, and promotes an art that serves individualism and art for arts sake. History, the central meaning and power of the great struggles of the 1930s and 1940s, is thus of definitive importance in attacking these ideas about art – it is a heresy to dislocate the judgment of art from the historical struggles, that

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is struggles for state power, which it has served. The distinctiveness of China's anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles creates for it a distinctive kind of art. This is an argument which deliberate produces novelty. Outstanding artists and works are not closed in on themselves, they are things tested by history and approved by the people. Artistically expressing the people's life and their struggle, their thoughts and feelings and their ideals and quests, is the mark of and the basic difference between socialist art, all progressive art and capitalist art and all corrupt and backward art of exploiting classes. Serving the people, serving socialism."

My comment on the text:

Note here the category of jingying 精英, which has built into it the notion of the refined and the excellent, a rare, individual talent of heroic qualities, the flower or cream of the society, whose work is placed in opposition to the popular or readily comprehensible. Jingying (which does not appear as a compound in the 1983 edition of the Xiandai Hanyu Cidian, or the 1978 Chinese English Dictionary, although it does appear in the 1997 Revised Edition) is a word which occupies a space given to "elite" or "high" (in the sense of culture) in English language sociology of art discourse, or indeed, general usage. Like jingpin, it is a central category for describing art and those who produce it. Doubtless it is a product of a way of categorizing and conceiving of "talent" that does not invoke the notion of a selected elite. It evades the question of inequality: it stresses the notion of something produced by a process – a distillation or refinement – not something of inherent/inherited value.

The conflict between modernist art and socialist art, which here is presented as a question of taste and ideology, is also a conflict between those whose artistic habitus and institutional position has been formed by the apparatus of state art and those whose art is oriented towards a global market. What appears as the most radical and absolute conflict over artistic values –choices of subject matter, styles, and modes of artistic existence: the traditions of immersion amongst the people and dedication to public value and artistic purity above commercialism and pessimism – is also literally a war to the death: the taste conflict with modernism is absolute, and the victory of modernism, and the institutions with which it is associated, will meanly literally the death of socialist art. It is no wonder then that socialist art must appeal to a distinctively socialist vision, or view of the world, because without this supposed mode of seeing, socialist art will become invisible. It will not have been unknown to artists in institutional positions in China that both modernism and classical style Chinese painting could attract international investment, while socialist art of the old style could not.

Paradoxically then the cultural domain – the arena in which it would seem that socialist values and socialist ideologies were most likely to be challenged and overturned by the modernization project – was an area where the ideological system of socialism had to be upheld far more

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aggressively than in areas like the military or industry: if socialist values were to be discarded the cultural logic that structured the system of perception within which socialist art works were beautiful and meaningful, and thus worth supporting, would disappear. The argument that systems of art appreciation are conditioned by and emblematic of entire social systems – supposedly chiefly a matter of modes of production, but capable, through the idealist tendency in socialism, of being conceived of as systems of value, or worldviews – would suggest that the destruction of a socialist system of values would lead to the destruction of a system of appreciation for socialist art, and that the rise of an individualist system of values and social structure would lead to the exclusive triumph of individualist works, i.e. the products of modernism.

The argument by those outside the art world that modernist art was undesirable because it served interests other than those of socialism and the people, could, one might argue, be understood with the art world in reverse: the survival of the socialist outlook and the idea of "the people" was needed to ensure the continued value of socialist art. If art was to be made for and consumed within a communal structure of work units and other state organized forms of community founded on public ownership, could it survive in a system where art was made for and consumed within a system of private ownership? If one accepts the argument put forward by Howard Wank and Andrew Walder that capitalism in China is not something that has arisen in opposition to the state, but through its active support and collusion, and that those with private wealth are those who have done so through their close involvement with those in positions of power in the bureaucracy, it would follow that the socialist art sponsored by the old bureaucrat class is art that is part of the cultural inheritance of those who now constitute the art buying public. Far from the private overwhelming the public, the creation of capitalism out of socialism in Deng and Jiang China, makes for an art that is indeed that of a "socialist" form of modernity.

Perhaps the great success of the 1990s has been the marketability of famous works of socialist art; the struggle between art modes is no longer a life or death struggle in which the world view and institutions connected with socialism had to be upheld in order to defend that art against its rivals. The subtlety of the transformation which the CCP has effected in the 1990s, has meant that the alternative "socialist" modernity has indeed asserted itself as a specific variant of the Euro-American and Japanese model. Its aesthetic, now apparently disengaged from the structures of the planned economy, survives. Is this a matter of nostalgia and familiarity, or at some level the persistence of the socialist ideal as an enduring fantasy of an alternative present? As already mentioned, the pervasiveness of the critique of selfishness, even amongst those whose own behaviour might appear solely driven by self interest, together with the hypostasised category of "the people" makes socialism stand for an ethical commitment, a set of "values".

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The critique of science that is central to so much of modernist art of course runs counter to a technocratic ruling group. The Dengist modernization programme was strongly scientistic: it stressed spiritual refinement and sophistication in technique – it aimed to realize the sublime. If primitivism of any kind was invoked, it was to summon up an energy and purity, a kind of primal force, which fitted in with overall cult of energy, light and power in the reform.

Text 2: Gao Songnian, "This kind of 'creating'", *People's Daily* 24 May 1996, p.10

"When the year of the rat started the painting realm circulated the following strange rumour: someone killed a big rat and took its blood to use for a painting, and it is said that using this one could enrich the artistic intentions created for the year of the rat

Recently, acts of "creativity" of the false New Wave school similar to this have been heard of in great number. Some people hang an old shoe on a canvas, and say that it is a type of artistic "creation" there are also people who inside the gallery use the action of firing with a real gun and bullets to completer their so-called works. According to reports, these are all outstanding works which have absorbed the acme of foreign avant-garde art, bold acts which cause our ethno national to close ranks with the world art avant-garde.

Art is truly noble in the area of is creating, but the key is in how to create. With what kind of artistic attitude should one go to create. I think that genuine artistic creation ought to be a kind of conscientious and real artistic labour produced after serious thinking, and it isn't something that those trying to win favour by stirring up the crowd can just casually pick up by playing to the gallery or copying others. We of course don't oppose selectively absorbing the concepts and techniques of modern art to enrich and develop the forms and meanings / connotations of our own ethno-nation's painting. Lu Xun early on raised the "ethos of bringing it here", but his objective was very clear – bringing it here was not a blind transplantation and not a superficial imitation, but it was a need to use it for oneself in the midst of absorbing. That is to say, it must be a new crystallization of thought about after digesting and blending it with knowledge, feelings, ideas and thoughts of the people of our country themselves. This encompasses a difficult process of artistic contemplation and artistic labour. If there is no deep and pressing sense of artistic responsibility, if there is not serious and conscientious artistic creative attitude, you can't truly grasp anything, and you can't have authentic creation in the midst of drawing on their experience.

If you say that to fire a gun to produce a work or to hang an old shoe on a campus or to catch an animal and kill it to use its blood to produce a painting is a kind of creative act which is moving towards modern art, then hasn't it become really easy for Chinese painting to head to wards the world vanguard. In fact, this playing to the gallery style of New Wave creation is as different as chalk and cheese from serious art creation it is kind of profanation of true artistic development.

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In artistic creation there is a question of the artistic attitude, speaking from the base it relates to the question of the artists "art virtue/morality, and it ought to arouse a high degree of attention from people. To lack a serious and conscientious sense of artistic responsibility, to only think of deliberately producing illusions to win the favour of the crowd, can never produce good works that have true artistic value and an artistic new meaning. For them to act like this is only to be the laughing stock of everyone.

If you say that to kill a rat in the year of the rat to use rat's blood to paint a picture can truly increase the artistic content of a painting, then I would like some advice – what do we do next year and the year after? Kill an ox, kill a tiger? And when you get to the year of the dragon, what'll we do? When the time comes what can be supplied for you to kill?

We know that the four wellsprings of human civilization are the yellow river valley in China, the valley of the Ganges in India, and the Tigris and Euphrates in Mesopotamia and the Nile valley in Egypt. The first three are all located in Asia. This was the result of the creator above falling in love in love with the east. This is the key historical background of the development of human civilization. If we allow ourselves to shrink the concept of civilization and speak only of art, then the development of eastern art has its source in this historical background: if it is compared with western art, then each has its own distinctive character.

The different features and mutual contrast between western and eastern art has formed the two great blocs of world art. Over a hundred different countries are distributed between these two blocs and several hundred different nationalities reside in them. Each country and each different nationality, can strongly express its own artistic characteristics and its different aesthetic awareness and sentiment, To respect and acknowledge this difference is a major factor that world out cannot do without. Through history many masters of philosophy, maestros of art and historians of art have long attained a consensus on this, thinking that the greater the diversity of the artistic differences of human kind, the more broadly the more completely and the more profoundly will the spiritual countenance of human kind be reflected.

The structure of the natural realm must maintain ecological equilibrium, because this is beneficial to the material demands of human kind. The world art structure also needs to uphold this "ecological equilibrium" - this is beneficial to the needs of spiritual life. This means the mutual dependence of the two great blocs of Eastern and Western Art, and the total combination of the art of each country and of the different nationalities.

In history, the wars of human kind always involve the invasion of the culture of the stronger party, and a few prejudiced western art historians speak gleefully when discussing Ancient Rome's invasion of the East, had when the East influences the West, they express their sorrow. A western art historian once wrote. "the decline of the plastic arts of the nationalities of the ancient west - the

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progressive withering that began around 200 under the influence of the East – is one of the most visible phenomena in the history of art. An ethno nation's artistic glamour cannot be belittled, it can conquer the conquerors in spirit. The victorious roman aristocrats being bewitched by the art of conquered Greece is an example of this. Different countries and nationalities still develop their own through their own historical and cultural background. It can be said that this is different nation's "genes" exerting their guiding effect, and all foreign influences can only have a secondary effect.

The development of Chinese art ought to be a matter of Eastern and Western art drawing on each other's experience, absorbing things from each other, studying each with foreign elements being of use to China. Bur recently some have said that for Chinese are to join its track with the international arena is to produce a single version of world art. In regard to this, the writer strongly begs to differ. The west can be called great: but in which country should one place the unified center of the art world? The diversified arrangement of western art, has made themselves uncertain of where the centre is. Furthermore, although western modernism still hasn't lost its mainstream position, the tide of post-modern thinking is already progressively giving a clue, beginning to make the first wave of experimental attack on some of the features of modernism (such as its loss of a collective or mass character) It seems that Post modern Art has made great progress and it is consider that is inevitably going to replace modernism in the future. But modernism is the symbol of the modern western scene, and absolutely cannot easily become history. Since it is the mainstream of the age, and has made its contributions, its influence is no small matter.

The birth and rise of the ancient civilization of the yellow river valley has made the long history and glorious culture of the Chinese nationalities. It has established the dense core of our tradition. We can earnestly study the whole essence of western art thinking, and use the stones of the mountains of others to polish our own jade, used the experiences of others to fulfill ourselves. But we can't inflate the west to constrain ourselves. Speaking from the overall situation, the development of Chinese art is forever going to advance following its own tracks on the warm earth of the great land of sacred Cathay.

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Text 3: "To know others is difficult; to know oneself is also difficult". ***People's Daily*** **25 April 1996, p. 10.**

To mention modern art , brings to some peoples minds an image of the strange, the absurd, the abnormal and the disordered. To proceed with the analysis, there is no other conclusion that that this isn't art of the modern era, it carries a feelings of hankering after fashion and moreover it introduces concepts of truth and falsity to produce mistaken understandings – this follows quite logically.

Form content, tradition – these are indeed old topics. Everyone knows, form and content are not opposed. When one has to create, it is often easy to separate the two. Indiscriminately copying foreign forms in order to be in first, stifles the appearance of artistic modernity, causing it to go backwards. No wonder a famous art master said " this kind of modern art is in fact the most un-modern of art. In an abnormal state of mind, it progressively replaces creation. If we take the understanding of content and give it a broader definition, a greater content, it is very difficult for it to be privately possessed by the painter. The subjective view becomes miniscule and how can the form which has been copied across express the content which they have themselves experienced themselves. The best deployment of form and content is always the most entrancing.

The immaturity of children is indeed lovable. Up to now national art shows don't exhibit children's painting, there are no works of children's painting theory. We can't say this is not a fixed limit: art needs maturity, it denounces immaturity. Painters of the 1950s swarmed to worship anatomical realism and perspective, Chinese painting was denounced as unscientific. In the 1980s anatomical realism and perspective were unfashionable, and Chinese painters entering the 1990s, run through in the space of just a few years the path trod by Western painters for more than a century, straight through to the overflowing vessel of the avant-garde post modern, installation and performance art. China has gone from straight sketching and installation, to rushing into the avant-garde and the post modern. When entering installation and performance art, in some people's eyes Chinese painting is already a dead end, if you don't interpret tradition as a form, its abolition is inevitable.

This spring the cultural exchange association of our eastern neighbour visited the Central Academy of Fine Arts, the painters Fujishima Hirobumi and Tezuka Hiroyoshi (?) discussed the history of Japanese painting, and were deeply disturbed by the ignorance of young Japanese artists towards tradition. From Japan's *toga [kara-e]* (Chinese-style painting) and *nanga* they discussed China's layered colour in the Han and Tang, the ink painting of the Southern Song and sincerely and earnestly said the development of contemporary Japanese art, needs to put in effort to research China's Southern Song art – this is our most significant tradition.

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Of course, Japanese artists can't not know their own tradition: China's painters ought to know their own tradition. There should perhaps be more reflection, and of that shouldn't even more be not just one mode of thought. If the paths of thought are different, and the point of entry different, then the result will be very different

An art of copying and art modernity are as incompatible as fire and water. If one is candid with oneself, then there is reason to believe that one's work is modern. Just because our studies has already passed beyond the stage of copying the steps, from going against one's own mind and calling a deer a horse until finally seeing the emperor's new clothes.

A period of several decades doesn't count as short , and it ought to be that when its got to the stage of adulthood, modern art shouldn't take sacrificing individuality as its premise. The shared character within individuality, the individuality in shared character, the shared character in shared character, and the individuality in individuality – these are areas where one can really put in some effort. We definitely don't want to be in a position of only seeing the lustre of our own jewels when they shine in the home of another. To know oneself again is not an easy matter. To know others is difficult. To know oneself is also difficult.

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Text 4: Wei Tianxiang, "Thoughts on cohesive force in the arts domain", *People's Daily* 21 August 1998.

For the ethno nation to flourish and for the country to be strong and rich, there must first be a force of cohesion: this is a fact beyond dispute. But if culture is to develop and the arts are to prosper, is a cohesive force needed? Up until now few people have discussed this. It seems that cohesive force is simply a matter for the political arena, whether or not spiritual production involves cohesive force seems to have no relevance to the wider picture and there is no need for the two to be put together. In artistic creation there are indeed many things that make it difficult for people to discuss the relationship between the two lightly. For example, spiritual production's quest for originality, freedom of creation, and individuality, the search for the new and the search for change which creative labour has, the special feature of resisting duplication and standardized models, as well as the distinctive characteristic of individualized labour being "easy to divide and hard to unite". But seen from the viewpoint of the current state of the arts and from the development of the arts, to raise this question has meaning.

I think there are at least three reasons for raising the matter of cohesion in the enterprise of the arts: One is the needs of socialist art in terms of objective and function. Since we all acknowledge that the arts have the goal and function of moulding the soul of the ethno-nation and participating in the construction of spiritual civilization, we ought, under the premise of protecting its pluralism and diversity of thinking, subject, theme, form, mode, style and method etc, cohere as a united force in a common quest and direction. At the very least, we ought on the direct and ultimate goal, that is bringing forth talent, bringing forth works and the raising of spiritual civilization cohere as a united force.

The second is the need to overcome the phenomenon of the dispersal of spiritual production. Currently, spiritual production not only has a serious phenomenon of spiritual division, it also has the phenomenon of designing for the self, positioning for the self, and choosing for the self. Spiritual producers not only in many questions have different or even opposing understanding, they also are deeply alienated in the area of choices of values. Not a few spiritual producers express a clear double martyrdom, that is, one foot is in culture the other foot is in economics. The reason some spiritual producers choose "a space amongst the people" or "a popular standpoint" is that they want to preserve a distance from the "realist standpoint" or to resist it. These phenomena have their laudable side, but they also have a side that is troubling. The appearance of these phenomena shows the consciousness of workers in the arts about creative individuality and their concern with spiritual freedom, but it also promotes the already existing tendency towards dispersion, causing the

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growth of talent and the production of good works to suffer relatively great influence in terms of energy and financial support

The third is the need to overcome the current malaise.

Under the dual pressure of social metamorphosis and technical progress, the arts of different types and of different constituents are placed in different circumstances of existence, those who hasten after profit and those who stress practicality win the day and are full of the vernal glow of self satisfaction: those who maintain the artistic quest and human ideals walk alone, living in straitened circumstances. The parity in the movement of talent is smashed, and the production of good works is restricted. If Art and Literature of an instructional and reflective character wants to escape from the malaise and seek development there is great need for it to cohere into a single force. If leisure and entertainment style art can make an appropriate adjustment, the two can close ranks to an appropriate degree, and then the healthy development of the arts will be just around the corner.

If the necessity and possibility of cohesion can shape a common ethos,, then the next question is to fix the source of cohesion. Seen from current conditions, the following few points can perhaps become the source of cohesion for our country's art and literature.

One: Human ideals. Ideals are life's compass, life's grid. Ideals can make us escape from blindness in thought and action. If you have ideals then you don't indulge oneself in fleshly pleasures, you won't say "patriotism is so exhausting", you won't get a headache as soon as you hear someone talking of social responsibility, you won't be satisfied by describing the private life of an individual, the private realm of the individual, the minor sentiments of the individual, you can't be satisfied in only describing life according to one's own understanding.

Two: the humanistic spirit. The discussion about the humanistic spirit at the beginning of the 1990s, was like a raging fire. Its source and target was the tide of popularism and the retreat of the spiritual standpoint which appeared in the cultural realm in the early 1990s. The large number of people participating in the discussion and the mass of respondents, shows that this question was a focus of people's concern. To inject a humanistic spirit into art works, to inspect a humanistic spirit into those who had lost their selves in the tide of the economy, had in fact become a force of cohesion for the arts in the 1990s.

Three: the fixing of values. Where the place value system of spiritual producers, the function and effect of art works can be fixed is a major question that relates to the basic structuring of art works and the path for the maturing of artistic talent. The change in the definition of values in the 1990s has had a decisive influence on the arts. In one respect, people are not happy to submit to the value tendencies of worldliness, crass materialism, hedonism and consumerism being the supreme value. How to define values that fit the talents of our country's artists, and the survival of

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good works, is a question that still awaits exploration. How the arts can concern themselves with the transformation of the collective personality, and concern themselves with the and concern themselves with the development of the country and the ethno-nation and what kind of cultural inheritance to leave to the next generation - these are all questions related to value definitions.
Four: Consciousness for outstanding works. How to produce even more outstanding works, is also a topic which has been commonly discussed in recent years, To get rid of the coarse and to attained the refined/excellent, to sift the gold from the sand, is not only the law of the development of art, it is also the general psychology of receiving the arts and being intimate with the arts. The abundance or dearth of outstanding products, decides the scale of the overall success of the arts, and verifies how much talent has sprung up, and the height of creation, Grasping the awareness of excellent works, equates with the bridle which leads the whole of the artistic scene.

These matters affect the whole picture, the overall situation, it is a matter that requires everyone to deal with it collectively. Its success and defeat, is closely related to whether or not there is a force of cohesion. But the formation of a cohesive force, needs to undergo a long process, it not only needs to overcome interference from "left" and "right" it requires understanding and building up bit by bit in social practice and art practice.

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Text 5: Shao Jianwu and Ding Cong, "A Record of Laments about the Art Market". People's Daily 3 April 1998 (text is in note form)

Unprecedented development of the art market and the sluggish management – inadequacies of the law, weakness of the management teams, the inadequacy of supervision – created a very strong contrast, disorder behind prosperity, damage wrought by disorder, difficulties in patching up this damage.

Upsurge of market is sudden, but even more sudden is the surprise amongst the artists, collectors, managers and observers.

Many artists have entered the prosperous stratum, collecting changes from being the elevated matter of the literati and becomes fashionable, beside the old art shops a new set of enterprises develop, 6th Chinese art exhibition becomes an arena of struggle between different parties. Firestorm on the Chinese art market the product of the auctioneer's hammer, 70% of sales are on the auction market, most sales of cultural relics are on the auction market, sales records for China made on this market.

Chinese art market made up of the galleries, the auction houses and the art exhibition houses – the galleries are the first level market, the auction houses and the art exhibition houses are the secondary market. The involvement of the latter two in the first level market has caused the galleries to contract dramatically in the last 2 years.

The art galleries (Art corridors) were spread by the hotels, which disseminated the selling of art not only to foreign guests but also to in front of the eyes of many Chinese people. But great era was the 1980s and in the 1990s, In 1994 there were 5000+ art corridors and art shops nationwide in China by 1997 the whole country only had 2000+, dropping by 1000 every year.

Director of the market department of the Culture Ministry, Liang Gang thinks that prior to 1994 there was a disorderly proliferation of art shops and art galleries and so the reduction was a natural attrition, a sign of the progressive maturing of the art market, result of competition in the development of the art product industry, market share was taken by many auction houses after the rise of auctions.

Old art shops didn't do any marketing and relied on their reputation to attract customers and suppliers, losing out to the more aggressive propaganda of the art exhibition houses and the auction houses. In the mid 1990s the great success and then failure of the Guilin art sellers damaged the reputation of the art shops, caused buyers to step back from many art shops, artists also lost trust and interest in them, without trust from buyers and the protection of artists, art shops could only rely on two magic weapons – one was modern – wholesaling of crude, excessive low grade art - and

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the other was modern – don't sell for three years and live for three years on the sale (annoying the customers) – cheating themselves and cheating others

If officials cracked down on low-grade products, not a few of the remaining 2000 shops would also be driven out. Has effect on the 2nd tier market, because the reason that the auction market has exploded is that art products haven't gone through clear evaluation and elimination through the first grade market

Auction market – confusion of fish and dragons

Falsifying of reputation of Chinese artists began in Hong Kong, alliance of some artists and opportunist business people, pushing up the prices astronomically – same phenomenon not uncommon in other cities. Artists without reputation sent forth their works on to the market, to push up the prices. Collectors tried to drive up the value of their own collections by getting bidders to purchase similar works or works by the same artist. Often alliances of entrepreneurs, collectors and artists got together to push up reputations. Sometimes got friends to bid for their works to push up auction price. Sometimes artists sold works cheaply to auction houses so that the market value of their work would grow.

All basically commercial fraud, media increased their reputations and created many master artists without any foundation.

In this way the *People's Daily* is part of a regulatory mechanism since it presides over the making of reputations and presents itself as a guarantor of impartiality (if only because of the lack of any particular reputation for aesthetic judgment)

Problem is that false lineages spring up because ordinary people believe in the reputations of the artists and go to buy their work. Artists became celebrities and always in the media, also got their reputations into specialist publications, market value overturns academic value, affects correctness of scholarly evaluation, affects the operation of the market and its orderliness, can also affect the healthy development of the art enterprise

Continuing underground trading: Auction business brought the underground market above ground. Foreign collectors and art business organs took advantage of the looseness of import export laws, and taking advantage of the big gap between Chinese and foreign wages, and taking advantage of the loopholes in the tax system, and the artists' yearning for wealth, became friends with artists by offering them trips abroad giving them appliances, cash, invitations abroad, publishing art books, and got hold of countless contemporary art works. State lost a lot of money in Tax – will artists be fined for tax evasion?

Foreign students took paintings abroad to pay for their living, officials took them on trips to give as gifts to foreign organisations, sometimes Chinese state bureaux sold them for cheap prices

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My comment on text

In the Dengist system, the market is the vector for producing Chinese socialist modernity. The market is embraced because it is a tool for producing a modern world. Material progress is achieved by harnessing the market. Socialist ideology has an established rhetoric of presenting art as part and parcel.

Museums, dealers, collectors, a cadre of critics, and above all the apparatus of the market: these are all identified as definitively modern institutions – the appearance of these structures is seen as part of the modernization of art. This has been a rhetorical thread since the mid 1990s. The formation of the market is as much reported as a story of excess and error: fraud, over inflated prices, the failure to produce *jing pin*, which seems to have been stressed with particular intensity in the anti Spiritual pollution campaign of 1996

Ambiguities of the popular

In the rhetoric of serving the people from the early 1990s there is a return to the Yan'an valuing of the masses. For an art to serve the people is its highest goal. Modernism is denounced as an art of privilege – perverse and abstruse, it is the house style of a decadent body of intellectuals indifferent to the special conditions of ordinary people, the definitive incarnation of whom is poor peasants in remote areas, it is an art form for hotels and salons. Worse than that it is affiliated with the world view of capitalist exploitation. It was art which denied humanity and social responsibility , pursuing the notion of art for arts sake.

By the middle to late 1990s, the popular has become conflated with a worldly and cynical market oriented art which began to be produced in the early 1990s. The value of pure art begins to switch, to something which holds to spiritual values and which is concerned with integrity.

The *jingpin yishi* [consciousness of excellence works] and the notion of *jingshen shiliang* [spiritual grain] both in a sense connote an opposition to the so-called **cultural fast foods**. Good art works have nutritional value, and they are what the healthy populace will want: the difficulty is that the populace finds attractive cultural food that has no nourishment.

There is a debate about the value of art for the popular market. Socialism is supposedly dedicated to the creation of cultural products that are cheap and of high quality (*jialian wumei*). This concept it perhaps applied more consistently to film, the performing arts and literature than to visual art products, but this commitment is supposed to apply to all forms of art and literature. Capitalist mass culture is driven by the profit motive and abandons any sense of social responsibility in the pursuit of a market return. The socialist market is meant to provide an efficient communicative mechanism which will enhance distribution and ensure that the relationship between producer and

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consumer is harmonious – the profit motive is not supposed to be driving concern. Instead, under the rubric of "making the arts prosperous" (*fanrong wenyi* 繁荣文艺) there is supposed to be a profusion of healthy products which the people may consume, which will enrich their lives and be both the harbinger and the goal of modernization. Because socialist art is supposed to serve the masses, at some level art and literature products are required to be popular. But there is also a critique of "pandering to vulgarity" (*meisu* 媚俗), and of standardization and popularization (*dazhong hua* 大众化 and *moshi hua* 模式化). Art products are meant to have "individuality" (*gexing* 个性). The notion of *jingpin* 精品 assumes that the refined, excellent product is distinctive – it may share a generic character of excellence with its peers, but its superiority consists in its uniqueness. In this way art production, as part of spiritual civilization, differs from material production. In the case of the latter, production aims for smoothness, standardization, and the minimum possible investment of time and labour. Art and literature should not become standardized. The market mechanism is not supposed to undermine the spiritual character of artistic products which are supposed to retain some connection to the excellence of the individual producer. To some extent vulgarity is something defined by state borders: Taiwan, Hong Kong and "foreign" cultural products, which are created outside the organizational structures of Chinese socialist art production are the definitive examples of the standardized, mass-produced, de-spiritualized and vulgar products of capitalist culture. As internal competitors for the attention of the Chinese masses, they constitute an intrusion of a non-socialist vision of the popular. "Mass culture" is a negative term, which differs in quality from the culture of "the masses". The excellent/refined product is defined in opposition to the products of mass culture. In other words, the refined product is coterminous with socialist sovereignty over the Chinese nation: those outside the area of Chinese socialist sovereignty, in Hong Kong or Taiwan, inhabit the domain of capitalist mass culture, which is the antithesis of spiritual civilization, a cultural system which will turn people into things.

At the same time, the post 1989 art rhetoric is an attempt by the party to reassert its monopoly on defining "the people" : its conviction that it is the representative of the general will is manifest in the complete conflation of serving socialism, serving the people and the fulfillment of party objectives. In its attempts to portray artists that exemplify the values of socialists humanity, particularly those artists who are People's representatives, the *People's Daily* – whose name is of course founded on the notion that it is a tangible and coherent representation of "the people" – offers pictures of "the people" who affirm this identification. Their dedication to a life of struggle in the open air, their stereotypical humility and plainness, produces a representation of the people which suggests that the people whom art is supposed to serve is in fact an entity which resembles

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the descriptions/prescriptions of official rhetoric. To act according to the party's directives, to produce art which conforms to these guidelines, is to serve this constituency, the people, whom the party represents.

As in the statements produced in the aftermath of the 1996 plenum, western cultural production is caught between a mindless mass culture driven by the profit motive, and artistic obscurantism which defies easy understanding. In socialist art, there is an art of mass appeal which is not vulgar or commercialized, and there is a form of artistic modernity which is accessible and is part of a collective ethno-national possession. However the drives of the market have produced other difficulties in China in the late 1990s. *Jingying* art, which was denounced as elitist in the post 1989 period is presented as an art of integrity.

Price and quality

To some extent, for art which is mechanically reproduced, such as literature, film and television or recorded music, it is possible to achieve a balance between low cost and high quality – these are the cultural area to which the notion of *jialian wumei* primarily applies. If the cultural order is functioning properly good books will sell well: good music will be widely performed. This is much more ambiguous for works of visual art: high price is an index of the recognition of merit. A healthy art market is also an index of modernity in that it is both the most efficient distribution mechanism and a sign of civilisational development. Wealth is not directed into vulgar entertainment, but becomes part of the spiritually enhancing sphere of refined culture, contributing to the vigour of national art and marking its parity with the global art system.

But good art must be produced without pecuniary motives: price gravitates towards quality. The moral and economic law of art is that works produced to make money will lack integrity. High price comes as a kind of reward for purity of intent. The refined/excellent product is defined by the absence of any trace of corruption in the motivations that govern its creation.

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Chapter 9.1d

Chinese Artists' Materials

Structure of artists' incomes

Josephine Fox with John Clark

Artist names are not given here at their request.

#1.

Tempera painter, born in 1963, male, lives in Beijing.

Born in Dandong, Liaoning, near Korean border. Joined People's Liberation Army in 1977, aged 14. Served in army for 9 years. Studied painting after hours while in army, out of interest. Entered Central Academy of Fine Arts, Department of Popular Art (*Minjian meishu xi)* in 1986, graduated 1990. Worked in Shijiazhuang Institute of Industrial Design (*Gongyi meishu yanjiusuo*), designing interior decor for company boardrooms, restaurants and hotels, but left after 6 months. Went back to Beijing and painted. Employed in 1992 as interior designer for International Club (*Guoji julebu fandian*). Left International Club in 1994, has lived off income from painting since then.

First exhibited in 1993. This was a private exhibition organised by #1 and a friend in the Ritan Pavilion, Beijing. 1994, took part in official Federation of Chinese Artists exhibition. Has participated in fifteen or so exhibitions since then. First sale of painting in 1993, at the Ritan Pavilion exhibition. Has sold paintings every year since then; some years more, some years less. Most buyers of #1's paintings are foreign. #1 thinks hyper-realist style appeals more to foreigners. Did not want to say how much his paintings sold for. Does not have contract with gallery. Some buyers see his work in exhibitions, others are introduced through art world contacts. Has had works auctioned 3 times, for the first time in 1996 or 1997. From 1997, #1 has not had to organise exhibitions himself but has been invited to participate.

1998: No teaching or other salary.

No domestic commissions.

Two paintings sold domestically. This was not as good as 1997 or even the first three months of 1999.

Several paintings sold overseas, but some buyers had not yet paid. #1 would call the sale certain when he received the money.

No other income.

#2.

Oil painter, born in 1954, male, lives in Beijing.

Went to work at Shanghai shipyard in 1971. Was riveter in shipyard for 2 years. Enrolled in print department of Central Academy of Fine Arts in 1974, graduated 1978 Stayed at Academy in lecturing post. Still teaching there now in Department of Oil Painting.

Exhibited for the first time while a student in 1975, in Central Academy exhibition of students' works. This was a propaganda poster titled "Criticise the Capitalist Roaders". It was subsequently published in newspapers. #2 did not exhibit much before 1983 due to lack of opportunity, but took part in one or two exhibitions a year from 1983 to 1995, when he decided to stop and revise his technique. Was preparing for a solo exhibition in Beijing this year, at a private gallery operated by an American Chinese. #2 chose this gallery because the terms of the contract were clear and unambiguous. Made prints (*zhi zuo de tuban*) from graduation in 1978 until 1986, then started to paint in oils. Painted "still life" (i.e. old socks, broken panes of glass) until 1996, then turned to "landscapes" (i.e. blocks of flats in the outer suburbs). First sale of work in 1985. An American or Englishman introduced through art world contacts bought one large and four small pencil sketches. Then sold nothing further until 1989. Has sold 15 or so paintings since then, to Chinese industrialists and entrepreneurs, and overseas Chinese and foreign collectors. Early ones sell for $2000 US, very successful ones for $10,000 US or more, most between $4000 and $5000 US according to size. Paintings have been auctioned by collectors, but #2 had nothing to do with it. One was passed in by China Guardian in 1994 (reserve 40,000-50,000 RMB).

1998: Taught all year at Central Academy of Fine Arts. Rank of associate professor. Slightly over 10,000 yuan.

No domestic commissions.

Domestic sales: 3 small paintings, 70,000 yuan total.

No overseas sales.

#3.

Acrylic painter, born 1962, male, lives in Shanghai.

Attended Shanghai *yishu zhongzhuan,* studied advertising design. Said wanted to study art but advertising design was as close as he could get. Graduated 1983, designed advertising for toys in toy factory for 2 years. 1985, passed Shanghai University Meishu Xueyuan entrance exam, but spent one year preparing for study before attending: art technique, also

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politics, literature, history, English. Graduated from *guohua* department 1990. Had painted since at school, painted abstracts, wanted to enrol in oil painting department, but department then still under influence of Xu Beihong and later Soviet social realist style, chose *guohua* to avoid immediate conflict with authorities. From 1990, taught *secai* at Gongyi Meishu Xuexiao (with Yu Youhan, see below.) Still teaching there now.

First exhibition 1983. Group exhibition with five other young artists, organised by themselves, at Fudan University. First solo exhibition 1984, also at Fudan. Exhibited irregularly through 1980s, then reputation and career picked up from 1992. #3 says no political problems with abstract art now, though there was still some resistance to it in the 1980s. However has exhibited more overseas than in China since 1992. Venice Biennale in 1993, Chinese Avant-Garde (travelled Berlin, Rotterdam, Oxford and Denmark) 1994, Sydney Biennale 1998. Has exhibited overseas more than 20 times including *Mao Goes Pop*. Usually 8-10 times a year counting Chinese and overseas. Exhibits in China if the exhibition doesn't have a subject (i.e. rendition of Hong Kong) and if the organisers don't ask for a canvas. Institutions holding art exhibitions don't do this often in China now, but occasionally it's still done.

First sale of work in 1993. Hong Kong gallery representative came to Shanghai, selected 6 paintings for Post '89 Chinese Modern Art exhibition in HK, all 6 sold. $9000 US received from gallery, #3 didn't know what prices they brought afterwards. 1994, sold 4 more in Shanghai to foreign collectors. 1995, signed contract with gallery in Beijing. 1996, signed contract with gallery in Shanghai. Both owned by foreigners. Can paint about 20 large canvases a year, or 30 small ones on paper. Had recently been painting on tartan cloth. Sold about 6 in 1995, about 10 in 1996. Most buyers foreign. Can only recall 2 Chinese buyers. One was gallery owner in Shenyang. Chinese buyers prefer to invest in *guohua,* even though it appreciates slowly compared to modern art. They understand it better. Modern art looks incomprehensible and risky.

Spends about 10,000 yuan a year on materials, and as much again on books (illustrated). Had painting auctioned in Beijing in 1997 (Zhongshan) for over 50,000 yuan. Had 2 put up last year at Christie's (London) auction of Asian art but they weren't sold. Doesn't enjoy dealing with art auction companies. *Bu hen guifan.* There's no effective guarantee of quality of art, this isn't their first interest. Chinese artists have little sense of how to estimate the value of their work. *Wo bi ni nianji da, yinggai maide gao.*

1998: Taught at *zhong zhuan*. Salary 17,000 yuan.

No domestic commissions. Doesn't do these.

Domestic sales: 10 paintings sold through galleries. Made $US 30-40,000 altogether. Both galleries take 40% commission. Is committed to avoid competition in same city, but Beijing and Shanghai galleries cooperate.

Overseas sales: Another 10 paintings, sold through galleries in Germany and Switzerland. $US 10,000.

No other income last year.

#4.

Guohua painter, born 1928, male, lives in Tianjin.

Retired senior officer of People's Liberation Army. Studied art when young, but "gave it away for other things". Painted in leisure time, returned to painting full time after retirement in 1984. Teaches private students. Had two regular classes of 30-40 students for some years. Doesn't teach group classes now, says too old for it, but tutors individual students who come to his house.

Has exhibited regularly since 1984, both locally and in China-wide *guohua* exhibitions. Took part in 4 group exhibitions last year. One conducted by *Laonian shufa yanjiuhui,* one by Tianjin city government, *Jiefang Tianjin wushi zhou nian*.

Sell paintings often. Day before yesterday sold one to visiting American. Paints traditional landscapes. Says conceptual maturing process takes time, days or weeks, but the actual execution of the painting is quick, can do one in a day if circumstances are right. Travels about twice a year, to exhibitions or art-related events, while travelling visits sites of natural scenery he would like to paint. Went to Sichuan last year. Known to potential buyers by diverse means, through exhibiting, mass media including TV, specialist literature. Both Chinese and foreigners buy paintings. Deals with private galleries. Sometimes gives paintings away. Has army pension, doesn't have to sell paintings to live comfortably, but still can't afford not to be commercial. Supplies cost money. 4 square foot canvas sells for about $US 500. Two kinds of landscape, Beiguo and Nanguo. #4 prefers to paint Beiguo, comes from north himself (Shulu county, Hebei).

1998: Did not want to give details of military pension, or former position and rank, on grounds that it was a state secret.

Domestic commissions: Works on commission sometimes. Last year painted four scenes of Huang Shan on request, because he was going there.

Domestic sales: Did not give amount but said earned more from art sales than from military pension. Earns more from art sales in most years. Two landscapes auctioned for 7000 yuan each.

Overseas sales: Did not give amount but said had sold scenes of the Welcome Pine on Huang Shan to foreign buyers. Said foreign buyers liked those.

#5.

Conceptual artist, born in 1962, male, lives in Beijing.

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Started painting at school. Finished school 1980, for two years did not work but painted. Then took series of casual jobs: construction work, keeping watch in *chuandashi,* making stage scenery, working in plastic factory. Has not had regular job now since 1986, but does occasional casual work, labour involved in setting up galleries for exhibitions of sculpture and installations, introduced by art world contacts. Main income comes from art sales and remuneration from exhibitions of avant-garde art.

Started to work on sculpture in 1982. After 1983, didn't do much oil painting, concentrated on installations. Sculpted in clay originally, small scale "figures", now does small lacquer figures. Still paints watercolours. Also does photography. First group exhibition 1985, first solo 1986. First overseas exhibition 1988, "Beijing-New York", USA. In China, exhibitions of installation and performance art hardly ever offer any remuneration to artists. #5 hasn't been offered it. Different overseas. Overseas exhibitions provide plane ticket and materials at least. Some also pay living costs. In Germany, exhibitions provide an allowance based on estimate of German artist's income, so it is possible with care to take money back to China. Has visited Europe and Australia to exhibit. 1998, took part in Victorian state government sponsored "Work in construction: The Bridge" event.

First sale of work in 1986. Oil painting, sold at exhibition. Has sold oil paintings to gallery owners and art world contacts. Sold paintings to overseas buyers 3 times. Currently sells small sculptures and watercolours. Installations are hard things to sell, especially #5's meatworks, but has sold one to French state gallery.

1998: No income from salary.

No domestic commissions. Has never worked on commission.

Domestic sales: 3 watercolour paintings, 7 small sculptures. Altogether 13,000 yuan for the paintings, 2000 for the sculptures. Sold to friends and acquaintances through art world contacts.

Overseas sales: 2 watercolour paintings and 2 small sculptures. Paintings 5000+ yuan, sculptures 3000+ yuan. #5 also knew these buyers personally. One was a gallery owner and another a partner or employee in a gallery.

Also received some income from an exhibition of installations in the Taipei City Gallery, Taiwan. #5 didn't go to Taiwan but was paid a fee by the gallery.

#6.

Guohua painter, male, born 1960?, lives in Tianjin.

After school attended Tianjin Academy of Fine Arts, studied *guohua.* Graduated 1982. Initially offered teaching post in Academy. Then was criticised for painting of Tangshan earthquake of 1976. Partly because there were naked men and women in it, ostensibly because it failed to show the victims of the earthquake in sufficiently resolute light - general character of work too grotesque. Job offer withdrawn. Assigned to job in Tanggu library. September 1985, recalled to Tianjin Academy to teach in *guohua* department. Still teaching there now. Teaches figure painting.

First exhibited while in primary school, local exhibition of children's art. Had always wanted to be either an artist or a basketball player. Didn't grow tall enough for basketball. As student, won 3rd prize in Tianjin Youth Exhibition. 1989, in 6th All-China exhibition. Early 1990s, in group exhibitions in Singapore and Los Angeles. 1993, 3 major exhibitions; One solo exhibition at Central Academy of Fine Arts, Zhongguo Meishu Pipingjia Timing Zhan at Zhongguo Meishuguan - exhibition by invitation, by approval from 24 critics - and *Shiji mo Zhongguo renwu hua* , organised by Federation of Chinese Artists at Zhongguo Meishuguan, also by invitation. 1994, solo exhibition in Taipei and group exhibition in Singapore. Has been in major exhibitions each year, in China and overseas. Is subject of book by art critic Lang Shaojun, *Dangdai zhuming yishujia - Li Xiaoxuan,* Hubei Meishu Chubanshe.

First sale of work in 1989, to Taiwanese buyer who came to studio. 1990, sold painting in South Korea at exhibition. 1993, signed contract with Ma Wenpu of Ch'ang Chiang Art Centre, which would buy paintings for a set amount. Contract became inoperative due to business troubles at Ch'ang Chiang. Ma still owes #6 money for several paintings. Paints 40 to 50 a year. #6 paints two kinds of *guohua,* infernal cityscapes full of flesh-eating machinery and severed heads ('modern"), and birds and flowers ("traditional"). Traditional paintings sell for 3000-4000 yuan. Modern ones, 6000-7000 yuan for 6 square feet, 10-20,000 yuan if larger. The modern ones take more time to paint. Says he paints birds and flowers when exhausted by the other ones. However, has painted more modern ones than traditional recently. In one year, can paint 20 of these at most. Deals with 2 private galleries in Beijing, but they only take small paintings. Chinese buyers prefer traditional paintings. Some are interested in the modern ones, but the prices keep them out of the market, sells these mostly to foreigners. #6 says doesn't have to exhibit much now, potential buyers know of him. Has wife and son, she is unemployed.

1998: Taught in *guohua* department of Tianjin Academy of Fine Arts. *Renwu* and *chuangzuo.* Salary 800 yuan per month.

No domestic commissions.

Domestic sales: 3 paintings, all traditional. One bought by industrialist from Liaoning for 5000 yuan. 2 bought by collector from Xi'an for 10,000 yuan.

No overseas sales.

No other income last year.

#7.

Guohua painter, born in 1958, male, lives in Beijing.

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After school sent to country to take part in production for 5 years, 1976-81. Started to paint then. Studied *guohua* painting at Central Academy of Fine Arts. While at Academy supported by parents and did magazine illustrations. Graduated 1985, and stayed at Central Academy as lecturer. Still teaching there now in Department of Chinese Painting. Teaches *xieyi renwu,* impressionistic figure painting.

First exhibited 1985. Won prize at National China Youth Exhibition, which was deciding factor behind offer of lecturing post at Academy. Has exhibited regularly in China and overseas (HK, Germany, Singapore, Japan) since then. Lost count of number of exhibitions, several dozen. First sale of paintings in 1986 or 1987, to a gallery in Taiwan (Mingren Hualang). Representatives of Mingren in China bought several paintings after seeing them exhibited in China. #7 says his paintings are bought more by Western and overseas Chinese buyers than by Chinese, and considers the character of his paintings (*guohua* in a non-traditional post-impressionist style) leads to this. #7's customers in China are business people and resident foreigners (diplomats and entrepreneurs). Exhibits in China more to make his art known than to market it. Says art sales in China have only picked up in the last 1 or 2 years. Did not want to say how many paintings he had sold, or for how much. Made more from sale of work than from teaching, and sold no paintings overseas last year, which he attributed to the Asian economic crisis.

1998: taught *xieyi renwu* at Central Academy of Fine Arts all year except for 3 months teaching at College of Art and Design in Tokyo by exchange agreement with Central Academy. Salary 1000 yuan per month. While in Tokyo the College of Art and Design paid his salary back to the Central Academy, which kept a proportion and provided LY with "living costs".

No domestic commissions.

Did not want to detail domestic sales. Says they were down on previous years.

No overseas sales in 1998.

#8.

Sculptor, born in 1965, female, lives in Beijing.

Teaches sculpture, clay modelling and sketching (*sumiao, diaosu, suxie*) at Zhongguo Meishuguan Fushu Zhongxue. #8's regular income is her teacher's salary but she also sells works irregularly, at auction and privately. Is married to another teacher at the Fushu Zhongxue.

First exhibition 1994. First sale of sculpture in 1996, privately to Chinese buyer who had seen her work exhibited. First auction sale also in 1996 (Sungari). Some works have been collected by the Zhongguo Meishuguan. Sells works to both Chinese and overseas buyers, and to corporate investors.

1998: Taught at Fushu Zhongxue all year. Salary 700-800 yuan per month.

No domestic commissions in 1998. Has done these, and has current commissions but last year concentrated on preparing works for exhibition.

Domestic sales: Sold 2 pieces to private buyers, about 20,000 yuan each. Had one collected by state gallery, which paid considerably less.

Overseas sales: none last year. Sold to overseas buyers in 1997.

#9.

Oil painter, born 1964, male, lives in Beijing.

Attended specialist middle school, Beijing Secondary College of Industrial Design, then Central Academy of Fine Arts, Beijing. Enrolled in *bihuaxi* (Mural painting). Started doing magazine illustrations while still at school, continued while at Zhongyang Meishu Xueyuan. Father was on staff of illustrated adventure magazine for young people, recruited #9 to draw illustrations. Drew for 3 other magazines while studying at Academy. After graduation studied at Hochschule der Kunst, Berlin, 1990-1994. Returned to China and taught oil painting at Central Academy of Fine Arts for 1 year. Resigned due to disagreement with Academy over teaching method. Has lived by sale of art since.

First exhibited 1989 while student. "Sichou zhi lu" exhibition at Zhongguo Meishuguan. Won silver medal for small oil painting. While in Germany, two solo exhibitions at Gallery Taube, Berlin. Has had 10-20 group exhibitions and one solo since return to China.

First sale of painting in Germany, about 1990. Friend of friend came to studio and bought one. Sold about 20 paintings in Germany. Prices varied. Most sold for 3000-5000 DM, large ones 10,000 DM, highest price 20,000 DM. Sold a few prints also, for lower prices, around 500 DM. Has continued to sell paintings in China. Finds it fairly easy to sell paintings, knows a lot of people in art circles. Paints 10 a year, more or less, always sells them sooner or later. Small ones $2000 US, large ones up to $20,000 US. Most buyers foreign. Galleries, collectors, academics. Mostly European and American. If Chinese, high officials buying art as investment.

Have had works auctioned at Christie's in HK, by dealer based in Beijing and New York. One sold for 230,000 HK, of which #9 received half. Had 4 or 5 paintings auctioned by Sotheby's in Hong Kong, put up by same dealer. Best sale 160,000 HK. Dealer took half.

1998: no teaching or other income. #9 says teacher's salary wouldn't even cover cost of paint.

Domestic commission: French ambassador and wife offered $US 10,000 for 1.2 x 1.4 metre oil painting.

Domestic sales: 5 paintings. Swiss ambassador bought 2 for slightly over $US 10,000. Chinese collector bought 3 for 110,000 yuan.

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Overseas sales: Spent 6 months in Netherlands last year, sold 12? paintings to Amsterdam Stellenmuseum. Hasn't been paid in full yet. Received $US 10,000+, still owed $US 20,000. Galleries tend to wait until the last moment to pay.

Total income about 200,000 yuan last year.

#10.

Oil painter and conceptual artist, born late 1950s?, male, lives in Shanghai.

Finished school in 1975. Sent to country to take part in production for 1 year. Worked on farm just outside Shanghai. Then assigned to car factory. Learned automotive engineering, worked there 5 years. 1982, enrolled in fine art department of Shanghai Normal University. Grandmother painted *guohua* landscapes, had always liked painting. Graduated in 1986. While at university began to engage in avant-garde art and exhibit installations. This kind of art was not well received by teachers and gallery managers, and caused conflict between #10 and family, which he defused by taking teaching job in Ningxia. Taught art at Ningxia College of Education, Ningxia University, Yinchuan Normal University, spent 7 years in Ningxia altogether. Organised group exhibitions of avant-garde art with young local artists, five or six a year. Reviews mixed. Once security guards turned up and started to carry the installations away during #10's address at the opening ceremony. Most difficulties in the year after June 4th, then things improved again. Ningxia students very poor. Why introduce avant-garde art to people with only 2 pairs of trousers in the family? *Keyi wanquan gaibian tamen dui Zhongguo de zhengti renshi. Cong ziji neixin yao gaibian ziji de shenghuo.*

1993, returned to Shanghai, taught art at Shanghai Jiaoyu Xueyuan. 1996, enrolled in postgraduate degree in Shanghai Academy of Fine Arts. Finishing degree now (May 1999). Writing book, *Zhongguo jiushi niandai hou de xiandai yishu.*

First exhibited as student. 6-7 times while at Shanghai Normal University. Continued to exhibit several times a year at Ningxia. PJ organised exhibitions, had contacts who made space available at universities, museums, galleries. After returning to Shanghai became better known, took part in major exhibitions, overseas exhibitions since 1988. Mostly exhibits overseas now. Went to Europe last month (April 1999). Travel costs paid. After return to Shanghai, turned to oil painting again. Timber and copper pipe, materials of choice, were more expensive in Shanghai than in Ningxia, but oil paints were cheaper. Still creates installations sometimes, with timber and New Year decorations.

First sale of work 1988, painting sold to American English teacher in Ningxia. $US 3000. Didn't sell many works in West, about 20 in 7 years, watercolours and acrylics. Sales picked up in Shanghai. Also painting more than before. Painted 30 canvases in 1997-1998. Can sell about 10 a year. Deals with galleries in Shanghai and overseas. Buyers from Hong Kong, Taiwan, France, Germany, USA. Foreigners in business in China, a few art dealers. A few young Shanghai people with money. Older people aren't interested.

1998: received postgraduate scholarship of less than 1000 yuan per month.

No domestic commissions, doesn't work on commission.

Sold paintings both in China and overseas, didn't want to say how many or how much. Sales handled by galleries.

No other income.

#11.

Oil painter, born early 1960s?, male, lives in Beijing.

Finished school in Inner Mongolia in 1980, entered Central Academy of Fine Arts in 1983, in the interim was supported by parents. Studied lithograph printmaking. Graduated 1987, worked at mint, designed banknotes. Left after 1 year, returned to Inner Mongolia from Beijing. Didn't have job for 1 or 2 years, but married and became father. After graduating from Central Academy switched from printmaking to oil painting. #11 considers not enough demand for lithographs, more opportunity to make a living as oil painter.1990-1991, tutored privately. Taught fine arts after hours to senior high school students preparing for entry to meishu xueyuan. 1992, returned to Beijing. Has lived by sale of works since. Wife is company accountant but income from art sales is major income.

First exhibited 1993. Group exhibition of political pop conducted by HanArt, Hong Kong. Signed contract with Schoeni same year. Schoeni is still current agent. 1994, solo exhibition of *Xiaofei xingxiang* series at Schoeni gallery, HK. 40 paintings in series, all sold, #11 kept one as memento. 1995, began to paint *Zhongguo Guniang* series, still painting these now. Initially small works, painted more than 80 small *Zhongguo Guniangs* and sold all of them. Now painting large canvases, 1.5 x 2 metres. Have exhibited regularly since 1993. 1998, exhibited in Germany (Sunny) and London. Attending Venice Biennale this year. Main income comes from Schoeni. Have also sold paintings through other galleries in London and Germany. Was approached by Chinese gallery in 1998 but didn't make agreement with them. #11 considers opportunities better overseas, contemporary art more appreciated by foreigners, though this will change with time. Doesn't know who buyers are, but they appear to be private collectors from USA, HK, Europe. Had painting auctioned at Christie's in London in 1998, doesn't know what it brought.

1998: No teaching or other salaried work.

No domestic commissions. Chinese institutions and companies don't usually commission political pop.

No domestic sales.

Sold between $US 20,000 and $US 40,000 worth of paintings through Schoeni. Also sold few others through London and German galleries, and one large and 3 small paintings to former Swiss ambassador to China (who has also

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bought 14 of Zhuang Hui's photographs. See below). Schoeni always sends receipts but #11 doesn't keep very close track of them.

#12.

Post-traditional collage landscape artist, born 1948, male, lives in Shanghai.

Studied art at specialist middle school. After school (1967, school closed) assigned to work in leather factory. Worked there 9 years. Painted propaganda posters. 1976, as result of contacts with other artists transferred to Wenhua Guan in Shanghai as publicly sponsored artist. Ceased to paint revolutionary art after transfer to Wenhua Guan, followed own direction. 1979, founded Cao Cao Huashe, "Grass Studio" as venue for creation and exchange of ideas by local independent artists. Left Wenhua Guan in 1985 due to major conflict over art tendencies of Cao Cao She. #12's works said to be sources of spiritual pollution. Also criticised for contact with American artist Joan Cohen who met #12 in Shanghai in 1980, was introduced by him to other artists and took three of #12's paintings to USA to exhibit. Other artist painted nude which was confiscated. Mixed tendencies, all non-traditional. After leaving Wenhua Guan (1985), designed posters for films, painted shop signs, then within year invited by Tufts University to USA as visiting scholar. Known in USA since participating in "Painting the Chinese Dream" exhibition, New York and Boston via Cohen in 1982.At Tufts taught students, gave 2-3 exhibitions, sold paintings, painted large abstract mural for university. Returned to Shanghai and has been self supporting artist since.

First exhibitions of revolutionary poster art during Cultural Revolution. Exhibited this every year in Shanghai. 1975, represented Shanghai at opening ceremony of *Quan guo meishu zhanlan* in Beijing. Didn't take part in government exhibitions with *geming zhuti,* revolutionary topics, after 1976, organised private exhibitions, invited artists who hadn't been able to exhibit before. One or two every year until 1980, then founded Cao Cao. First overseas exhibition, "Painting the Chinese Dream" in 1982. Has exhibited regularly overseas since 1985 trip, in USA, Germany, Japan, Taiwan and Hong Kong. Solo exhibition in Shanghai Art Museum, and 2 person exhibition with Liu Kuo-sung of Taiwan in Zhuhai Gallery, Guangdong, in 1994. Otherwise has exhibited mainly overseas.

First sale of work in 1980. Small canvas bought by US collector. Sold canvases occasionally while at Wenhua Guan and doing odd jobs, only to foreigners. After return to China in 1987, some overseas Chinese buyers as well. #12's works are collages of *xuan* paper coloured, torn up, stuck to a canvas in layers and coloured over again to form large (2-3 sq.m.) *shanshui* like landscapes. In 1990s, galleries and museums as well as private collectors. Now occasionally sells works to Chinese galleries or collectors, but most buyers still foreign. Has had works auctioned in China and overseas, but these were put up by investors, QDS had nothing to do with it.

Did not want to detail income for 1998. Did no work for salary or commission. Sold canvases both in China and overseas. Spends 20-30,000 yuan a year on materials. Uses acrylic paint imported from USA.

#13.

Oil painter, born 1952, male, lives in Shanghai.

Finished school in 1969, aged 17, sent to country to take part in production. Worked on farm for 6 years. Returned to Shanghai in 1975 and joined *Diandong gongju yanjiu suo,* machine tools research institute. Learned engineering, worked there 20 years on design of machine tools. 1986-1989, studied industrial design part time at *Shanghai qinggongye zhuanke xuexiao,* with support of danwei.1995, took teaching job in Huashan School of Fine Arts, still teaching there now. Teaches design.

Painted from childhood. Painted landscapes and figures, Western style realism, in watercolours and oils while working on people's commune. Was held back by cost of materials. At machine tools research institute continued painting in this style, in 1985 started to paint abstracts. Personal aesthetic reasons. *Zhongguo kaifangle.*

First exhibited in 1985 or 1986. Self portrait in oil, can't remember which exhibition. After that, at least once a year, more often as years passed. First overseas exhibition 1988, in Germany. Solo exhibition at Max Planck Institut, Tubingen. Representative of Institut in Shanghai had seen solo exhibition of SF's in Shanghai Meishuguan. Has exhibited in France, Denmark, Poland, Austria and USA.

First sold painting in 1988, to German poet who saw it in Shanghai Meishuguan exhibition. Sold paintings every year since then. Number varies. More with passing years. Could paint 20-30 a year. Sell paintings through friends or contacts in art world, less often through exhibitions. All sold to foreigners. Residents working in China, or collectors visiting China to buy artworks. Had sold only one to a Chinese buyer, another artist. Has had works auctioned at Christie's (London) by China Contemporary Gallery. Paintings that didn't sell from exhibition of SF's at gallery in 1998 were auctioned,
but they weren't sold there either. Spends about 20,000 yuan per year on materials. Why no Chinese buyers; not enough money. Chinese with money find other uses for it. Art education is lacking in China.
1998: Taught at Huashan *zhong zhuan* all year. Design, 12 classes a week. Salary 1500 yuan per month.

No commissions.

Domestic sales: 10 paintings, all sold to foreigners including one or two Taiwanese. About 100,000 yuan.

Overseas sales: 5 or 6 sold at China Contemporary Gallery exhibition in London. Also about 100,000 yuan equivalent.

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#14.

Conceptual artist, born early 1960s?, male, lives in Shanghai.

After school went to university, *Shanghai Qinggongye gaodeng zhuanye xuexiao.* Studied surface design, *pingmian sheji.* Graduated 1984, assigned to Jiaoxie Yanjiusuo - Sporting Shoe Research Institute - to design sports shoes. In 3 years there didn't design a single shoe, in fact no demand for this. Imported trade magazines and read them in the office, designed exhibition displays, travelled around China to shoe trade exhibitions. Used to paint at school and university, continued doing this at shoe institute. Shared rented studio in country outside Shanghai with 2 friends from 1984. Painted on thick yellow paper used for models of soles, to save money. Couldn't afford canvas. Not even as good as Post Office paper.

1987, left shoe institute, got job teaching at special middle school, Huashan Meishu Xuexiao. Taught design and colour use, various subjects. Now the school has more specialist teachers, teaches only design. Designs for corporate clients sometimes. Once designed interior for disco, knew owner. 3-4 months' work for 30,000 yuan.

Stopped painting on canvas in 1992, did installations from then on. Sometimes does performance art. Uses photography, but doesn't take photographs, has co-artist do them. Decided that when painting he developed ideas 1% of the time and performed manual labour the rest of the time, during which he forgot the original concept.

Took part in exhibition of children's art when 12 years old, then didn't exhibit while at university. Exhibited in two successive Shanghai Youth Exhibitions while at shoe institute, won prize at second. *Youxiu jiang.* 1992, won prize at all-China exhibition of oil painting. Since started conceptual art, has exhibited several times each year, but hasn't had solo exhibition yet. 2 person exhibition at best. Took part this year in Rock in/Rock out exhibition in Winnipeg. Overseas exhibitions provide travel and material costs. Couldn't go if they didn't.

First sale of work, hyper-realist canvas in 1992 for 10,000 yuan. Didn't know who bought it, sold by gallery, but someone has since seen it in private collection in New York. Hasn't sold much since then as current works are not saleable. Recently sold an album of photographs that were part of a complex installation including videotapes. A "conductor" directed performers from a podium, using the photos, to do things like sleep, be socially impressive etc. in quasi-chamber music fashion. Doesn't rely on sales, has job anyway. If people offer money, so much the better. This year (April) took part in "Art for Sale" at Shanghai Square shopping centre, one of the sponsors. Conceptual art exhibition in which each installation was accompanied by a small "product", to be sold from supermarket shelves outside the installation space. #14 contributed small fibreglass and plastic figures of himself with Zhongshanzhuang, briefcase and blond hairdo, declaring "Welcome to Shanghai". Sold 20+ for 170 yuan each.

1998: Taught at Huashan School of Art. Salary $1300 yuan per month.

No domestic commissions.

Domestic sales, photographs from installation of orchestrated behaviour, 1200 yuan.

No overseas sales.

#15.

Lithograph printer and oil painter, born early 1960s?, male, lives in Beijing.

Finished school 1977, served in People's Liberation Army 2 years. In army painted propaganda posters. 1979-1983, studied woodblock printing at Tianjin Academy of Fine Arts. The only place available at the Academy was in the banhua xi. Then lectured at Normal University of Inner Mongolia for 3 years. Taught sketching and woodblock printing. 1987, started MA in lithograph printing at Central Academy of Fine Arts. Graduated 1989, remained at Academy to teach in banhua xi. Still there now.

Took part in various small exhibitions in 1980s, has lost count. First major exhibition, "Zhongguo qingnian banhuajia da zhan", Taipei, 1990. Won 1st prize. Took part regularly in major exhibitions after this, China-wide exhibitions, also in USA, Britain, Germany and Sweden. Has had 20+ solo exhibitions, mostly overseas. Started to paint in oils after 1990. First exhibited oil paintings in small exhibition in 1993 or 1994. First major exhibition of oil paintings in 1998. Counting large, small, solo, group and overseas exhibitions would be in 10-20 exhibitions a year.

First sale of art work while doing MA, 1988. 3 prints bought by Frenchman who had seen them in the gallery of the Academy. #15 says did not realise that art could be sold until then. After Taipei exhibition received expressions of interest from British Museum, Asia-Pacific Museum in Los Angeles, Zhongguo Meishuguan and Shanghai Meishuguan, also from private collectors. After 1992 sold mainly through galleries. 1992, signed contracts with Redgate and galleries in Sydney and USA. 1994, several other galleries. Now deals with 6 galleries. Works bought by both Chinese and foreigners, but mainly foreigners. In China buyers are mostly individuals, intellectuals with money, and a few public galleries. Foreign buyers' tastes have changed. They used to buy *guohua,* now prefer avant-garde works. Overseas Chinese buy these as well as Europeans and Americans.

1990 to now, on average would sell somewhere over 50 prints a year. Prints sell for $US 500-2000 each. Oil paintings sell for 5-10 times as much as prints. Galleries take large commissions. Redgate takes 50%, overseas galleries 30-40%. Each contract contains monopoly clause, but this is restricted in scope to one city, or to the country if the market is small (i.e. Australia).

1998: Taught in printing department at Central Academy of Fine Arts all year. Salary slightly over 1000 yuan per month.

No domestic commissions. Doesn't work on commission.

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Domestic sales: approximately 40 prints and 6 or 7 oil paintings, at average prices as above, less commission.
Overseas sales: 20-30 prints and a few oil paintings.
Other income: receives fees for guest lectures, but these don't amount to much.

#16.

Sculptor, born in 1956, male, lives in Beijing.

Left school early due to Cultural Revolution, worked at 1st Qingdao Cotton Spinning and Weaving Mill for 7 years, then did undergraduate degree at Shandong Academy of Fine Arts and postgraduate degree at Central Academy of Fine Arts, Beijing. After graduation (1989) remained at Academy as lecturer. Now head of Department of Sculpture. First exhibition 1976, of Chinese watercolour landscapes painted while working in the 1st Qingdao Cotton Spinning and Weaving Mill. ("Qingdao Shi Gongren Zhanlan"). Subsequently joined Wenhua Guan in Qingdao, studied sculpture and performed materials supply and maintenance work in Wenhua Guan after hours while working in factory, then studied sculpture at Qingdao Academy and Central Academy. Has exhibited sculpture every year since 1982. First sale of work in 1992. First participated in auction, 1995 (China Guardian), but piece was passed in (reserve 18,000-25,000 yuan). Sells mainly to overseas buyers, but also performs commissions for Chinese local government organisations and companies. Has done less of this since becoming head of the Department of Sculpture, due to lack of time. Local governments pay commissions of 10,000 to 40,000 yuan, of which SJG receives about 25%. The rest goes on materials, wages, and the cost of bronze casting. #16 says there is not much of a market for sculpture in China. Has had an informal contract with Redgate Gallery, Beijing since 1997.

1998: taught clay sculpture at Central Academy of Fine Arts. Taught for full year, 7 students, postgraduate level. Salary 750 yuan per month.

One domestic commission: abstract stone sculpture commissioned by bank. 40,000 yuan. Now working on (very large scale, 20 4 metre bas-relief plinths) Government commission for memorial on Japanese invasion at Lugouqiao.

No domestic sales in 1998.

Two abstract sculptures sold to overseas buyers in 1998 through Redgate. $3000 US. Redgate kept $2000. One more (the empty Zhongshanzhuang) sold privately to American buyer. $2500 US. #16 did not receive the money until early 1999.

#17.

Oil painter/conceptual artist, born late 1950s?, female, lives in Beijing and Kunming.

After school (1975) worked in Yunnan Provincial Library, Kunming. Supported by library through degree in librarianship 1981-1984, returned to library to work. Started to paint in 1984. #16 had no formal art education. Took lessons after hours from friends who were artists. First exhibited 1986, Yunnan provincial gallery. Has taken part in several major and minor exhibitions a year since; initially local or provincial exhibitions in Yunnan, became more selective as standing in art world improved. #17 says living in Kunming has been inconvenient. 1997: took part in exhibition of Chinese women artists in Germany, and "Between self and society: contemporary Chinese women artists" at Artemisia Gallery, Chicago. Is now on leave without pay from Kunming Provincial Library and living in Beijing. To keep her job open she is obliged to pay the library 3000 yuan a year, and to defray this plus rent and social costs of living in Beijing must sell paintings.

First sale of painting in 1995 at exhibition. Bought by Chinese woman writer. Has sold 18 to date. 4 or 5 were sold at exhibitions. 4 sold to Chinese galleries. Others were sold through contacts in the art sphere, who introduced prospective buyers. Two paintings sold in Germany, two in the USA following exhibition showings there. In China, 17#J's works bought by both Chinese and foreigners. The foreign buyers tend to be specialist art collectors and investors, the Chinese buyers not necessarily so. Smaller canvases sell for 3000-4000 yuan, larger ones (i.e.1.3 x 1.6 metres) for 10,000 yuan. #17's paintings are non-figurative. The German exhibit was more installation than canvas: a representation of a tastefully furnished apartment in which swathes of mottled pink curled off the canvas on the feature wall and over the walls, floor and furniture.

1998: No teaching or other salary.

No domestic commissions.

Domestic sales: 5 paintings. One sold to German journalist working in China at exhibition at the German Embassy. One bought by a Chinese private gallery, one by a Chinese collector, and two by friends of friends (both Chinese). #17 earned about 24,000 for the five.

No overseas sales in 1998, or any other income.

Has not had works auctioned. Referred to entrance fee of several thousand yuan.

#18.

Silk screen printer and oil painter, born early 1960s?, male, lives in Beijing.

After school (1980) studied industrial design at Beijing Gongyi Meishu Xuexiao. Worked 1984-1986 at Beijing Luxing Qiche Co.Ltd., designing exteriors ("skins") of cars and buses. Left and worked as freelance designer until 1996 - 1997. Designed book covers and illustrations, advertisements, shop counters, interior decor for businesses. Customers were both state units and private companies. Started to paint and do silk screen printing during career as industrial

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designer. Already had career, referred to preoccupation since youth with religious and philosophical issues, of which painting is the expression. Has submitted book to publisher titled *Ni wo de jiayuan,* or *Ni wo de Yidian yuan* - publisher to decide - which should be published this year, on theme of contemporary materialism and the meaning of life. Since 1997 has relied mainly on sale of silk screen prints for income.

First exhibition 1992, group exhibition on Buddhist subjects in China Daily gallery. Did not exhibit after this, but plans exhibition later this year to coincide with publication of book, on related themes. Exhibition being organised by art dealer through whom WQ sells prints.

First sale of work in 1992, after exhibition. Continued to paint oil paintings at slow rate, had painted 17-18 but hadn't tried to sell them. Sold prints instead, to earn money. Sells through print galleries. Goes through dealer or approaches galleries directly. Prints runs of 30, can sell over 100 a year. Prints scenes of *minjian tese,* "folk character", i.e. Beijing hutongs, old buildings, or anything of popular visual appeal; *weimeixing.* Sells these more to foreigners than to Chinese. If Chinese, *dui minjian yishu you xingqu de.*

1998: Have patent right (*zhuanli quan*) on specialised mural process for marble walls. Last year earned $US 1000+ from it. Marketed through interior design co. for use in corporate offices, swimming pools, libraries, public halls.

Domestic commissions: Murals for primary school and swimming pool. Made about 10,000 yuan from two murals. Don't do a lot of these as it takes time for not much money.

Domestic sales: 40+ silk screen prints. Sold through print galleries. Cheap ones 100+ yuan, expensive ones 1000+ yuan. Most buyers European or American. Overseas Chinese from Southeast Asia also buy them. Earned slightly more from print sales than from commissions.

No overseas sales or other income.

#19.

Oil painter, born late 1960s?, male, lives in Beijing.

Graduated from Capital Normal University (art education) in 1991. Taught art in Beijing middle school for 2 years, then left regular employment in 1993 to concentrate on painting. Has relied on sale of paintings from then on. Wife is editor with publishing company and handles liaison with galleries through which #19 sells work. (No children yet.)

#19 first exhibited in 1994, through the introduction of a representative of an overseas gallery who saw his work while scouting in China. First sale of work followed this exhibition. #19 has never exhibited or sold a painting in China. The character of his work makes this difficult, in fact impossible, as it features swarms of pale flabby figures partly dressed in cadres' suits and PLA uniforms doing sexually bizarre things to each other against a background of misty mountains and bamboo groves in the *guohua* style. Has exhibited and sold regularly overseas since 1994. Deals through three galleries, in USA, Hong Kong and Singapore. Wife handles correspondence with galleries. Has not signed contact with any of the galleries, as he wants to preserve the option of deciding whether to sell paintings at high prices to private collectors, or low prices to public galleries where they will be seen. Colour reproductions of his works are circulated by gallery on Internet.

1998: No teaching or other salaried work.

No domestic commissions.

No domestic sales.

20 paintings sold overseas through galleries in Hong Kong, USA and Singapore. Both private collectors and public galleries bought paintings. Did not want to declare prices. Galleries keep 50%.

Has not sold at auction. Wife's salary is only other income.

#20.

Oil painter, born in 1968, female, lives in Beijing.

Does not have job. Studied mural painting and oil painting at Central Academy of Fine Arts and graduated in 1994. Was *jiaban sheng* (irregular student) at the Academy: she would take tapes of lectures home and her mother would interpret. Has not worked since graduation, regular employment made difficult by severe deafness, which has also affected her capacity for independent contact and experience of the world in general. Lives with mother, who is a writer. Relies on family support and income from sale of paintings. Has exhibited since 1993. First sale of painting followed her first exhibition at the China Daily Gallery in 1993, sold to an overseas buyer for $150 US. #20 has had 3 solo exhibitions, participated in the China Youth Oil Painting and 1st Dalian International exhibitions and the China Art Expo in 1996-1998, and sold 20 or so paintings since 1993. Both exhibitions and sales are substantially the result of her mother's financial support (with rent of exhibition space and other costs) and networking within artistic and literary circles. #20 paints mainly portraits. The best of these are routine Sunday art, the worst are wretchedly sad naive copies of supermarket art motifs, the technique sometimes botched. Has sold to both Chinese and foreign buyers. Painted mural (*shanshui*) on commission for oil company in Inner Mongolia.

1998: No salaried employment.

No domestic commissions.

Sold 10 paintings to Chinese buyers, for a total of 10,200 yuan.

No overseas sales.

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#21.

Performance artist, born late1970s?, male, lives in Shanghai.

Studied industrial design at technical middle school. Finished school 1996, studied part time for 1 year at Central Academy of Fine Arts, while taking tuition informally from various senior artists. Returned to Shanghai 1997. In Shanghai, composes storyboards for TV ads, for advertising agencies, and does commercial paintings, on freelance basis. #21 receives about 2000 yuan for storyboards, 600-700 yuan each for commercial paintings, or 1000 yuan for a large one. Still lifes, figures, landscapes, copied from illustrations. Hadn't done commercial paintings in last 6 months, still doing storyboards.

First exhibited 1998. Private exhibition organised by #21 and 8 other artists. This year, took part in "Art for Sale", Shanghai. #21 was one of 3 principal organisers of this event. Contributed video and "XiangXiang" double mouthpiece balloons. Will attend Maia Festival in Portugal this year if obtains passport. Hasn't been overseas yet.

Hasn't sold artworks apart from commercial paintings, does performance and videotapes only. Probably spends less than 5000 yuan on materials in a year.

1998: Earned slightly over 10,000 yuan from TV ad storyboards, and 3000-4000 yuan from commercial paintings.

No domestic commissions.

No domestic or overseas sales, doesn't do the kind of thing that can be sold.

#22.

Oil painter, born 1969, female, lives in Beijing.

Does not teach or perform other regular salaried work. With husband, also an artist, runs a printing studio on the outskirts of Beijing. On #22's account they run the business for publicity rather than for profit, publicity both for #22 and her husband and for the artists whose works they choose for printing. They select young but promising artists whose work is not overtly political or erotic enough to cause trouble. The imported paper they use for prints (Arches, Belgian) costs 40 yuan per sheet. They print and sell runs of 30. If they can't afford Arches or run short they use a Nepalese make which is cheaper than Arches but more expensive than Chinese paper, which costs 7-15 yuan per sheet. This increases the capital component and price of the finished prints, and confines the market for them to a fairly small scale.

#22 is the daughter of Yang Yuefei, former vice-chairman of the Federation of Chinese Artists. Her mother is also an artist. Her parents assisted with the setting up of the studio, and have also been influential in introducing buyers for #22 and her husband's works and arranging opportunities for work on commission. Father recommended her for major mural commission in Beijing that brought 1 year's income (1995-1996). Husband is Bulgarian printmaker Angel Geshev who lives with #22 in Beijing, and regularly exhibits and sells overseas. #22 and AG met and married while studying at the Surikov Academy of Fine Arts in Moscow, 1990-1995. #22 taught briefly at the Zhongguo Meishuguan middle school on return to China but left after six weeks. She wanted to paint rather than teach and family connections made this a reasonable option. Travelled abroad again in 1997 with AG, had solo exhibition in Bulgaria where she sold 12 out of 20 works exhibited. Has not had salaried job since left teaching job. Now has 2 year old son and runs print studio with AG. Lives by sale of work, sale of husband's work and irregular commission work.

1997: No teaching income.

No income from other regular work.

70,000 yuan from mural for state owned theatre. #22 knew the architect of the theatre.

25,000 yuan "shoucang fei" from the Zhongguo Meishuguan for 5 paintings. 50,000 yuan from industrialist in part payment for another 5. A self-portrait was the highest priced of these 5. The others were landscapes and were much smaller.

$10,000 US from American Chinese collector, 1/2 payment for lot of paintings, another $US 10,000 expected.

Has not yet had works auctioned. Had 2 paintings in 1998 China Art Expo.

#23.

Guohua painter, born 1959, male, lives in Beijing.

After school, worked in apple orchard on outskirts of Beijing for 18 months. Started painting guohua then for something to do. Entered Beijing Normal University in 1978, studied fine arts. 1982-1990, taught at Beijing Jiaoyu Xueyuan, Department of Fine Arts. Taught clay modelling as well as *guohua* landscape, bird and flower and figure painting (*gongbi* style, opposite of *xieyi*), mural painting, sculpture, folk art (*minjian yishu*) and calligraphy. Led groups of students on excursions to the country to paint landscapes. Also taught Jiaoyu Xueyuan staff members who had been recruited in Cultural Revolution and lacked education. 1986, studied for 1 year at Central Academy of Fine Arts, then returned to Jiaoyu Xueyuan. 1990, transferred to lecturing post in Central Academy, Chinese Painting Department. Still there now. Teaches landscape painting.

First exhibited while student, around 1980. 1 painting, *gongbi renwu,* in group exhibition - Beijing Shi Qingnian Meishu Zhanlan - conducted by Beijing Meixie. Next exhibited 1984, 35th anniversary of PRC exhibition run by Ministry of Culture, won 2nd prize. Exhibited regularly after that. Lost count of number of times. Won 1st prize in All-China Invitational Exhibition of Chinese Painting, Zhuhai (Guangdong), 1990. Won various other awards but only one 1st prize. Has exhibited in Japan. 1st solo exhibition 1997.

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First sale of work after winning 2nd prize at Ministry of Culture exhibition of 1984. Next sale, set of slides for use in schools, created by #23 and several other staff members at Jiaoyu Xueyuan. Several hundred yuan divided among them. Until 1990, earnings from winning awards in exhibitions was a more important source of income than occasional income from selling paintings. Had earned 400-500 yuan from art sales, about 5000 yuan from prizes. 1990, signed contract with Wang Jia Meishuguan in Kaohsiung, Taiwan. #23 was required to send 5 paintings a month for 250 yuan per square foot. Closed contract after 2 years. #23 said money often wasn't forthcoming, that on those terms he should have made 50-60,000 yuan per year but Wang Jia paid nothing like that. 1989-1991, had contract with Beijing *duiwai maoyi chuban gongsi*. Sold paintings through them to Singapore, Hong Kong and USA. 15 paintings, was given $80 US for each by company but doesn't know what they actually sold for overseas. Left agreement after 18 months. Since then hasn't sold much. Says doesn't need to, has salary from Central Academy and saved proceeds of contract with Wang Jia. Sells paintings occasionally through art world contacts. Buyers are mostly Chinese, though some are Southeast Asian or American Chinese. Not many non-Chinese. Mostly Chinese businessmen with a liking for art, or other artists or art critics with money.

1998: Taught all year (landscape painting, *guohua* department) at Central Academy of Fine Arts. 880 yuan per month. Also taught two sessions of evening classes to private fee-paying students. 1000 yuan for each session

No domestic commissions.

Domestic sales: 50-60,000 yuan. Had solo exhibition in Shandong, sold more than 20 paintings. Sold 35 or so all year.

Overseas sales: Sold one painting to American Chinese, introduced by Li Xianting, and six to US collector Gao Minglu, for several thousand US. Gao hasn't sent the money yet but he has paid reliably before.

Other income: Illustration fees for paintings reproduced in magazines, exhibitor's travel costs, conference fees. 15,000 yuan or so from *bi hui*. Took part in 8 or 9 of these.

#24.

Acrylic painter, born mid-1940s?, male, lives in Shanghai.

After school (1961) joined PLA. Served in army 3 1/2 years. Painted while at school, tradition of painting in mother's family. 1965, enrolled in Zhongyang Gongyi Meishu Xueyuan, Beijing (Department of Ceramics). 1966, classes stopped. Joined Red Guard unit, conducted propaganda, went to country with propaganda team, got hepatitis, spent time at home, then went back to Gongyi Meishu Xueyuan. Assigned job in 1973, though was still sick. Taught at Shanghai Gongyi Meishu Xuexiao (specialist middle school). Painted after hours. Pay wasn't much, 59 yuan per month. 1974, got married, had child, pay went up to about 65 yuan. Taught painting and photography at first, now school has professional photography teacher. Still teaching there now.

1984, Hong Kong Chinese art entrepreneur living in France came to Shanghai and asked for landscapes and still lifes in Impressionist style to sell in France. Small ones (about 1 week's work) 60 yuan, large ones 300 yuan. Painted 15-18 of these. Some were copies, some own design. The French commercial art co. stopped contacting #24 after initial sale of political pop in Japan. #24 started painting Mao Zedongs in 1988, in Shanghai. Why Mao: *you hen duo dongxi jiehe zai ta shen shang*. Says Party and police have never paid attention to his portraits of Mao, or Li Shan's.

1989, first major exhibition, 3 abstracts (non-Mao) in 1st Zhongguo Xiandai Yishu Zhan. Representative of Tokyo city gallery there, asked #24 for two paintings for Tokyo exhibition, one sold for $US 800. Approached then by Berlin World Art Museum and HanArt. Took part in "Mao Goes Pop" at Powerhouse, 1993 through promotion of HanArt. Johnson of HanArt bought all 6 of works offered by #24, then sold 3 of them to friends in HK, so they weren't shown in Australia (all Maos). #24 not pleased with this. Attended Venice Biennale same year, 1993, then Pacific Triennial in Brisbane with 2 abstracts. Says can sell paintings because *wo tongguole Zhongguo zhe duan lishi, you bawo*. Exhibited every year since 1993, mainly overseas, about half of exhibitions introduced by HanArt. Sao Paolo Biennial, Barcelona (1995), solo exhibition in Paris (1996), solo at Sunny Gallery, Berlin in 1998. Doesn't exhibit much in China. Nature of paintings makes this difficult.

Has had informal contract with HanArt since 1992. Would take $US 2500 for each painting, didn't specify subject or type. #24 can paint 10 per year usually. Has contract with Helbling at ShanghArt. Helbling takes 40%, HanArt much more. #24's works sell for 15-30,000 yuan, receives 3500-5000 from Johnson. Helbling sells more cheaply but pays more quickly. Had two small canvases auctioned in London last year, Sotheby's or Christies, didn't know, HanArt put them up. They didn't sell.

1998: Taught at Gongyi Meishu Zhongzhuan all year. Salary and benefits about 20,000 yuan.

No domestic commissions. Doesn't attract them.

No domestic sales. Chinese buyers prefer older styles of oil painting, Chen Yifei, figure painting.

Overseas sales: $US 30,000+ for paintings sold through Helbling and Johnson.

#25.

Oil painter, born early 1960s?, male, lives in Tianjin.

Attended special middle school (*zhong zhuan*) in Changsha. Stage school. After school worked designing sets in local theatre company. 1982, transferred to Renmin Wenhua Guan. Worked there 4-5 years, tutoring young and adult students, doing publicity work, painting. #25 says life was different then; art not commercialised, not too much work,

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there was time to paint. Now the market distracts artists from painting ("*You fenxin*"). 1987-1991, studied oil painting at Zhongyang Meishu Xueyuan. Supported by parents. No student fees then. (Fees at Central Academy can be 11,000 yuan per year now. Fees at the Tianjin Academy of Fine Arts are about 6000 yuan per year). Didn't find job, hukou transferred back to Hunan. Took job as advertising agent for factory in Hengyang. Didn't last long, made comment about being artist intended as a joke that was misconstrued. Boss said "You're not the Crown Prince" and told him to leave. Went back to Wenhua Guan, couldn't stand the sight of old studio still the same after 4 1/2 years, returned to Beijing intending to be professional artist and live by any means. Joined artists' colony near Yuanmingyuan, lived on savings and sale of paintings but this soon became impossible. Had married fellow student at Central Academy,, she was now pregnant. Returned to Hunan, had baby, found job in Fine Arts Department in Hengyang Shifan Xueyuan, taught there 3 years. 1995, moved to Tianjin Academy of Fine Arts, taught in Dept. of Oil Painting. Still there now.

First exhibited 1991, while student at Central Academy. Solo exhibition, #25 organised it himself, in gallery of Central Academy. Since then, has exhibited every year, usually 5 - 6 times a year. Paints 10-20 oil paintings a year. 1993, took part in Zhongguo Youhua Shuangnian Zhan, won prize. 1992 - 1995, had contract with *yishu jijin hui* in Taiwan, contacted while at Yuanmingyuan. Jijin hui gave ZHB 30,000 yuan for 5 paintings a year. Began to be known in art circles after this.

First sale of work in 1991, at first exhibition. Sold self portrait to Taiwanese art critic Wei Tiancong, $500 US. Hasn't sold much since 1995 when contract with Taiwan foundation expired. Buyers since then all Chinese, known personally through art circles; other artists and critics, or collectors.

1998: Taught oil painting at Tianjin Academy of Fine Arts. 10,000+ per year. Also teaches private students. Rents room privately and uses it as studio and classroom. Started doing this 1998. Income from private tuition about 25,000 yuan.

No domestic commissions.

No domestic or overseas sales.

Other income, wife's teaching salary and income from sales of commercial art

#26.

Conceptual artist, born late 1960s?, female, lives in Shanghai.

After school enrolled in Shanghai Academy of Fine Arts, 1986. Studied sculpture. Graduated 1990. Given place in Shanghai Oil Painting and Sculpture Institute, state institution sponsoring artists. Started in 1990, still there now. Has place as sculptor, but doesn't do sculpture. From 1993 has created installations, and exhibited only in unofficial exhibitions organised by herself and friends, or overseas.

First exhibited in 2nd year at university. Shanghai Qingnian Diaosujia, official exhibition. 3 or 4 exhibitions as student. After starting at Institute continued to exhibit but only underground (literally). #26 and other young conceptual artists rented basement rooms in factories and office buildings for exhibitions on a theme of their choice. #26 first contributed sculpture, then installations. First overseas exhibition 1995, in Germany, expenses paid by Heinrich Boll Foundation whose representative had seen #26's work in Shanghai. 1996, exhibited in USA. 1997, spent six months in USA. 1998, went back to Germany twice. 1999, took part in "Jianzhu gen yishu zhan" in Berlin. All this conflicts with purported work in Institute, but without ill effect. *Bijiao hunluan. Tamen bu guanxin qita ren zai zuo sheme. Tamen dui wo you fangan, xiang xianzhi er meiyou banfa xianzhi.*

Haven't sold installations. Not much chance of this in China. Not much chance overseas either. They are expensive and difficult to maintain. Could only sell to museums and state galleries, and if they buy installations prefer those by established European artists. (#26 might give herself better chance if stopped working in ice).

1998: Salary at Institute 800+ yuan per month, not paid while overseas. Was in Germany for 4 months.

Did commercial sculpture for real estate agency in Shanghai. 20,000 yuan.

No domestic or overseas sales.

#27.

Oil painter, born early 1970s?, female, lives in Tianjin.

After school enrolled in Central Academy of Fine Arts, Department of Folk Art (*Minjian meishu xi*). Graduated 1991. Went to Hengyang, Hunan, with husband, a fellow student. After birth of son worked in Hengyang City Institute of Painting and Calligraphy (*Hengyang Shi shuhua yuan*), painted. 1992 - 1995. This was state institution that sponsored professional artists. 1995, moved to Tianjin, taught in Department of Fine Arts at Tianjin Jiaoyu Xueyuan. 1996, returned to Central Academy to do 1 year diploma in printing, then returned to Tianjin College of Education. Taught sketching and *secai* (colours). Still there now.

Took part in a few exhibitions while a student at Central Academy. One painting was kept by the Academy for national exhibition of modern watercolours. It wasn't sold. 1994, took part in Hunan *sheng wei* exhibition. After birth of son production slowed down. Painted two large canvases and a few small ones a year. Since 1996 has painted more. In Tianjin, has been in a few small exhibitions organised by self and other artists, and by the College of Education. 6 or 7 exhibitions, including one larger one at the Tianjin Dangdai Yishu Guan, a private gallery. They didn't ask for rent for the exhibition hall but claimed a small painting from each exhibitor. Has painted 8 large canvases in last year.

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First sold painting in 1990 while student. Sold two watercolours and an oil painting, about 600 yuan altogether. 1996, sold two prints through private gallery, 2000 yuan each. In Tianjin, started painting *shangpin hua*, commercial paintings. These are copies (in oil) of landscapes and still lifes done from a photograph. A friend has a company that sells them. Have sold 8 for 1000 yuan each.

1998: Taught all year at Tianjin College of Education. Teaching salary 500-600 yuan per month, *hongli* 3000 yuan, a bit over 10,000 for the year. Also does private tuition, students preparing for exams. 3000 yuan for the year.

No domestic commissions.

No domestic or overseas sales.

Other income, see Zhang Huaibai above.

#28.

Conceptual and performance artist, born late 1960s?, male, lives in Shanghai.

After school enrolled in Shanghai Academy of Fine Arts. Left before completing, in January 1990, and went to Mexico. Not permitted to leave China after 3 years' study at the time, and wanted to go overseas. Says only 6 students in his class of 16 stayed on to graduate. Studied Spanish for 6 months in Mexico, supported by family. Then returned to Shanghai. Found job designing ads for private advertising agency. Still working there now. Designed advertisements for 2 years, then did publicity videos for companies, press conferences, opening ceremonies. Still doing this.

Paints on newspaper, produces video and computer art, does performance art and photography. Started computer work in 1995. A friend worked in computer co. Started performance art in 1997. ZTH says the medium depends on the concept. *Xian you gainian, ranhou jueding you sheme fangfa biaoda zhege gainian.* Started using video in 1996, photography in 1997. ZTH doesn't take photographs, has other people photograph him.

First exhibited March 1997. Shiseido Gallery, Tokyo. Newspaper painting and video. May 1997, Chinese conceptual art group show in Netherlands, "Another Long March". 2 newspaper paintings, 1 video and I recorded sound work. October 1997, "Cities on the Move" in Vienna. 2 newspaper paintings, 1 performance acted by co-worker. 1998, exhibited 14 times. Only once in Shanghai, all the others overseas. Shanghai exhibition in German consulate. Exhibited in Canada in January 1999, going to Venice Biennale and Maia in Portugal. There are no political difficulties with performance art in China, but it's still unknown and incomprehensible for most people. Chinese traditional painting and Soviet social realism are the forms of art generally known. The Impressionists are now known a bit, contemporary art still almost unheard of. However many exhibitions in Shanghai now open with a performance, not unclothed of course.

First sale of work in 1989. Newspaper painting bought by German for $US 100. Owner of gallery in China, which folded. Later sold 6 more newspaper paintings to ex-secretary of same gallery. Didn't do artwork while in Mexico or in first 3 years in advertising company. Decided to give up art in 1989. Nothing to do with older generation of artists or political events of 1989, was result of conflict within contemporary art world. No future if not in critics' good books. 1995, decided to take up art again and make self known. Made contact with gallery in Shanghai, sold newspaper painting to French friend of friend. Now sell paintings on mixed paper for $US 3000-5000, computer images for $US 26 a set of 6. These are fake Newsweeks with #28 on cover, etc. Lately have done actual fake covers on commission from magazine publishers, though the magazines have downsized them and printed them on the back cover rather than used #28's cover design.

#28 didn't know how much he spent on paint. Had bought computer recently for 10,000 yuan. Said catalogues were another major expense.

1998: Doesn't keep record of income from videos for advertising co. About 3000 yuan for a video, seasonal work, not much in winter. Enough to live on.

No domestic commissions.

Domestic sales: 7 paintings on assorted paper, to foreign buyers. $US 2000-3000 each.

No overseas sales. Overseas exhibitions pay travel costs.

Other income: Won prize awarded by Swiss-Chinese Contemporary Art Society. $US 3000.

#29.

Performance artist, born 1972, male, lives in Beijing.

Studied industrial design at specialist middle school - *zhiye gaozhong* - but didn't pass university entrance exam. Left Changsha for Beijing in 1991 intending to be artist and live by any means, and has lived effectively by any means since. Occupations include being artist's model, sketching portraits in parks, washing cars, gathering wild (?) vegetables, selling wooden theatre masks bought in Changsha at roadside stall, making trips to buy materials for a friend for small commissions. 1992, found job in state run *jishu jiandu ju* - quality control bureau - designing commercial brand logos, but left after 3 months. 1994, helped art critic Li Xianting build new house, lived with him for some months. 1996, painted series of landscapes and still lifes for friend who had art exchange - *yishu jiaoyisuo* - in Guangzhou. They sold for 200-300 yuan each. 1997, painted 18 more landscapes and still lifes for another *yishu jiaoyisuo.* These were carried off by a creditor of the *yishu jiaoyisuo*, and #29 earned nothing. 1998, commissioned for mural by disco in Baotou, Inner Mongolia. Also performed other jobs for disco. Paid 2500 yuan after long dispute.

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Early 1990s, partly for lack of materials, created junk sculptures and junk collages - objects stuck to a canvas - with things found beside the road and on rubbish tips. 1993, conducted first solo exhibition, "The modern art of Zhu Ming" at Zhongguo Meishuguan, and first public performance, in the exhibition hall, though he had been asked not to. The exhibition, of junk creations, was result of publicity through Beijing art circles. The performance, like subsequent ones, required nakedness. Has participated in five exhibitions since, in Guangzhou, Beijing, Germany and twice in Japan. In first two overseas exhibitions, sent videotapes of performances but did not go in person. 1994, jailed for indecency in Beijing for three months. 1997, performance video accepted for VideoArt '97 China exhibition, Beijing, but then not shown. March 1999, attended 6th Nippon International Performance Art Festival in person.

First sale of junk sculpture in 1993, to Taiwanese collector for $US 200. Stopped doing junk sculpture in 1994 to concentrate on performance art. Has sold 4 paintings, apart from those painted for the art exchanges, and 3 sets of performance photographs in China for 1000 yuan each.

1998: did not work for salary.

No domestic sales.

Two domestic commissions. The mural for the Baotou disco (2500 yuan) and a dragon on a column for a park in Chaoyang District, Beijing, to commemorate the 40th anniversary of Chaoyang District (1500 yuan).

Overseas sales: 3 paintings bought by gallery in Zurich for $US 2700. Had not received the money yet (April 1999).

#30.

Photographer, born early 1960s?, male, lives in Beijing.

After school (1979) employed in Dong Fang Hong tractor factory, Loyang. Worked in foundry, various jobs. Fired from factory in 1995. Never at work, by own account. 1996, moved to Beijing and established private commercial art gallery with friend. Ran gallery for 6 months, then left. Has lived by sale of work since.

Had painted from age 13. At Dong Fang Hong, painted in oils, after work. Attended night classes in oil painting in Loyang for 4 years. When business was slow in factory, laid off temporarily with 70% wages, could paint at home. 1991, started to work on installations. #30 quotes influence of *gaige kaifang* and of other artists he knew experimenting in similar ways. Started photography in 1995. Did not study conceptual art or photography, practiced alone. After move to Beijing did not paint or create installations, concentrated on photography.

First exhibition, of oil paintings, in Loyang in 1988. Solo exhibition in Loyang Wenhua Guan. Has exhibited every year since. One or two a year until 1998, then 7 or 8 last year. Has had work accepted in 7 exhibitions already in 1999, including two in Netherlands and one in Britain. Attending 3rd Fukuoka Exhibition of Asian Art and Venice Biennale this year.

First sale of work in 1996, after moving to Beijing. Oil painting, to foreign buyer at embassy, $US 1000. In 3 years has sold over 100 works, mostly photographs. First sale of photograph, $US 600 for a long "panoramic" group photograph. Now sells photographs of the same style for $US 1500. In first year in Beijing made about 20,000 yuan or $2000+ US from sales. Income has gone up year by year. #30 considers that Chinese collectors are more conservative than foreign collectors. Both buy art for its appreciative potential, but Chinese buyers don't trust modern art to appreciate. Sells work through 4 galleries, one in China and three overseas. Not sure if sales through Chinese gallery are to Chinese or foreign buyers, but thinks most or all buyers are foreign. Collectors, resident foreigners, overseas artists. One ambassador has bought 14 photographs. Has had photographs auctioned, but they were passed in.

1998: No salaried work.

No domestic commissions. Doesn't work on commission.

Domestic, overseas sales hard to separate. Made $US 20,000 at least. Materials cost 80,000 yuan per year, must sell this much or more to work.

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Chapter 9.1e
Chinese Economic Statistics

Josephine Fox with John Clark

Economic, educational and demographic statistics relevant to the market for art in China.
(These figures are in given in detail to facilitate future work by other scholars)

Population (1,000 people)

	Total	Urban	%	Rural	%
1977	949,740	166,690	17.55	783,050	82.45
1978	962,590	172,450	17.92	790,140	82.08
1979	975,420	184,950	18.96	790,470	81.04
1980	987,050	191,400	19.39	795,650	80.61
1981	1,000,720	201,710	20.16	799,010	79.84
1982	1,016,540	214,800	21.13	801,740	78.87
1983	1,030,080	222,740	21.62	807,340	78.38
1984	1,043,570	240,170	23.01	803,400	76.99
1985	1,058,510	250,940	23.71	807,570	76.29
1986	1,075,070	263,660	24.52	811,410	75.48
1987	1,093,000	276,740	25.32	816,260	74.68
1988	1,110,260	286,610	25.81	823,650	74.19
1989	1,127,040	295,400	26.21	831,640	73.79
1990	1,143,330	301,910	26.41	841,420	73.59
1991	1,158,230	305,430	26.37	852,800	73.63
1992	1,171,710	323,720	27.63	847,990	72.37
1993	1,181,570	333,510	28.23	848,060	71.77
1994	1,198,500	343,010	28.62	855,490	71.38
1995	1,211,210	351,740	29.04	859,470	70.96
1996	1,223,890	359,500	29.37	864,390	70.63
1997	1,236,260	369,890	29.92	866,370	70.08

Zhongguo tongji nianjian, 1997

Employed population by type of industry: primary, secondary and tertiary (1,000 people)

Year	Primary	%	Secondary	%	Tertiary	%	Total
1977	293,400	74.51	58,310	14.81	42,060	10.68	393,770
1978	283,130	70.51	69,700	17.36	48,690	12.13	401,520
1979	286,920	69.94	73,400	17.89	49,920	12.17	410,240
1980	291,170	68.74	77,360	18.26	55,080	13.00	423,610
1981	298,360	68.23	81,320	18.60	57,570	13.17	437,250
1982	309,170	68.26	84,790	18.72	58,990	13.02	452,950
1983	311,450	67.07	87,110	18.76	65,800	14.17	464,360
1984	308,620	64.04	96,220	19.96	77,130	16.00	481,970
1985	311,050	62.37	104,180	20.89	83,500	16.74	498,730
1986	312,120		112,510		88,190		512,820
1987	316,140	59.90	117,620	22.28	94,070	17.82	527,830
1988	321,970	59.26	121,880	22.43	99,490	18.31	543,340
1989	331,700	59.95	120,120	21.71	101,470	18.34	553,290
1990	340,490	60.01	121,580	21.43	105,330	18.56	567,400
1991	348,760	59.76	124,690	21.37	110,150	18.87	583,600
1992	347,690	58.50	129,210	21.74	117,420	19.76	594,320
1993	339,660	56.40	135,170	22.45	127,370	21.15	602,200
1994	333,860	54.31	139,610	22.71	141,230	22.98	614,700
1995	330,180	52.92	143,150	22.95	150,550	24.13	623,880
1996	347,690	50.50	161,800	23.50	179,010	26.00	688,500
1997	347,300	49.90	164,950	23.70	183,750	26.40	696,000

The table above displays Chinese employment statistics from two sources, *Quan guo ge sheng, zizhi qu, zhixia shi lishi tongji ziliao huibian* (Cumulative historical statistics for all provinces, autonomous districts and special municipalities in China), National Bureau of Statistics, Zhongguo Tongji Chubanshe, Beijing and Zhengzhou, 1990 and the *Zhongguo tongji*

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nianjian (China Statistical Yearbook), also published by the National Bureau of Statistics, Zhongguo Tongji Chubanshe, Beijing, 1983 - still current. *Quan guo ge sheng*...provides figures for 1977 to 1989 inclusive. *Zhongguo tongji nianjian* provides figures for 1978, 1980, and 1983 to 1997 inclusive. The 1999 yearbook (providing figures for 1998) is not yet (May 1999) in the libraries. The 1997 *Zhongguo tongji nianjian* gives the same approximate total figures for the number of working people in China in 1978, 1980 and 1983 to 1989 inclusive as *Quan guo ge sheng*... but the breakdown into primary, secondary and tertiary sectors is different. *Quan guo ge sheng*... consistently gives higher figures for primary and secondary industry and lower figures for tertiary industry than the *Zhongguo tongji nianjian*. Neither publication sets out the standards used to determine what kinds of work are classified under primary, secondary or tertiary industry. I have used the most recent set of figures (*Zhongguo tongji nianjian,* 1998), and have interpolated figures from *Quan guo ge sheng*... for 1977, 1979, 1981 and 1982 as the *Zhongguo tongji nianjian* does not give figures for those years.

Number of tertiary students (1,000 students)

1977	625	1985	1,703	1993	2,536
1978	856	1986	1,880	1994	2,799
1979	1,020	1987	1,959	1995	2,906
1980	1,144	1988	2,066	1996	3,021
1981	1,279	1989	2,082	1997	3,174
1982	1,154	1990	2,063		
1983	1,207	1991	2,044		
1984	1,396	1992	2,184		

Quan guo ge sheng...and *Zhongguo tongji nianjian*. *Quan guo ge sheng*...provides figures for 1977 to 1989 inclusive. *Zhongguo tongji nianjian* provides figures for 1978, 1980, and 1982 to 1997 inclusive. In this case the figures for 1978, 1980, and 1982 - 1989 inclusive are identical.

Number of tertiary art students (individual students)

Year	Art students	% of total enrolment	Year	Art students	% of total enrolment
1977	4,783	0.77	1987	14,012	0.72
1978	5,662	0.66	1988	16,685	0.81
1979	5,316	0.52	1989	19,200	0.92
1980	6,023	0.53	1990	18,936	0.92
1981	7,326	0.57	1991	17,782	0.87
1982	5,540	0.48	1992	19,975	0.91
1983	6,266	0.52	1993	28,308	1.12
1984	7,501	0.54	1994	38,417	1.37
1985	12,644	0.74	1995	17,227	0.59
1986	13,175	0.70	1996	7,445	0.25

Figures for 1977 to 1993 inclusive from *Zhongguo tongji nianjian*. Figures for 1994 to 1996 inclusive from *Zhongguo jingji nianjian* (Almanac of China's economy), published by the Economic and Social Development Research Centre, State Council, People's Republic of China. The *Zhongguo tongji nianjian* figures represent numbers of students studying art at tertiary level. The *Zhongguo jingji nianjian* figures represent the number of students enrolled at fine arts academies, and may not include students of fine arts at major universities with a fine arts department or faculty, such as Beijing University or Nankai University. The *Zhongguo tongji nianjian* stopped publishing numbers of students studying art as a discrete statistic after 1993. This was a consequence of the State Education Commission passing the *Subject index for institutions of higher education* in July 1993, according to which art was merged with literature as a subject of state education policy and funding, and therefore of government statistical publications. The post-1993 basic categories for subjects taught at university level are: philosophy, economics, law, education, literature, history, science, engineering, agricultural science and medicine. Below the basic categories are 71 sub-categories comprising 504 subjects, including art, within which university administrations exercise discretion.

Number of postgraduates studying art (individual students)

Year		Year	
1989	412	1994	504
1990	386	1995	636
1991	319	1996	755
1992	274		
1993	356		

Figures for 1989-1996 from *Zhongguo jiaoyu tongji nianjian* (China Yearbook of education statistics), edited by Department of Planning and Construction, State Education Commission, People's Republic of China, published by Renmin Jiaoyu Chubanshe.

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Students studying overseas (individual students)

Year	Overseas students	% of total enrolment	Year	Overseas students	% of total enrolment
1977	220	0.04	1988	3,786	0.18
1978	860	0.10	1989	3,329	0.16
1979	1,777	0.17	1990	2,950	0.14
1980	2,124	0.04	1991	2,900	0.14
1981	2,922	0.04	1992	6,540	0.30
1982	2,326	0.04	1993	10,742	0.42
1983	2,633	0.04	1994	19,071	0.68
1984	3,073	0.04	1995	20,381	0.70
1985	4,888	0.29	1996	20,905	0.69
1986	4,676	0.25	1997	22,410	0.71
1987	4,703	0.24			

Figures from *Zhongguo tongji nianjian.*

Teachers in tertiary education (individual teachers, some figures approximate)

1977	186,000	1984	315,021	1991	390,771
1978	206,000	1985	344,262	1992	387,585
1979	237,000	1986	372,431	1993	387,808
1980	247,000	1987	385,352	1994	396,000
1981	250,000	1988	393,185	1995	401,000
1982	286,908	1989	397,365	1996	403,000
1983	302,919	1990	394,567	1997	405,000

Figures from *Zhongguo tongji nianjian.*

Tertiary art teachers (individual teachers)

Year	Art lecturers	% of total lecturers	Year	Art lecturers	% of total lecturers
1982	4,770	1.66	1990	10,994	2.79
1983	4,909	1.62	1991	11,118	2.85
1984	5,061	1.61	1992	11,346	2.93
1985	8,021	2.33	1993	11,958	3.08
1986	8,897	2.39	1994	11,337	2.86
1987	9,518	2.47	1995	5,812	1.45
1988	9,878	2.51	1996	5,732	1.42
1989	10,597	2.67			

Figures for 1982 - 1984 inclusive, from *Zhongguo tongji nianjian,* represent teachers at art institutes, and do not include lecturers teaching art at major universities with fine arts faculties. Figures for 1985 - 1993 inclusive, also from *Zhongguo tongji nianjian,* include both categories of art lecturer. The figure for 1994 is from *Zhongguo jingji nianjian.* The figures for 1995 - 1996 are from *Zhongguo jiaoyu tongji nianjian,* and again include only lecturers at art institutes.

Gross domestic product (million yuan)

Year	GDP	Year	GDP	Year	GDP
1977	320,190	1984	717,100	1991	2,161,780
1978	362,410	1985	896,440	1992	2,663,810
1979	403,820	1986	1,020,220	1993	3,463,410
1980	451,780	1987	1,196,250	1994	4,675,940
1981	486,240	1988	1,492,830	1995	5,847,810
1982	529,470	1989	1,690,920	1996	6,788,460
1983	593,450	1990	1,854,790	1997	7,477,240

Figures from *Zhongguo tongji nianjian.*

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Per capita income: urban households (persons/yuan)

1985

	Household size	Per capita income	Disposable income	Living expenditure
1st decile	4.47	482.76	437.40	455.64
2nd decile	4.19	599.16	546.72	551.28
2nd quintile	3.99	691.68	632.88	626.88
3rd quintile	3.80	805.20	737.28	724.20
4th quintile	3.62	935.52	861.96	830.28
9th decile	3.48	1,098.24	1,012.32	963.24
10th decile	3.24	1,383.72	1,276.20	1,162.92
Total	3.82	821.40	752.40	732.24

1986

	Household size	Per capita income	Disposable income	Living expenditure
1st decile	4.50	496.32	446.40	469.80
2nd decile	4.48	632.40	570.36	573.96
2nd quintile	4.07	733.92	663.24	650.88
3rd quintile	3.82	850.20	772.92	747.36
4th quintile	3.63	993.60	905.04	855.24
9th decile	3.47	1,160.52	1,054.56	987.48
10th decile	3.19	1,478.04	1,347.12	1,262.88
Total	3.82	909.96	827.88	798.96

1987

	Household size	Per capita income	Disposable income	Living expenditure
1st decile	4.39	595.68	526.68	548.76
2nd decile	4.18	732.84	659.16	658.20
2nd quintile	3.94	852.24	770.52	767.04
3rd quintile	3.73	991.44	897.84	872.52
4th quintile	3.51	1,154.04	1,049.64	1,006.44
9th decile	3.37	1,351.56	1,228.56	1,141.92
10th decile	3.12	1,734.24	1,581.60	1,439.88
Total	3.74	1,012.20	915.96	884.80

1988

	Household size	Per capita income	Disposable income	Living expenditure
1st decile	4.25	682.65	625.33	657.30
2nd decile	4.05	848.45	789.48	812.86
2nd quintile	3.85	991.45	929.57	931.22
3rd quintile	3.62	1,166.03	1,098.40	1,092.32
4th quintile	3.42	1,373.92	1,291.95	1,270.06
9th decile	3.22	1,618.36	1,528.14	1,454.75
10th decile	2.97	2,093.22	1,976.95	1,854.61
Total	3.63	1,192.12	1,119.36	1,103.98

1989

	Household size	Per capita income	Disposable income	Living expenditure
1st decile	4.16	779.76	692.63	731.05
2nd decile	3.92	981.71	880.01	908.78
2nd quintile	3.76	1,145.58	1,039.42	1,036.91
3rd quintile	3.55	1,352.43	1,230.75	1,193.82
4th quintile	3.36	1,594.76	1,456.31	1,382.00
9th decile	3.19	1,891.12	1,719.51	1,579.76
10th decile	2.89	2,493.54	2,279.47	2,001.07
Total	3.55	1,387.51	1,260.67	1,210.95

1990

	Household size	Per capita income	Disposable income	Living expenditure
1st decile	4.09	859.82	761.16	782.28

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2nd decile	3.88	1,077.12	968.64	960.72
2nd quintile	3.71	1,266.60	1,144.44	1,097.76
3rd quintile	3.49	1,489.08	1,351.68	1,275.12
4th quintile	3.30	1,756.56	1,598.28	1,456.68
9th decile	3.14	2,071.92	1,889.52	1,685.28
10th decile	2.87	2,675.64	2,447.92	2,039.76
Total	3.50	1,522.79	1,387.27	1,278.89

1991

	Household size	Per capita income	Disposable income	Living expenditure
1st decile	3.99	1,006.54	887.85	938.02
2nd decile	3.76	1,239.65	1,107.03	1,115.86
2nd quintile	3.59	1,439.05	1,292.79	1,264.40
3rd quintile	3.40	1,671.43	1,510.27	1,441.75
4th quintile	3.29	1,951.29	1,767.34	1,625.61
9th decile	3.10	2,283.08	2,070.34	1,882.98
10th decile	2.86	2,956.81	2,675.79	2,273.24
Total	3.43	1,713.10	1,544.30	1,453.81

1992

	Household size	Per capita income	Disposable income	Living expenditure
1st decile	3.90	1,127	975	1,051
2nd decile	3.71	1,409	1,255	1,251
2nd quintile	3.53	1,665	1,494	1,433
3rd quintile	3.36	1,977	1,776	1,668
4th quintile	3.21	2,330	2,107	1,890
9th decile	3.09	2,767	2,501	2,147
10th decile	2.80	3,663	3,322	2,683
Total	3.37	2,032	1,826	1,672

1993

	Household size	Per capita income	Disposable income	Living expenditure
1st decile	3.79	1,359.87	1,180.27	1,261.36
2nd decile	3.62	1,718.63	1,529.08	1,528.68
2nd quintile	3.46	2,041.67	1,841.03	1,770.17
3rd quintile	3.31	2,453.88	2,222.02	2,055.72
4th quintile	3.16	2,985.88	2,708.76	2,404.13
9th decile	3.05	3,626.66	3,299.12	2,810.32
10th decile	2.82	4,905.77	4,502.02	3,533.49
Total	3.31	2,583.16	2,336.54	2,110.81

1994

	Household size	Per capita income	Disposable income	Living expenditure
1st decile	3.72	1,734.57	1,524.83	1,644.56
2nd decile	3.57	2,238.37	2,011.94	2,028.80
2nd quintile	3.39	2,721.15	2,460.87	2,351.56
3rd quintile	3.28	3,303.66	3,007.44	2,798.12
4th quintile	3.16	4,079.07	3,707.16	3,252.70
9th decile	3.01	5,007.24	4,565.43	3,880.91
10th decile	2.81	6,837.81	6,262.70	4,799.83
Total	3.28	3,502.31	3,179.15	2,851.34

1995

	Household size	Per capita income	Disposable income	Living expenditure
1st decile	3.67	2,177.22	1,923.80	2,060.96
2nd decile	3.49	2,778.49	2,505.68	2,516.22
2nd quintile	3.36	3,363.67	3,040.90	2,934.22
3rd quintile	3.23	4,073.88	3,698.41	3,446.12
4th quintile	3.12	4,958.42	4,512.20	4,045.52
9th decile	2.99	6,036.43	5,503.67	4,665.91

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10th decile	2.79	8,231.31	7,537.98	6,033.10
Total	3.23	4,288.09	3,892.94	3,537.57

1996

	Household size	Per capita income	Disposable income	Living expenditure
1st decile	3.57	2,453.62	2,156.12	2,327.30
2nd decile	3.46	3,148.62	2,808.52	2,780.75
2nd quintile	3.32	3,779.82	3,397.17	3,265.47
3rd quintile	3.20	4,579.98	4,146.18	3,816.34
4th quintile	3.10	5,599.28	5,075.43	4,482.00
9th decile	2.96	6,826.77	6,190.26	5,204.35
10th decile	2.81	9,250.44	8,432.96	6,845.78
Total	3.20	4,844.78	4,377.15	3,919.47

1997

	Household size	Per capita income	Disposable income	Living expenditure
1st decile	3.60	2,456.11	2,430.24	2,333.00
2nd decile	3.44	3,246.20	3,223.37	2,895.39
2nd quintile	3.34	3,988.04	3,966.23	3,427.45
3rd quintile	3.19	4,922.32	4,894.66	4,064.55
4th quintile	3.07	6,074.17	6,045.30	4,822.15
9th decile	2.94	7,495.26	7,460.70	5,709.54
10th decile	2.72	10,297.45	10,250.93	7,314.81
Total	3.19	5,188.54	5,160.32	4,185.64

Figures from *Zhongguo tongji nianjian*. The figures for 1992 in the 1993 *Zhongguo tongji nianjian* are presented in rounded off form without fractions of yuan. In 1994 the *Zhongguo tongji nianjian* resumed its previous practice of publishing statistical averages worked out to the second decimal place.

Living expenses by category for urban households (yuan)

1985

(a)

	Total	1. Food	1.1. Grain	1.2. Meat & veg	Books & papers
1st decile	455.64	278.88	55.08	163.68	4.56
2nd decile	551.28	319.56	56.16	188.16	5.52
2nd quintile	626.88	352.44	59.28	204.24	6.24
3rd quintile	724.20	392.76	62.52	227.88	6.96
4th quintile	830.28	430.80	65.04	248.76	7.68
9th decile	963.24	473.88	68.76	274.20	8.52
10th decile	1,162.92	546.12	74.40	320.64	10.20
Total	732.24	390.36	62.28	226.92	6.96

(b)

	1.3. Tea, cigs, alcohol	1.4. Other foodstuffs	2.Clothing	3.Houseware	Books & papers
1st decile	24.00	36.24	60.00	35.75	4.56
2nd decile	28.44	46.80	81.36	51.12	5.52
2nd quintile	33.12	55.92	95.76	62.88	6.24
3rd quintile	37.92	64.44	113.52	77.16	6.96
4th quintile	44.04	72.96	130.56	96.36	7.68
9th decile	49.20	81.84	152.64	118.44	8.52
10th decile	56.88	94.08	178.68	167.04	10.20
Total	38.04	63.12	112.32	81.48	6.96

(c)

	4.Entertainment	5.Fuel	6.Medical	Books & papers
1st decile	18.60	9.12	4.56	4.56
2nd decile	25.32	9.36	5.04	5.52
2nd quintile	34.80	9.48	5.04	6.24
3rd quintile	49.92	10.08	5.76	6.96

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4th quintile	68.76	10.80	5.88	7.68
9th decile	97.20	10.80	6.00	8.52
10th decile	129.84	12.12	6.60	10.20
Total	54.84	6.96	5.52	10.08

(d)

	7.Non-market items	7.1 Rent	7.2 Power	7.3 Transport	Books & papers
1st decile	36.72	5.52	5.76	4.44	4.56
2nd decile	45.24	6.48	6.24	6.12	5.52
2nd quintile	50.76	7.08	6.96	6.84	6.24
3rd quintile	55.68	7.56	7.20	8.52	6.96
4th quintile	63.84	8.76	8.16	9.60	7.68
9th decile	71.16	9.84	9.00	10.92	8.52
10th decile	85.80	12.48	10.68	15.36	10.20
Total	56.76	7.92	7.56	8.40	10.08

(e)

	7.4 Post	7.5 School	7.6 Child care	7.7 Entertain-ment	Books & papers
1st decile	0.24	6.48	2.52	1.32	4.56
2nd decile	0.36	6.96	3.96	1.92	5.52
2nd quintile	0.60	7.44	4.56	2.28	6.24
3rd quintile	0.72	6.72	4.32	2.64	6.96
4th quintile	1.08	7.08	5.16	3.00	7.68
9th decile	1.20	6.60	4.32	3.60	8.52
10th decile	1.80	6.72	2.64	3.84	10.20
Total	0.84	6.96	4.08	2.64	10.08

1986

(a)

	Total expenditure	1.Food	1.1 Grain	1.2 Meat & veg	Books & papers
1st decile	469.80	275.52	57.00	158.88	4.32
2nd decile	573.96	323.64	60.72	190.20	5.28
2nd quintile	650.88	356.28	60.96	205.08	6.12
3rd quintile	747.36	395.76	63.36	227.64	6.84
4th quintile	855.24	434.64	65.52	249.84	7.08
9th decile	987.48	482.28	69.84	277.92	8.04
10th decile	1,262.88	572.16	77.04	334.20	8.52
Total	798.96	418.92	64.80	242.52	6.96

(b)

	1.3 Tea, cigs, alcohol	1.4 Other foodstuffs	2.Clothing	3.Houseware	Books & papers
1st decile	26.64	33.00	58.68	36.60	4.32
2nd decile	31.32	44.28	75.36	53.04	5.28
2nd quintile	37.44	52.80	91.80	63.36	6.12
3rd quintile	42.84	62.04	108.24	77.64	6.84
4th quintile	48.72	70.56	124.44	98.64	7.08
9th decile	55.92	78.48	141.24	120.24	8.04
10th decile	67.68	93.24	166.32	160.56	8.52
Total	44.52	67.08	113.04	88.92	6.96

(c)

	4.Entertainment	5.Fuel	6.Medical	Books & papers
1st decile	15.72	11.28	6.12	4.32
2nd decile	25.44	11.76	7.80	5.28
2nd quintile	33.24	12.12	7.44	6.12
3rd quintile	46.08	12.72	8.16	6.84
4th quintile	63.84	13.08	9.00	7.08

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9th decile	79.56	14.40	8.40	8.04
10th decile	118.56	16.92	11.16	8.52
Total	54.88	12.00	7.56	6.96

(d)

	7.Non-market items	7.1 Rent	7.2 Power	7.3 Transport	Books & papers
1st decile	38.04	4.44	6.12	3.36	4.32
2nd decile	46.32	5.28	7.08	4.56	5.28
2nd quintile	53.04	5.76	7.56	5.76	6.12
3rd quintile	60.48	6.48	8.04	7.20	6.84
4th quintile	65.76	6.96	9.12	8.04	7.08
9th decile	76.44	7.56	9.84	10.08	8.04
10th decile	93.48	9.72	11.88	13.20	8.52
Total	64.32	7.20	8.88	8.40	6.96

(e)

	7.4 Post	7.5 School	7.6 Child care	7.7 Entertain-ment	Books & papers
1st decile	0.24	8.64	1.56	1.20	4.32
2nd decile	0.36	9.36	2.64	1.68	5.28
2nd quintile	0.36	9.12	3.24	2.04	6.12
3rd quintile	0.60	9.72	3.72	2.28	6.84
4th quintile	0.72	9.00	3.96	2.76	7.08
9th decile	1.08	8.40	4.08	3.12	8.04
10th decile	1.44	8.52	3.48	3.84	8.52
Total	0.72	8.76	3.72	2.88	6.96

1987

(a)

	Total expenditure	1.Food	1.1 Grain	1.2 Meat & veg	Books & papers
1st decile	548.76	333.72	59.28	197.21	5.35
2nd decile	658.20	385.80	61.72	227.61	6.41
2nd quintile	761.04	428.15	64.51	250.33	6.81
3rd quintile	872.52	471.49	66.44	273.20	7.52
4th quintile	1,006.44	524.12	69.30	305.53	8.42
9th decile	1,141.92	576.97	73.56	337.24	8.98
10th decile	1,439.88	674.06	79.20	399.44	9.71
Total	884.40	472.93	66.92	276.86	7.48

(b)

	1.3 Tea, cigs, alcohol	1.4 Other foodstuff	2. Clothing	3.Houseware	Books & papers
1st decile	32.23	45.00	66.13	43.77	5.35
2nd decile	38.55	57.92	88.02	58.09	6.41
2nd quintile	44.16	69.15	103.19	75.64	6.81
3rd quintile	51.30	80.04	122.49	95.28	7.52
4th quintile	57.31	91.97	142.65	122.47	8.42
9th decile	64.98	101.18	163.47	152.74	8.98
10th decile	78.03	117.39	188.61	205.43	9.71
Total	50.72	78.43	121.09	100.57	7.48

(c)

	4.Entertainment	5.Housing	6.Medical	Books & papers
1st decile	17.23	9.20	6.95	5.35
2nd decile	24.43	9.02	7.36	6.41
2nd quintile	33.44	17.01	8.24	6.81
3rd quintile	46.71	19.82	9.19	7.52
4th quintile	64.44	22.99	9.61	8.42
9th decile	77.26	26.76	9.82	8.98

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10th decile	112.11	74.48	11.71	9.71
Total	49.58	22.56	8.87	7.48

(d)

	7.Fuel	8.Non-market items	8.1 Rent	8.2 Water	Books & papers
1st decile	10.54	48.30	5.32	1.76	5.35
2nd decile	11.46	58.07	6.82	1.84	6.41
2nd quintile	11.57	66.39	6.71	1.90	6.81
3rd quintile	12.22	74.47	7.69	2.05	7.52
4th quintile	12.73	83.69	8.47	2.22	8.42
9th decile	13.73	92.31	9.25	2.36	8.98
10th decile	15.17	120.75	11.70	2.81	9.71
Total	12.27	75.13	7.74	2.09	7.48

(e)

	8.3 Electricity	8.4 Gas	8.5 Urban transport	8.6 Other transport	Books & papers
1st decile	6.03	0.87	1.49	3.34	5.35
2nd decile	6.77	1.04	2.15	4.45	6.41
2nd quintile	7.27	1.14	2.34	4.97	6.81
3rd quintile	8.10	1.35	2.79	6.21	7.52
4th quintile	8.96	1.46	3.08	7.36	8.42
9th decile	10.04	1.68	3.27	9.34	8.98
10th decile	12.31	2.27	3.67	12.51	9.71
Total	8.23	1.35	2.65	6.45	7.48

(f)

	8.7 Post	8.8 Medical	8.9 School	Books & papers
1st decile	0.35	2.01	10.53	5.35
2nd decile	0.43	2.19	11.11	6.41
2nd quintile	0.61	2.65	11.48	6.81
3rd quintile	0.79	2.53	11.50	7.52
4th quintile	1.03	2.65	11.41	8.42
9th decile	1.12	2.67	11.01	8.98
10th decile	1.80	3.35	11.58	9.71
Total	0.82	2.56	11.28	7.48

(g)

	8.10 Child care	8.11 Entertainment	8.12 Repairs & services	Books & papers
1st decile	2.00	1.65	7.77	5.35
2nd decile	2.82	2.11	9.65	6.41
2nd quintile	3.84	2.61	11.88	7.52
3rd quintile	4.39	3.13	14.41	8.42
4th quintile	4.63	3.48	17.93	8.98
9th decile	3.44	3.66	20.77	9.71
10th decile	3.64	4.99	31.98	7.48
Total	3.70	3.01	15.28	

1988

(a)

	Total expenditure	1.Food	1.1 Grain	1.2 Meat & veg	Books & papers
1st decile	657.30	393.18	65.09	244.49	5.69
2nd decile	812.86	459.38	68.45	282.52	6.77
2nd quintile	931.22	513.05	72.43	313.60	7.37
3rd quintile	1,092.32	570.13	75.29	347.92	8.15
4th quintile	1,270.06	631.41	78.94	383.29	9.21
9th decile	1,454.75	690.70	84.15	418.35	10.54

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10th decile	1,854.61	815.06	93.34	496.76	11.92
Total	1,103.98	567.01	75.66	346.18	8.26

(b)

	1.3 Tea, cigs, alcohol	1.4 Other foodstuffs	2.Clothing	3.Houseware	Books & papers
1st decile	36.07	47.53	77.15	57.39	5.69
2nd decile	44.67	63.75	108.69	82.98	6.77
2nd quintile	51.15	75.87	128.72	108.14	7.37
3rd quintile	58.76	88.17	155.38	141.79	8.15
4th quintile	66.93	102.25	182.78	187.87	9.21
9th decile	73.07	115.13	212.47	228.66	10.54
10th decile	91.26	133.71	248.22	310.50	11.92
Total	58.36	86.81	153.21	148.62	8.26

(c)

	4.Entertainment	5.Housing	6.Medical	Books & papers
1st decile	19.98	12.12	9.89	5.69
2nd decile	35.51	13.45	10.48	6.77
2nd quintile	41.72	14.84	11.67	7.37
3rd quintile	66.70	16.30	12.59	8.15
4th quintile	79.75	27.82	13.36	9.21
9th decile	107.92	31.29	15.51	10.54
10th decile	163.66	81.84	17.10	11.92
Total	66.68	23.93	12.59	8.26

(d)

	7.Fuel	8.Non-market items	8.1 Rent	8.2 Water	Books & papers
1st decile	12.77	59.49	5.28	1.92	5.69
2nd decile	13.24	70.55	6.07	2.10	6.77
2nd quintile	14.14	77.78	6.92	2.21	7.37
3rd quintile	14.60	89.87	7.68	2.43	8.15
4th quintile	16.48	100.44	8.58	2.68	9.21
9th decile	17.27	114.77	9.96	2.78	10.54
10th decile	19.55	142.54	12.53	3.25	11.92
Total	15.12	90.04	7.83	2.43	8.26

(e)

	8.3 Electricity	8.4 Gas	8.5 Urban transport	8.6 Other transport	Books & papers
1st decile	6.96	1.09	1.39	3.43	5.69
2nd decile	7.99	1.21	1.73	4.07	6.77
2nd quintile	8.55	1.37	2.19	4.95	7.37
3rd quintile	9.81	1.58	2.61	6.09	8.15
4th quintile	11.09	1.72	2.70	7.88	9.21
9th decile	12.49	1.91	3.23	9.47	10.54
10th decile	14.70	2.53	3.77	14.82	11.92
Total	9.89	1.57	2.46	6.66	8.26

(f)

	8.7 Post	8.8 Medical	8.9 School	Books & papers
1st decile	0.34	3.55	18.03	5.69
2nd decile	0.59	3.46	19.08	6.77
2nd quintile	0.65	3.40	19.00	7.37
3rd quintile	0.82	4.03	18.68	8.15
4th quintile	1.13	4.35	18.64	9.21
9th decile	1.48	5.69	19.15	10.54
10th decile	2.68	5.20	18.16	11.92
Total	0.97	4.07	18.71	8.26

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(g)

	8.10 Child care	8.11 Entertainment	8.12 Repairs & services	Books & papers
1st decile	2.22	1.66	8.28	5.69
2nd decile	4.11	2.30	10.92	6.77
2nd quintile	4.32	2.74	13.76	7.37
3rd quintile	5.56	3.22	17.31	8.15
4th quintile	5.64	4.09	20.13	9.21
9th decile	5.20	4.69	24.64	10.54
10th decile	3.99	5.00	37.64	11.92
Total	4.58	3.28	17.61	8.26

1989

(a)

	Total expenditure	1. Food	1.1 Grain	1.2 Meat & veg	Books & papers
1st decile	731.05	456.66	70.88	288.20	7.78
2nd decile	908.78	537.34	74.55	333.47	8.65
2nd quintile	1,036.91	595.12	77.05	368.55	9.90
3rd quintile	1,193.82	663.63	81.13	406.56	10.77
4th quintile	1,382.00	730.33	85.48	446.09	11.70
9th decile	1,579.96	807.00	91.82	493.64	12.60
10th decile	2,001.07	955.38	102.78	585.28	13.76
Total	1,210.95	659.96	81.88	406.28	10.59

(b)

	1.3 Tea, cigs, alcohol	1.4 Other foodstuffs	2. Clothing	3.Houseware	Books & papers
1st decile	41.69	55.90	77.64	51.17	7.78
2nd decile	53.03	76.29	105.59	72.50	8.65
2nd quintile	59.96	89.56	127.06	94.69	9.90
3rd quintile	69.51	106.34	152.74	130.34	10.77
4th quintile	77.25	121.51	178.02	169.74	11.70
9th decile	85.42	136.12	202.34	200.18	12.60
10th decile	109.52	157.80	233.15	287.88	13.76
Total	68.51	103.29	149.15	133.97	10.59

(c)

	4.Entertainment	5.Housing	6.Medical	Books & papers
1st decile	23.47	4.84	11.35	7.78
2nd decile	36.73	17.55	14.00	8.65
2nd quintile	44.90	20.09	14.44	9.90
3rd quintile	62.87	15.66	15.56	10.77
4th quintile	87.48	22.97	17.98	11.70
9th decile	117.72	31.01	18.86	12.60
10th decile	169.72	76.27	23.45	13.76
Total	70.05	23.21	15.98	10.59

(d)

	7.Fuel	8.Other commercial	9. Non-market items	9.1 Rent	Books & papers
1st decile	14.46	9.59	74.08	5.98	7.78
2nd decile	16.07	12.91	87.44	6.84	8.65
2nd quintile	17.03	14.06	99.63	7.56	9.90
3rd quintile	18.02	17.13	107.03	9.00	10.77
4th quintile	19.56	21.10	123.11	9.79	11.70
9th decile	20.96	25.42	143.67	11.50	12.60
10th decile	24.38	44.47	172.61	13.09	13.76
Total	18.23	18.75	111.06	8.82	10.59

(e)

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	9.2 Water	9.3 Electricity	9.4 Gas	9.5 Urban transport	Books & papers
1st decile	2.49	9.01	1.45	1.52	7.78
2nd decile	2.65	10.29	1.59	2.01	8.65
2nd quintile	2.85	11.83	1.78	2.30	9.90
3rd quintile	3.14	13.17	2.12	2.68	10.77
4th quintile	3.29	14.59	2.30	3.00	11.70
9th decile	3.56	16.31	2.60	3.35	12.60
10th decile	3.96	19.16	3.04	4.33	13.76
Total	3.08	13.12	2.07	2.65	10.59

(f)

	9.6 Other transport	9.7 Post	9.8 Medical	9.9 School	Books & papers
1st decile	3.65	0.53	3.73	24.19	7.78
2nd decile	4.66	0.60	4.31	25.89	8.65
2nd quintile	5.59	0.88	4.55	25.10	9.90
3rd quintile	6.64	1.01	5.00	24.99	10.77
4th quintile	8.51	1.43	5.33	25.73	11.70
9th decile	11.58	2.01	5.53	27.40	12.60
10th decile	17.53	3.56	6.64	23.40	13.76
Total	7.51	1.26	4.92	25.24	10.59

(g)

	9.10 Child care	9.11 Entertain-ment	9.12 Repairs & services	9.13 Other non-market	Books & papers
1st decile	3.11	1.93	10.17	6.33	7.78
2nd decile	4.50	2.65	13.88	7.57	8.65
2nd quintile	4.78	3.10	19.59	9.73	9.90
3rd quintile	5.79	3.60	19.68	10.19	10.77
4th quintile	6.83	4.33	24.34	13.62	11.70
9th decile	5.38	4.82	31.54	18.10	12.60
10th decile	4.94	5.72	43.36	23.88	13.76
Total	5.19	3.62	21.78	11.80	10.59

1990

(a)

	Total expenditure	1.Food	1.1 Grain	1.2 Meat & veg	Books & papers
1st decile	782.28	479.83	70.78	299.22	7.57
2nd decile	960.72	564.51	75.70	346.75	9.11
2nd quintile	1,097.76	627.91	80.18	382.80	10.05
3rd quintile	1,275.12	696.79	83.64	420.83	11.44
4th quintile	1,456.68	766.19	88.80	460.93	12.51
9th decile	1,685.28	858.16	96.18	518.89	13.94
10th decile	2,039.76	991.95	106.61	601.45	15.05
Total	1,278.89	693.72	84.48	421.32	11.04

(b)

	1.3 Tea, cigs, alcohol	1.4 Other foodstuffs	2.Clothing	3.Houseware	Books & papers
1st decile	47.75	62.09	90.16	51.88	7.57
2nd decile	59.79	82.26	119.91	71.75	9.11
2nd quintile	67.36	97.57	144.73	95.32	10.05
3rd quintile	77.64	115.08	174.53	124.20	11.44
4th quintile	85.47	130.99	203.40	163.92	12.51
9th decile	95.69	147.40	231.88	197.78	13.94
10th decile	114.35	169.52	271.23	265.69	15.05
Total	76.08	111.84	170.88	129.12	11.04

(c)

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	4.Entertainment	5.Housing	6.Medical	Books & papers
1st decile	21.88	8.85	14.08	7.57
2nd decile	35.08	15.02	16.20	9.11
2nd quintile	46.11	11.33	18.08	10.05
3rd quintile	68.84	16.40	19.81	11.44
4th quintile	84.91	20.83	20.66	12.51
9th decile	117.87	30.47	24.39	13.94
10th decile	140.59	60.62	28.82	15.05
Total	68.04	19.92	19.44	11.04

(d)

	7.Fuel	8.Other commercial	9. Non-market items	9.1 Rent	Books & papers
1st decile	16.30	9.26	82.54	6.32	7.57
2nd decile	18.25	10.39	100.55	7.49	9.11
2nd quintile	19.04	14.00	111.20	8.30	10.05
3rd quintile	20.34	17.18	125.54	9.59	11.44
4th quintile	21.65	19.23	143.42	10.33	12.51
9th decile	22.88	23.99	163.96	11.39	13.94
10th decile	26.48	33.86	205.55	14.78	15.05
Total	20.31	17.04	127.44	9.36	11.04

(e)

	9.2 Water	9.3 Electricity	9.4 Gas	9.5 Urban transport	Books & papers
1st decile	2.94	11.42	1.73	1.97	7.57
2nd decile	3.21	13.07	2.13	2.61	9.11
2nd quintile	3.41	14.51	2.22	3.17	10.05
3rd quintile	3.63	15.10	2.19	3.65	11.44
4th quintile	3.99	17.85	2.89	4.19	12.51
9th decile	4.25	19.93	3.35	4.85	13.94
10th decile	4.83	22.60	4.12	6.47	15.05
Total	3.72	16.08	2.64	3.72	11.04

(f)

	9.6 Other transport	9.7 Post	9.8 Medical	9.9 School	Books & papers
1st decile	4.53	0.56	4.03	25.43	7.57
2nd decile	6.13	0.91	5.21	28.34	9.11
2nd quintile	7.20	1.13	5.12	29.28	10.05
3rd quintile	9.34	1.61	5.96	27.36	11.44
4th quintile	11.34	2.13	6.22	29.49	12.51
9th decile	14.76	2.81	8.03	28.58	13.94
10th decile	21.45	4.89	9.95	29.47	15.05
Total	9.72	*	6.12	28.33	11.04

(g)

	9.10 Child care	9.11 Entertain-ment	9.12 Repairs & services	9.13 Other non-market	Books & papers
1st decile	3.83	1.91	11.46	6.43	7.57
2nd decile	4.38	3.03	16.01	8.04	9.11
2nd quintile	5.09	3.68	18.96	9.13	10.05
3rd quintile	6.05	4.75	23.21	11.52	11.44
4th quintile	5.91	5.39	29.61	14.08	12.51
9th decile	5.86	6.31	37.26	16.57	13.94
10th decile	4.64	7.93	49.83	24.59	15.05
Total	5.28	4.68	24.72	11.88	11.04

1991

(a)

	Total	1.Food	1.1 Grain	1.2 Meat & veg	Books & papers

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	expenditure				
1st decile	938.02	561.37	87.47	344.17	9.40
2nd decile	1,115.86	645.18	92.95	390.06	10.60
2nd quintile	1,264.40	712.12	97.04	428.24	11.44
3rd quintile	1,441.75	787.45	102.80	471.05	13.35
4th quintile	1,625.61	855.19	106.90	509.31	14.78
9th decile	1,882.98	944.96	115.44	562.39	16.04
10th decile	2,273.24	1,107.13	126.52	663.42	18.07
Total	1,453.81	782.50	102.53	469.37	13.11

(b)

	1.3 Tea, cigs, alcohol	1.4 Other foodstuffs	2.Clothing	3.Houseware	Books & papers
1st decile	55.89	73.85	108.17	62.03	9.40
2nd decile	68.20	93.96	143.99	85.51	10.60
2nd quintile	96.58	110.25	172.30	106.03	11.44
3rd quintile	86.00	127.60	203.86	130.31	13.35
4th quintile	94.64	144.34	236.45	165.32	14.78
9th decile	108.12	159.01	268.95	233.87	16.04
10th decile	129.13	188.06	304.46	270.64	18.07
Total	85.65	124.96	199.64	139.83	13.11

(c)

	4.Entertainment	5.Housing	6.Medical	Books & papers
1st decile	28.32	8.71	18.72	9.40
2nd decile	39.34	10.52	20.56	10.60
2nd quintile	51.17	14.43	22.54	11.44
3rd quintile	65.69	16.07	24.45	13.35
4th quintile	81.91	20.61	27.98	14.78
9th decile	102.83	44.46	29.51	16.04
10th decile	146.97	79.97	35.06	18.07
Total	68.68	23.00	24.96	13.11

(d)

	7.Fuel	8.Other commercial	9.Non-market items	9.1 Rent	Books & papers
1st decile	21.37	10.03	109.90	8.23	9.40
2nd decile	22.40	12.78	124.98	8.90	10.60
2nd quintile	23.06	14.14	137.18	9.52	11.44
3rd quintile	25.44	16.51	158.63	10.51	13.35
4th quintile	26.51	21.77	175.09	11.40	14.78
9th decile	28.00	24.50	202.54	13.21	16.04
10th decile	31.77	34.27	244.92	15.37	18.07
Total	25.05	18.06	158.96	10.66	13.11

(e)

	9.2 Water	9.3 Electricity	9.4 Gas	9.5 Urban transport	Books & papers
1st decile	3.74	14.01	3.13	3.07	9.40
2nd decile	4.09	16.12	3.41	3.46	10.60
2nd quintile	4.41	17.65	3.84	4.01	11.44
3rd quintile	4.67	19.62	4.25	4.59	13.35
4th quintile	4.98	21.47	4.65	5.04	14.78
9th decile	5.37	23.92	5.28	5.39	16.04
10th decile	5.94	27.30	6.06	6.87	18.07
Total	4.66	19.50	4.27	4.53	13.11

(f)

	9.6 Other transport	9.7 Post	9.8 Medical	9.9 School	Books & papers
1st decile	5.57	1.24	5.73	33.32	9.40

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2nd decile	7.39	1.30	6.15	33.47	10.60
2nd quintile	8.98	1.88	6.46	32.68	11.44
3rd quintile	11.66	2.71	6.42	36.14	13.35
4th quintile	14.56	3.23	8.51	32.86	14.78
9th decile	18.05	4.40	8.40	34.39	16.04
10th decile	27.57	6.50	9.50	33.78	18.07
Total	12.36	2.82	7.14	33.82	13.11

(g)

	9.10 Child care	9.11 Entertain-ment	9.12 Repairs & services	9.13 Other non-market	Books & papers
1st decile	4.67	3.05	15.97	8.17	9.40
2nd decile	6.52	3.76	20.33	10.08	10.60
2nd quintile	7.10	5.03	23.96	11.66	11.44
3rd quintile	7.77	6.28	28.88	15.12	13.35
4th quintile	7.54	7.21	36.42	17.23	14.78
9th decile	8.11	9.08	44.51	22.44	16.04
10th decile	6.88	10.38	59.77	29.00	18.07
Total	7.01	6.14	30.82	15.23	13.11

1992

(a)

	Total expenditure	Food: including	a) grain	b) meat & veg	c) eggs
1st decile	1,051	632.90	96.96	147.93	30.30
2nd decile	1,251	725.20	99.85	171.50	34.32
2nd quintile	1,433	803.42	100.19	188.69	37.75
3rd quintile	1,668	888.44	103.34	208.47	40.26
4th quintile	1,890	965.98	106.04	226.93	42.99
9th decile	2,147	1,066.96	111.76	250.49	48.70
10th decile	2,683	1,249.45	122.88	284.28	53.53
Total	1,672	883.65	104.42	206.73	40.31

(b)

	1.4 Seafood	1.5 Milk products	2.Apparel	2.1 Clothing	3.Houseware & services
1st decile	39.78	9.98	120.77	63.20	60.26
2nd decile	48.22	12.05	164.17	89.46	74.74
2nd quintile	52.65	15.58	199.32	109.84	99.21
3rd quintile	59.97	17.67	245.92	138.30	133.96
4th quintile	65.01	20.66	282.56	161.39	169.49
9th decile	74.22	23.73	316.32	182.59	208.21
10th decile	86.63	26.10	356.46	207.40	318.90
Total	59.30	17.55	235.41	132.55	140.68

(c)

	3.1 Consumer durables	4.Medical	5.Transport	6.Entertain-ment, education, culture	6.1 Consumer durables
1st decile	23.46	28.38	18.52	86.65	18.40
2nd decile	32.68	32.49	24.24	107.42	24.31
2nd quintile	48.14	35.99	33.55	120.20	31.05
3rd quintile	69.66	42.11	40.19	146.56	44.77
4th quintile	93.00	47.43	55.34	165.90	61.34
9th decile	116.82	49.19	63.27	194.45	82.16
10th decile	190.37	63.13	94.38	257.44	130.64
Total	74.63	41.51	44.17	147.45	50.61

(d)

	7.Housing	7.1 Private housing	8. Other

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1st decile	68.70	20.21	34.48
2nd decile	77.07	22.20	45.25
2nd quintile	84.59	25.56	56.87
3rd quintile	95.37	30.71	75.31
4th quintile	109.99	41.40	93.12
9th decile	124.51	49.57	124.31
10th decile	168.96	82.75	173.80
Total	99.68	35.72	79.20

1993

(a)

	Total expenditure	1. Food	1.1 Grain	1.2 Meat & veg	1.3 Eggs
1st decile	1,261.36	744.58	119.14	178.10	35.46
2nd decile	1,528.68	869.27	124.77	207.39	39.97
2nd quintile	1,770.17	957.67	126.40	229.62	43.34
3rd quintile	2,055.72	1,064.65	128.97	252.69	47.60
4th quintile	2,404.13	1,169.40	132.57	278.41	51.22
9th decile	2,810.32	1,284.57	141.60	303.92	56.54
10th decile	3,533.49	1,464.65	145.10	329.23	60.39
Total	2,110.81	1,058.20	129.76	250.36	47.07

(b)

	1.4 Seafood	1.5 Milk products	2. Apparel	2.1 Clothing	3.Houseware
1st decile	47.61	10.18	142.50	77.05	66.51
2nd decile	57.16	14.07	195.79	107.55	94.42
2nd quintile	63.09	16.56	246.43	138.77	120.06
3rd quintile	71.77	20.27	303.32	175.33	163.10
4th quintile	80.17	23.68	367.20	214.99	220.27
9th decile	88.13	26.72	418.16	249.42	314.16
10th decile	101.84	30.42	492.62	299.25	446.75
Total	71.35	19.76	300.61	174.36	184.96

(c)

	3.1 Consumer durables	4.Medical	5.Transport	6.Entertain-ment, education, culture	6.1 Consumer durables
1st decile	28.67	36.05	28.34	113.29	14.91
2nd decile	47.85	41.92	35.69	136.40	23.33
2nd quintile	60.19	50.09	51.04	158.43	33.02
3rd quintile	87.86	53.59	68.72	182.91	44.97
4th quintile	126.03	61.52	99.60	221.37	69.90
9th decile	195.93	74.58	127.27	256.21	94.72
10th decile	289.41	100.34	212.16	356.23	167.66
Total	105.80	56.89	80.63	194.01	56.65

(d)

	7.Housing	7.1 Private housing	8.Other
1st decile	93.28	25.36	36.81
2nd decile	103.74	29.46	51.45
2nd quintile	119.33	39.00	67.21
3rd quintile	132.98	45.28	86.45
4th quintile	150.50	57.30	114.26
9th decile	187.61	83.37	147.76
10th decile	240.87	128.04	219.88
Total	140.01	52.93	95.50

1994

(a)

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	Total expenditure	1.Food	1.1 Grain	1.2 Meat & veg	1.3 Eggs
1st decile	1,644.56	1,005.76	185.62	232.87	43.64
2nd decile	2,028.80	1,169.37	192.52	275.44	50.45
2nd quintile	2,351.56	1,305.41	200.32	310.30	55.73
3rd quintile	2,798.12	1,431.04	199.44	340.15	58.69
4th quintile	3,252.70	1,563.81	206.71	370.88	62.04
9th decile	3,880.91	1,727.97	215.49	406.25	66.12
10th decile	4,799.83	1,921.61	221.33	443.24	72.54
Total	2,851.34	1,422.49	201.97	335.17	57.92

(b)

	1.4 Seafood	1.5 Milk products	2. Apparel	2.1 Clothing	3.Houseware
1st decile	63.11	14.01	167.99	94.18	78.39
2nd decile	75.58	17.48	235.54	133.62	115.58
2nd quintile	86.24	22.39	309.39	181.50	154.31
3rd quintile	95.06	26.12	390.89	233.29	230.21
4th quintile	109.17	30.51	477.17	292.38	299.94
9th decile	118.69	36.89	569.08	355.70	429.43
10th decile	134.56	40.82	682.33	435.05	628.72
Total	95.79	26.14	390.38	236.29	251.42

(c)

	3.1 Consumer durables	4. Medical	5. Transport	6.Entertain-ment,educa-tion,culture	6.1 Consumer durables
1st decile	34.59	53.82	39.60	130.80	16.85
2nd decile	54.30	60.30	63.00	174.16	31.24
2nd quintile	80.66	67.39	83.15	187.47	30.60
3rd quintile	132.40	78.89	121.98	244.29	52.91
4th quintile	179.03	96.97	161.78	288.61	81.68
9th decile	278.20	109.40	227.74	346.62	115.40
10th decile	424.41	138.48	319.40	479.11	212.50
Total	150.14	82.89	132.68	250.75	67.29

(d)

	7.Housing	7.1 Private housing	8. Other
1st decile	121.54	32.58	46.65
2nd decile	143.23	47.30	67.62
2nd quintile	161.58	54.63	82.85
3rd quintile	183.24	67.99	117.58
4th quintile	211.41	88.14	153.01
9th decile	259.70	125.17	210.95
10th decile	335.98	192.41	294.21
Total	193.16	79.00	127.56

1995

(a)

	Total expenditure	1. Food	1.1 Grain	1.2 Meat & veg	1.3 Eggs
1st decile	2,060.96	1,226.06	236.57	286.72	52.48
2nd decile	2,516.22	1,462.42	254.38	349.33	62.48
2nd quintile	2,934.16	1,606.15	254.32	382.18	66.05
3rd quintile	3,446.12	1,770.12	259.12	422.67	70.57
4th quintile	4,045.52	1,946.42	266.40	462.95	74.81
9th decile	4,665.91	2,127.00	274.21	496.70	78.61
10th decile	6,033.10	2,440.91	291.71	550.08	86.78
Total	3,537.57	1,766.02	260.53	416.27	69.58

(b)

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	1.4 Seafood	1.5 Milk products	2. Apparel	2.1 Clothing	3.Houseware
1st decile	76.66	16.38	208.86	117.49	107.93
2nd decile	97.31	21.40	287.63	163.31	133.54
2nd quintile	108.43	26.89	380.85	222.09	186.34
3rd quintile	121.09	32.49	483.70	288.45	253.28
4th quintile	135.08	36.44	585.74	353.92	358.76
9th decile	147.07	41.68	688.67	425.80	445.87
10th decile	172.67	49.64	831.51	526.39	801.85
Total	120.64	31.43	479.20	288.02	296.94

(c)

	3.1 Consumer durables	4. Medical	5. Transport	6.Entertain-ment,educa-tion,culture	6.1 Consumer durables
1st decile	47.72	67.53	62.77	162.99	14.00
2nd decile	63.27	82.93	79.84	205.85	29.45
2nd quintile	95.97	93.77	113.14	242.65	40.26
3rd quintile	139.36	107.96	156.28	293.02	56.61
4th quintile	213.12	121.20	214.28	362.64	93.61
9th decile	283.00	139.85	277.40	443.55	144.61
10th decile	545.81	189.21	385.31	597.42	251.04
Total	175.55	110.11	171.01	312.71	77.87

(d)

	7. Housing	7.1 Private housing	8. Other
1st decile	167.89	53.22	56.94
2nd decile	185.88	56.23	78.12
2nd quintile	208.14	73.39	103.13
3rd quintile	238.48	93.38	143.28
4th quintile	275.79	117.95	180.68
9th decile	308.99	138.62	234.58
10th decile	443.81	252.34	343.08
Total	250.18	103.62	151.39

1996

(a)

	Total expenditure	1. Food	1.1 Grain	1.2 Meat & veg	1.3 Eggs
1st decile	2,327.30	1,356.24	254.80	312.96	60.18
2nd decile	2,780.75	1,570.80	261.56	366.70	69.06
2nd quintile	3,265.47	1,724.35	265.19	400.28	75.14
3rd quintile	3,816.34	1,902.79	270.40	446.37	79.57
4th quintile	4,482.00	2,113.15	280.14	487.87	85.02
9th decile	5,204.35	2,284.93	280.88	522.84	90.21
10th decile	6,485.78	2,583.17	296.20	567.71	95.71
Total	3,919.47	1,904.71	271.54	438.76	78.73

(b)

	1.4 Seafood	1.5 Milk products	2. Apparel	2.1 Clothing	3.Houseware
1st decile	86.68	18.27	232.86	130.62	112.25
2nd decile	105.77	26.57	316.41	181.21	143.33
2nd quintile	116.72	30.65	414.89	245.15	196.06
3rd quintile	134.04	36.77	526.86	318.79	259.89
4th quintile	149.89	42.35	637.99	393.94	347.33
9th decile	159.12	50.19	769.77	490.51	490.15
10th decile	181.98	57.98	925.25	605.50	731.19
Total	131.91	36.59	527.95	323.85	298.15

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(c)

	3.1 Consumer durables	4. Medical	5. Transport	6.Entertain-ment,educa-tion,culture	6.1 Consumer durables
1st decile	46.04	91.24	75.05	191.53	14.58
2nd decile	61.35	96.96	110.30	233.15	25.02
2nd quintile	93.42	120.62	142.94	293.09	48.40
3rd quintile	133.64	135.40	190.36	356.74	69.29
4th quintile	184.19	159.78	244.16	431.01	107.50
9th decile	289.00	192.21	312.74	511.49	140.52
10th decile	460.41	250.43	396.34	735.28	307.95
Total	161.27	143.28	199.12	374.95	89.80

(d)

	7. Housing	7.1 Private housing	8. Other
1st decile	198.95	64.88	69.17
2nd decile	220.17	67.61	89.63
2nd quintile	256.95	91.40	116.57
3rd quintile	293.56	116.60	150.72
4th quintile	344.55	151.77	204.03
9th decile	375.56	177.16	267.50
10th decile	474.59	245.93	389.52
Total	300.85	124.14	170.45

1997

(a)

	Total expenditure	1. Food	1.1 Grain	1.2 Meat & veg	1.3 Eggs
1st decile	2,333.00	1,332.22	222.78	317.42	57.99
2nd decile	2,895.39	1,571.52	232.24	376.20	65.43
2nd quintile	3,427.45	1,751.21	234.09	421.72	70.17
3rd quintile	4,064.55	1,949.74	238.57	467.34	74.80
4th quintile	4,822.15	2,151.35	242.09	511.16	78.96
9th decile	5,709.54	2.383.99	241.41	556.07	82.75
10th decile	7,314.81	2,725.71	263.28	610.90	88.43
Total	4,185.64	1,942.59	238.11	459.96	73.55

(b)

	1.4 Seafood	1.5 Milk products	2. Apparel	2.1 Clothing	3.Houseware
1st decile	89.02	20.54	220.71	126.85	95.82
2nd decile	106.74	28.94	310.74	184.42	132.23
2nd quintile	124.19	34.89	407.50	247.61	193.45
3rd quintile	142.80	41.50	528.19	330.86	277.60
4th quintile	159.13	49.48	641.89	410.40	371.76
9th decile	183.12	54.10	757.21	490.24	514.42
10th decile	200.90	68.29	912.47	603.17	894.30
Total	140.98	41.41	520.91	328.17	316.89

(c)

	3.1 Consumer durables	4. Medical	5. Transport	6.Entertain-ment,educa-tion,culture	6.1 Consumer durables
1st decile	34.05	95.10	84.18	208.24	14.35
2nd decile	49.04	117.02	126.60	274.88	36.00
2nd quintile	88.82	148.08	166.59	336.94	53.57
3rd quintile	144.56	163.94	219.44	421.43	86.56
4th quintile	201.49	214.02	282.95	532.11	142.81
9th decile	300.49	256.80	381.81	671.43	218.41
10th decile	583.31	326.22	484.36	885.39	355.92

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Total	173.35	179.68	232.90	448.38	112.50

(d)

	7. Housing	7.1 Private housing	8. Other
1st decile	227.39	72.19	69.34
2nd decile	263.64	84.86	98.76
2nd quintile	300.01	109.64	123.69
3rd quintile	340.32	128.24	163.88
4th quintile	400.75	171.58	227.30
9th decile	447.77	197.94	296.12
10th decile	648.28	368.40	438.09
Total	358.64	148.66	185.65

Figures from *Zhongguo tongji nianjian*. The statistical format under which spending figures are classified by quintile and decile of the overall Chinese urban income distribution was introduced by the *Zhongguo tongji nianjian* in 1985. Previous to this spending figures were classified according to monthly cash income level (20 yuan and below, 20 - 30 yuan and so on). From 1985 to 1991, categories of spending were classified under the broad headings of "market" and "non-market" items, the latter including rent, school expenses and transport and communication costs. In 1987 the number of categories of spending was increased as rising spending in all income groups made greater statistical differentiation useful. In 1992 the distinction between "market" and "non-market" was dropped, and the total expenditure figures rounded off to the nearest yuan as in the income distribution figures printed above. In 1993 the practice of averaging total expenditure figures to the second decimal place was resumed.

Number of consumer durables owned per 100 households
(item/100 households)

1978

	Urban	Rural	Total
Sewing machines	8.6	2.4	3.5
Watches	29.3	4.0	8.5
Bicycles	23.3	4.3	7.7
Radios	20.2	5.1	7.8
TV sets	1.3	0.1	0.3

1980 (urban and rural)

Sewing machines	4.7	Refrigerators	0.02
Watches	12.9	TV sets	0.9
Bicycles	9.7	Cassette recorders	0.5
Electric fans	1.4	Radios	12.1
Washing machines	0.03	Cameras	0.6

1982

	Urban	Rural	Total
Sewing machines	14.8	4.7	6.6
Watches	55.8	10.2	18.8
Bicycles	33.9	8.3	13.1
Radios	32.8	14.8	18.2
TV sets	10.2	1.0	2.7

1983 (urban and rural)

Sewing machines	7.5
Watches	22.2
Bicycles	15.4
Radios	20.9
TV sets	3.5

1984 (urban and rural)

Sewing machines	8.4	Electric fans	4.2
Watches	29.1	Washing machines	1.9
Bicycles	18.8	Refrigerators	0.2

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Radios	21.6	Cassette recorders	2.2
TV sets	4.6	Cameras	0.9

1985 (urban and rural)

Sewing machines	9.4	Refrigerators	0.4
Watches	34.5	TV sets	6.7
Bicycles	21.4	Cassette recorders	3.5
Electric fans	6.1	Radios	23.1
Washing machines	2.9	Cameras	1.1

1986 (urban and rural)

Sewing machines	10.3	Refrigerators	0.7
Watches	39.0	TV sets	8.7
Bicycles	24.3	Cassette recorders	4.9
Electric fans	8.1	Radios	24.0
Washing machines	4.1	Cameras	1.3

1987 (urban)

(a)

	Overcoats	Woollen clothes	Blankets	Wardrobes	Sofas
1st decile	137.64	261.70	67.90	87.52	100.78
2nd decile	123.26	284.18	83.16	99.71	120.02
2nd quintile	139.51	313.09	93.68	103.30	134.41
3rd quintile	149.85	363.63	105.19	106.68	144.87
4th quintile	164.36	392.46	119.42	108.90	158.19
9th decile	179.95	436.34	125.83	111.01	172.60
10th decile	193.57	498.85	139.49	114.25	182.01
Total	154.22	359.01	105.32	105.03	145.08

(b)

	Desks	Lounge suites	Mattress beds	Bicycles	Sewing machines
1st decile	69.69	5.29	6.01	152.16	70.06
2nd decile	79.21	6.47	8.94	167.25	74.01
2nd quintile	84.01	6.56	8.63	171.57	75.00
3rd quintile	90.49	7.68	9.82	181.39	75.42
4th quintile	91.42	9.61	11.79	183.41	73.62
9th decile	93.64	10.95	12.12	185.27	76.00
10th decile	97.19	10.95	13.60	187.77	80.68
Total	87.18	8.13	10.12	176.53	74.88

(c)

	Watches (mechanical)	Watches (digital)	Electric fans	Washing machines	Refrigerators
1st decile	209.44	63.12	78.53	47.15	7.43
2nd decile	228.37	75.17	93.40	59.91	12.04
2nd quintile	231.32	74.94	98.50	63.17	15.23
3rd quintile	241.86	78.19	104.16	69.01	19.16
4th quintile	243.64	78.80	109.77	71.88	23.59
9th decile	258.44	78.27	117.46	74.24	28.07
10th decile	263.43	74.92	124.83	78.06	35.42
Total	239.36	75.55	103.92	66.77	19.91

(d)

	Colour TVs	B/w TVs	Stereo cassettes	Mono cassettes	Cameras
1st decile	14.97	64.77	17.46	21.75	6.92
2nd decile	20.79	70.24	22.69	24.10	7.70
2nd quintile	27.92	68.66	26.37	27.08	10.71
3rd quintile	33.65	65.58	29.27	27.89	14.17
4th quintile	40.77	63.46	33.48	30.01	16.18

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9th decile	47.39	61.53	34.53	31.56	20.99
10th decile	58.28	55.84	40.53	32.86	25.51
Total	34.63	64.77	29.36	28.02	14.34

1988

(a)

	Overcoats	Woollen clothes	Blankets	Wardrobes	Sofas
1st decile	103.78	224.20	74.62	86.56	100.29
2nd decile	127.44	277.11	92.93	96.81	123.47
2nd quintile	141.59	306.38	102.17	98.06	135.20
3rd quintile	156.06	347.09	118.64	103.47	147.28
4th quintile	165.93	377.16	126.07	103.93	163.59
9th decile	176.26	408.30	134.22	104.94	167.34
10th decile	181.38	428.72	146.32	107.95	183.16
Total	151.60	339.95	114.18	100.72	146.64

(b)

	Desks	Lounge suites	Mattress beds	Bicycles	Sewing machines
1st decile	69.54	7.45	7.09	154.54	67.76
2nd decile	75.41	8.79	8.80	170.46	70.52
2nd quintile	81.97	11.77	11.25	177.32	70.91
3rd quintile	85.67	13.12	12.92	180.02	70.93
4th quintile	89.23	14.21	14.46	184.97	70.81
9th decile	90.35	16.03	15.39	185.00	70.54
10th decile	95.98	18.22	17.83	180.81	73.41
Total	84.50	12.87	12.63	177.54	70.75

(c)

	Watches (mechanical)	Watches (digital)	Electric fans	Washing machines	Refrigerators
1st decile	205.27	55.48	90.71	52.39	11.83
2nd decile	219.49	63.71	105.64	65.10	18.33
2nd quintile	227.57	66.08	112.12	69.90	22.50
3rd quintile	228.33	67.26	118.47	77.16	27.62
4th quintile	232.99	68.85	124.74	79.90	34.46
9th decile	238.09	73.07	130.67	79.93	38.30
10th decile	239.47	67.92	137.50	82.91	43.07
Total	228.01	66.45	117.51	73.42	28.07

(d)

	Colour TVs	B/w TVs	Stereo cassettes	Mono cassettes	Cameras
1st decile	22.07	66.07	22.18	23.29	7.18
2nd decile	30.18	64.83	27.82	26.58	11.04
2nd quintile	36.65	62.72	30.62	28.34	11.91
3rd quintile	43.75	60.50	36.15	29.89	15.59
4th quintile	51.31	56.59	38.14	32.93	18.84
9th decile	57.30	52.77	39.86	34.24	22.22
10th decile	66.33	48.84	42.44	33.11	27.19
Total	43.93	59.22	34.21	29.95	16.03

1989

(a)

	Overcoats	Woollen clothes	Blankets	Wardrobes	Sofas
1st decile	115.80	242.31	81.92	86.64	108.19
2nd decile	133.98	284.69	96.17	97.20	123.05
2nd quintile	151.40	316.99	112.60	98.56	137.92
3rd quintile	165.62	354.21	120.37	101.53	153.52
4th quintile	174.90	385.58	130.71	103.10	163.68
9th decile	180.71	410.68	137.39	104.93	172.75

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10th decile	188.47	425.99	144.33	106.89	185.54
Total	160.28	347.71	118.72	100.21	149.98

(b)

	Desks	Lounge suites	Mattress beds	Bicycles	Sewing machines
1st decile	70.23	9.68	8.45	167.52	67.08
2nd decile	77.89	12.20	11.46	179.38	69.41
2nd quintile	84.36	15.36	12.23	186.95	70.10
3rd quintile	86.34	15.91	14.09	188.29	70.87
4th quintile	90.84	17.80	15.93	188.95	70.35
9th decile	91.53	19.06	18.82	188.36	71.69
10th decile	96.90	21.75	21.32	183.18	72.72
Total	85.96	16.08	14.46	184.68	70.35

(c)

	Watches: mechanical	Watches: digital	Electric fans	Washing machines	Refrigerator
1st decile	207.66	52.75	102.64	57.96	17.81
2nd decile	218.18	58.15	112.00	68.46	24.26
2nd quintile	225.51	60.84	124.44	73.75	31.05
3rd quintile	229.15	63.66	129.50	78.88	38.05
4th quintile	232.69	67.21	138.48	82.33	43.21
9th decile	235.76	70.71	141.03	82.24	46.34
10th decile	234.91	64.94	146.34	83.55	51.70
Total	227.12	63.00	128.68	76.21	36.47

(d)

	Colour TVs	B/w TVs	Stereo cassettes	Mono cassettes	Cameras
1st decile	27.11	66.70	24.01	25.78	8.68
2nd decile	36.80	61.71	29.39	29.48	10.69
2nd quintile	44.41	59.45	32.68	31.36	14.23
3rd quintile	52.57	54.58	35.76	32.09	17.46
4th quintile	59.16	52.71	39.61	34.55	19.53
9th decile	64.85	49.76	39.89	34.33	22.25
10th decile	73.66	45.44	39.50	36.24	28.60
Total	51.47	55.71	34.89	32.18	17.27

1990

(a)

	Overcoats	Woollen clothes	Blankets	Wardrobes	Sofas
1st decile	127.43	255.77	85.81	89.07	113.87
2nd decile	146.16	295.05	101.43	94.18	131.78
2nd quintile	158.04	324.12	114.41	97.89	147.00
3rd quintile	174.32	359.91	124.40	99.68	158.43
4th quintile	182.99	383.40	135.22	102.73	169.11
9th decile	188.43	413.13	145.43	105.54	184.19
10th decile	207.01	443.17	157.46	109.14	194.05
Total	169.98	354.20	99.85	99.85	157.30

(b)

	Desks	Lounge suites	Mattress beds	Bicycles	Sewing machines
1st decile	73.63	12.44	10.50	171.90	68.35
2nd decile	78.98	15.85	12.18	185.84	68.05
2nd quintile	83.62	18.64	14.33	188.21	69.90
3rd quintile	87.61	19.86	16.65	191.38	70.32
4th quintile	91.61	20.71	18.63	193.90	70.13
9th decile	95.94	22.26	19.78	192.12	70.48

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10th decile	98.09	23.96	22.84	189.07	73.85
Total	87.23	19.29	16.45	188.59	70.14

(c)

	Watches: mechanical	Watches: digital	Electric fans	Washing machines	Refrigerator
1st decile	208.30	56.23	107.91	61.79	23.25
2nd decile	221.05	65.31	121.76	70.07	30.32
2nd quintile	226.00	66.65	132.56	76.97	36.59
3rd quintile	228.09	72.70	135.46	79.99	43.75
4th quintile	233.55	76.42	143.39	83.08	50.11
9th decile	233.20	80.43	147.10	84.60	52.02
10th decile	240.19	74.13	155.42	87.58	56.82
Total	227.80	70.76	135.50	78.41	42.33

(d)

	Radios	Colour TVs	B/w TVs
1st decile	40.10	33.16	63.98
2nd decile	41.38	43.29	60.34
2nd quintile	42.27	53.84	54.12
3rd quintile	44.47	61.45	51.92
4th quintile	46.86	66.59	48.42
9th decile	50.71	71.25	46.46
10th decile	53.18	78.99	43.87
Total	45.25	59.04	52.36

(e)

	Stereo cassettes	Mono cassettes	Cameras
1st decile	24.09	28.05	9.71
2nd decile	29.82	32.23	13.21
2nd quintile	33.39	32.82	16.01
3rd quintile	36.68	34.26	18.61
4th quintile	39.59	35.30	22.45
9th decile	40.65	37.19	24.89
10th decile	41.17	40.14	30.25
Total	35.51		19.22

1991

(a)

	Overcoats	Woollen clothes	Blankets	Wardrobes	Sofas
1st decile	128.03	254.35	92.14	86.74	116.69
2nd decile	148.53	299.52	103.77	89.96	136.33
2nd quintile	163.19	323.92	119.48	94.51	146.04
3rd quintile	172.71	346.68	126.10	93.30	160.96
4th quintile	185.88	366.56	135.73	96.96	172.99
9th decile	190.07	386.08	144.76	101.13	181.48
10th decile	202.13	413.59	160.39	105.00	195.07
Total	171.24	342.79	126.37	95.24	158.96

(b)

	Desks	Lounge suites	Mattress beds	Bicycles	Sewing machines
1st decile	74.60	17.55	12.26	170.81	62.62
2nd decile	78.41	22.26	14.36	180.76	66.49
2nd quintile	85.68	24.30	16.99	185.04	66.22
3rd quintile	86.67	28.05	19.35	187.42	65.57
4th quintile	91.01	27.35	22.19	192.82	66.21
9th decile	93.32	29.65	23.30	187.65	67.57

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10th decile	96.72	29.13	23.96	185.26	71.68
Total	86.97	25.80	19.10	185.51	66.43

(c)

	Watches: mechanical	Watches: digital	Electric fans	Washing machines	Refrigerator
1st decile	197.69	47.80	121.86	65.05	29.74
2nd decile	208.45	53.00	131.13	74.32	37.89
2nd quintile	210.16	56.21	138.30	78.93	44.47
3rd quintile	213.68	56.10	143.43	82.66	48.54
4th quintile	217.51	62.37	150.30	85.34	55.59
9th decile	217.93	64.97	155.01	84.99	58.37
10th decile	224.00	67.64	162.70	87.58	63.76
Total	213.08	58.28	143.48	80.58	48.70

(d)

	Radios	Colour TVs	B/w TVs
1st decile	31.24	44.10	57.25
2nd decile	35.48	55.20	51.98
2nd quintile	35.05	63.68	46.57
3rd quintile	36.21	70.09	42.43
4th quintile	38.84	76.59	39.54
9th decile	40.98	78.27	39.18
10th decile	45.40	85.83	33.85
Total	37.33	68.41	43.93

(e)

	Stereo cassettes	Mono cassettes	Cameras
1st decile	26.76	29.22	11.72
2nd decile	30.94	32.81	15.07
2nd quintile	34.36	33.12	17.79
3rd quintile	35.83	35.11	20.92
4th quintile	38.26	37.08	23.92
9th decile	41.83	35.85	28.39
10th decile	39.92	38.41	32.76
Total	35.64	34.70	21.32

1992

(a)

	Overcoats	Blankets	Carpets: sq.m.	Lounge suites
1st decile	140.55	101.54	45.88	21.71
2nd decile	165.20	112.58	68.64	25.79
2nd quintile	183.18	128.25	69.23	29.20
3rd quintile	199.09	136.47	88.78	32.63
4th quintile	209.77	148.13	108.87	34.28
9th decile	223.23	153.86	118.08	34.53
10th decile	229.16	166.64	142.29	34.95
Total	194.22	136.03	90.86	30.92

(b)

	Mattress beds	Sofas	Wardrobes	Desks
1st decile	16.37	132.08	83.97	76.52
2nd decile	19.53	148.87	88.74	81.73
2nd quintile	21.10	163.58	90.49	85.68
3rd quintile	25.65	181.89	91.72	88.92
4th quintile	28.15	193.42	94.74	91.85
9th decile	30.17	202.92	98.42	97.75
10th decile	30.28	226.47	101.74	98.21
Total	24.62	171.81	92.68	88.71

(c)

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	Motorcycles	Bicycles	3 wheel cabs	Sewing machines
1st decile	1.95	173.11	2.38	62.98
2nd decile	2.35	183.59	1.85	66.38
2nd quintile	2.17	192.33	1.67	65.16
3rd quintile	2.75	194.02	1.41	64.97
4th quintile	3.13	194.31	1.75	65.42
9th decile	3.36	197.89	1.83	68.91
10th decile	4.26	188.85	2.21	69.81
Total	2.80	190.48	1.79	65.92

(d)

	Washing machines	Electric fans	Refrigerators	Freezers
1st decile	70.06	123.83	33.19	0.67
2nd decile	77.60	133.38	42.04	0.86
2nd quintile	81.06	139.45	47.62	0.80
3rd quintile	85.49	146.18	54.74	0.87
4th quintile	86.54	154.08	58.69	1.21
9th decile	90.03	156.48	63.02	1.50
10th decile	90.23	163.16	65.72	1.87
Total	83.41	146.03	52.60	1.07

(e)

	Colour TVs	B/w TVs	VCRs	Electronic games
1st decile	52.17	51.48	5.68	5.67
2nd decile	63.09	44.79	6.91	7.88
2nd quintile	71.01	38.76	8.54	10.11
3rd quintile	77.47	35.80	9.56	11.70
4th quintile	81.52	33.47	11.32	12.94
9th decile	85.78	33.16	13.34	14.24
10th decile	87.62	31.61	15.62	15.65
Total	74.87	37.71	10.04	11.30

(f)

	Hi-fi sets	Stereo cassettes	Mono cassettes	Cameras
1st decile	1.47	25.86	35.34	12.44
2nd decile	2.51	28.13	36.30	16.51
2nd quintile	3.02	33.60	38.00	20.17
3rd quintile	3.85	35.29	40.87	24.70
4th quintile	4.34	36.72	41.03	28.05
9th decile	5.76	37.52	43.08	32.00
10th decile	7.73	36.25	42.42	36.37
Total	3.99	33.90	39.69	24.32

(g)

	Pianos	Other instruments	Space heaters	Air conditioners
1st decile	0.17	4.00	1.16	0.66
2nd decile	0.33	5.40	1.55	0.60
2nd quintile	0.53	6.58	2.07	0.68
3rd quintile	0.40	9.28	2.15	1.15
4th quintile	0.69	9.94	2.84	1.18
9th decile	0.47	10.22	2.83	1.57
10th decile	0.77	11.89	3.49	3.07
Total	0.50	8.31	2.31	1.19

(h)

	Electric cookware	Showers	Range hoods	Vacuum cleaners
1st decile	41.84	5.87	6.72	1.87
2nd decile	49.89	7.56	8.59	3.94
2nd quintile	54.30	10.07	11.50	5.32
3rd quintile	59.44	12.97	14.66	6.29
4th quintile	63.13	15.22	17.65	7.96

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9th decile	66.70	18.55	19.99	7.88
10th decile	73.01	21.52	23.17	10.28
Total	58.52	13.00	14.61	6.31

1993

(a)

	Overcoats	Blankets	Carpets: sq.m.	Lounge suites
1st decile	154.14	107.50	65.66	23.55
2nd decile	174.68	117.65	76.46	29.60
2nd quintile	188.81	132.85	87.08	32.38
3rd quintile	206.69	141.53	102.93	33.99
4th quintile	222.85	152.72	123.42	37.96
9th decile	231.02	159.03	149.36	38.60
10th decile	244.56	169.42	180.20	40.09
Total	204.11	140.78	109.85	34.05

(b)

	Mattress beds	Sofas	Wardrobes	Desks
1st decile	17.91	139.28	85.52	76.43
2nd decile	22.29	152.22	87.60	83.69
2nd quintile	23.58	173.91	89.50	85.60
3rd quintile	28.93	188.72	92.21	89.65
4th quintile	34.06	210.07	95.59	93.94
9th decile	33.94	219.83	97.59	98.34
10th decile	36.54	239.23	99.28	102.31
Total	28.39	189.59	92.46	89.85

(c)

	Motorcycles	Bicycles	3 wheel cabs	Sewing machines
1st decile	2.87	180.59	2.87	64.31
2nd decile	2.62	188.49	2.89	73.25
2nd quintile	2.81	195.15	2.19	64.94
3rd quintile	3.10	199.80	1.99	63.50
4th quintile	3.52	201.77	1.92	66.78
9th decile	4.61	205.96	2.04	68.18
10th decile	6.33	203.11	2.19	69.59
Total	3.53	197.16	2.22	66.58

(d)

	Washing machines	Electric fans	Refrigerators	Freezers
1st decile	74.00	129.44	39.09	1.29
2nd decile	78.91	138.29	43.27	0.76
2nd quintile	83.28	146.86	50.84	1.58
3rd quintile	87.25	151.42	58.06	1.65
4th quintile	90.65	159.55	63.70	1.59
9th decile	92.45	165.20	66.91	2.17
10th decile	95.86	167.81	72.35	2.30
Total	86.36	151.64	56.58	1.62

(e)

	Colour TVs	B/w TVs	VCRs	Electronic games
1st decile	58.16	48.76	6.33	8.45
2nd decile	66.72	43.02	8.77	10.84
2nd quintile	75.26	37.45	10.36	14.46
3rd quintile	80.71	34.75	11.38	15.49
4th quintile	86.52	31.52	14.21	17.89
9th decile	90.70	29.83	15.14	18.59
10th decile	94.03	30.16	19.66	19.97
Total	79.46	35.92	12.18	15.35

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(f)

	Hi-fi sets	Stereo cassettes	Mono cassettes	Cameras
1st decile	3.10	25.30	37.95	14.20
2nd decile	2.94	27.09	38.07	17.10
2nd quintile	3.65	32.79	39.88	21.16
3rd quintile	5.37	35.63	40.62	26.31
4th quintile	6.85	36.93	42.96	31.11
9th decile	8.39	39.10	44.78	35.63
10th decile	10.70	38.13	47.27	40.65
Total	5.69	34.03	41.50	26.48

(g)

	Pianos	Other instruments	Space heaters	Air conditioners
1st decile	0.23	4.49	1.11	0.98
2nd decile	0.16	4.97	1.31	0.84
2nd quintile	0.43	6.77	2.10	1.43
3rd quintile	0.51	9.20	2.50	1.75
4th quintile	0.71	11.36	3.11	3.01
9th decile	0.95	9.53	3.08	3.24
10th decile	0.84	12.54	5.13	5.87
Total	0.55	8.62	2.60	2.33

(h)

	Electric cookware	Showers	Range hoods	Vacuum cleaners
1st decile	47.18	7.58	9.45	2.40
2nd decile	55.40	10.48	13.24	4.33
2nd quintile	61.84	12.96	15.65	5.66
3rd quintile	68.90	17.08	19.55	7.59
4th quintile	70.85	21.96	24.19	9.29
9th decile	77.52	25.30	27.32	10.37
10th decile	83.94	30.08	31.88	12.73
Total	66.72	17.74	20.07	7.49

1994

(a)

	Overcoats	Blankets	Carpets: sq.m.	Lounge suites
1st decile	157.28	103.66	63.15	30.96
2nd decile	172.83	119.92	89.69	36.22
2nd quintile	196.90	134.08	100.18	39.21
3rd quintile	203.87	145.16	127.85	43.73
4th quintile	214.57	151.56	147.22	45.30
9th decile	227.84	160.62	204.37	45.70
10th decile	247.41	177.61	197.13	49.32
Total	202.40	142.34	130.48	41.87

(b)

	Mattress beds	Sofas	Wardrobes	Desks
1st decile	20.41	149.60	82.08	75.48
2nd decile	25.36	175.47	84.02	81.01
2nd quintile	29.91	187.97	86.08	84.13
3rd quintile	34.08	207.70	86.41	90.10
4th quintile	41.33	222.51	90.52	92.53
9th decile	39.27	235.02	93.70	93.78
10th decile	47.16	269.78	99.43	101.19
Total	34.28	206.62	88.53	88.50

(c)

	Motorcycles	Bicycles	3 wheel cabs	Sewing machines
1st decile	2.95	174.02	3.57	63.72
2nd decile	4.40	188.56	3.31	65.02

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2nd quintile	4.57	190.65	3.04	63.28
3rd quintile	5.22	195.13	2.86	63.35
4th quintile	5.92	196.50	2.08	63.80
9th decile	7.19	199.39	2.09	66.05
10th decile	6.62	193.50	2.16	68.21
Total	5.26	192.00	2.71	64.38

(d)

	Washing machines	Electric fans	Refrigerators	Freezers
1st decile	74.12	134.52	41.31	2.15
2nd decile	81.76	141.29	50.03	2.03
2nd quintile	84.89	149.42	56.51	1.88
3rd quintile	89.00	154.57	64.02	1.95
4th quintile	91.26	159.43	69.32	2.27
9th decile	92.31	162.80	73.46	2.75
10th decile	94.38	172.45	76.46	3.35
Total	87.29	153.79	62.10	2.25

(e)

	Colour TVs	B/w TVs	VCRs	Electronic games
1st decile	65.80	43.06	9.16	12.18
2nd decile	77.35	36.11	12.44	13.09
2nd quintile	82.30	32.35	12.85	16.17
3rd quintile	88.58	27.46	15.51	19.47
4th quintile	91.95	27.23	18.41	20.54
9th decile	94.80	25.62	19.81	22.57
10th decile	98.49	25.81	24.69	22.44
Total	86.21	30.47	15.96	18.26

(f)

	Hi-fi sets	Stereo cassettes	Mono cassettes	Cameras
1st decile	4.83	20.34	39.98	14.87
2nd decile	6.11	23.42	40.63	19.33
2nd quintile	7.11	27.46	41.93	24.08
3rd quintile	8.05	29.78	44.18	29.14
4th quintile	10.02	30.55	46.96	35.17
9th decile	11.34	34.28	48.29	39.69
10th decile	14.20	32.91	48.10	47.66
Total	8.68	28.65	44.31	29.83

(g)

	Pianos	Other instruments	Space heaters	Air conditioners
1st decile	0.07	3.37	1.22	1.32
2nd decile	0.40	4.88	1.64	2.14
2nd quintile	0.45	5.88	2.17	2.62
3rd quintile	0.60	6.91	2.95	4.59
4th quintile	0.84	8.95	3.08	6.15
9th decile	0.98	10.23	3.65	8.41
10th decile	1.25	10.85	3.99	11.40
Total	0.65	7.28	2.69	5.00

(h)

	Electric cookware	Showers	Range hoods	Vacuum cleaners
1st decile	56.78	12.49	14.97	4.10
2nd decile	62.84	16.14	19.53	5.10
2nd quintile	70.03	19.03	23.13	6.45
3rd quintile	75.24	25.77	29.00	8.84
4th quintile	79.98	29.76	33.85	11.15
9th decile	85.35	35.77	38.91	12.95
10th decile	92.63	38.91	43.79	15.38
Total	74.81	25.24	28.92	9.04

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1995

(a)

	Overcoats	Blankets	Carpets: sq.m.	Lounge suites
1st decile	162.53	105.32	63.44	35.16
2nd decile	177.58	116.05	97.60	38.14
2nd quintile	191.84	131.92	106.01	43.83
3rd quintile	206.53	139.78	125.87	47.20
4th quintile	217.64	153.56	161.26	50.66
9th decile	227.13	158.76	176.12	52.43
10th decile	242.26	166.88	199.91	53.24
Total	204.15	139.75	132.33	46.23

(b)

	Mattress beds	Sofas	Wardrobes	Desks
1st decile	24.66	155.85	84.27	77.75
2nd decile	26.41	172.98	84.49	80.07
2nd quintile	31.77	195.70	85.14	85.03
3rd quintile	35.93	211.20	86.46	87.34
4th quintile	42.56	230.03	91.38	92.96
9th decile	45.24	246.07	90.22	94.10
10th decile	47.71	252.41	98.02	98.78
Total	36.46	210.12	88.30	88.14

(c)

	Motorcycles	Bicycles	3 wheel cabs	Sewing machines
1st decile	4.37	179.98	4.19	63.28
2nd decile	5.26	185.28	3.74	62.21
2nd quintile	4.88	193.88	3.54	63.83
3rd quintile	5.67	196.59	2.93	60.82
4th quintile	7.58	200.63	2.04	64.14
9th decile	8.24	200.30	2.62	65.47
10th decile	8.74	194.79	2.66	68.18
Total	6.29	194.26	3.02	63.67

(d)

	Washing machines	Electric fans	Refrigerators	Freezers
1st decile	78.14	148.12	47.86	2.32
2nd decile	82.81	153.62	53.39	2.45
2nd quintile	86.42	161.62	61.88	2.14
3rd quintile	90.36	167.56	67.32	2.69
4th quintile	93.03	173.74	72.89	2.99
9th decile	93.61	179.49	76.68	3.14
10th decile	95.55	186.44	80.12	5.15
Total	88.97	167.35	66.22	2.87

(e)

	Colour TVs	B/w TVs	VCRs	Electronic games
1st decile	72.01	38.88	10.01	12.07
2nd decile	79.36	33.41	13.37	14.61
2nd quintile	86.52	29.38	15.26	17.60
3rd quintile	91.71	26.10	17.63	19.61
4th quintile	95.51	24.33	20.71	23.03
9th decile	96.95	24.79	23.91	23.77
10th decile	102.12	23.01	27.39	24.04
Total	89.79	27.97	18.19	19.49

(f)

	Hi fi sets	Stereo cassettes	Mono cassettes	Cameras
1st decile	5.79	19.77	40.44	16.80
2nd decile	6.57	22.84	43.94	19.91

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2nd quintile	8.32	26.08	44.65	25.32
3rd quintile	9.71	28.03	45.44	30.28
4th quintile	12.53	30.47	46.63	36.09
9th decile	13.74	31.53	48.60	40.74
10th decile	18.01	31.86	46.64	44.73
Total	10.52	27.52	45.31	30.56

(g)

	Pianos	Other instruments	Space heaters	Air conditioners
1st decile	0.11	3.41	1.57	2.26
2nd decile	0.52	4.44	1.58	3.21
2nd quintile	0.56	4.81	2.60	5.40
3rd quintile	0.43	7.24	2.91	6.79
4th quintile	0.83	8.86	3.20	9.59
9th decile	1.39	10.00	3.45	13.16
10th decile	1.56	9.79	4.76	18.67
Total	0.72	6.95	2.88	8.09

(h)

	Electric cookware	Showers	Range hoods	Vacuum cleaners
1st decile	65.13	15.95	19.06	4.12
2nd decile	69.52	19.89	23.08	5.96
2nd quintile	76.80	24.68	28.92	7.73
3rd quintile	83.82	29.29	33.79	9.81
4th quintile	92.32	36.31	41.25	11.83
9th decile	96.33	39.04	43.68	14.72
10th decile	104.58	45.10	50.95	15.99
Total	84.14	30.05	34.47	9.95

1996

(a)

	Fur coats	Overcoats	Blankets	Carpet: sq.m.	Lounge suites
1st decile	27.29	163.22	106.56	69.28	38.68
2nd decile	36.99	176.69	120.04	99.08	43.47
2nd quintile	39.89	194.33	133.04	117.16	47.60
3rd quintile	47.51	206.80	145.16	123.31	50.11
4th quintile	50.40	222.90	155.70	156.00	53.05
9th decile	62.06	239.62	156.45	175.44	55.30
10th decile	69.22	247.29	168.32	190.68	56.13
Total	47.11	207.48	141.91	132.74	49.51

(b)

	Mattress beds	Sofas	Wardrobes	Desks
1st decile	25.66	161.38	80.53	74.24
2nd decile	31.48	183.02	83.34	82.71
2nd quintile	36.72	200.58	84.96	83.59
3rd quintile	38.38	208.05	87.95	88.20
4th quintile	45.78	235.75	87.82	92.58
9th decile	45.67	248.08	92.59	94.23
10th decile	50.32	257.25	94.19	99.04
Total	39.49	213.84	87.21	87.89

(c)

	Motorcycles	Bicycles	3 wheel cabs	Sewing machines
1st decile	4.91	177.40	4.23	60.95
2nd decile	6.22	186.83	5.37	62.46
2nd quintile	6.31	192.74	3.01	62.09
3rd quintile	8.38	195.07	3.28	62.13
4th quintile	8.63	199.30	2.54	61.92
9th decile	9.79	196.25	2.52	63.61
10th decile	11.85	197.57	3.07	67.17

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Total	7.94	193.23	3.29	62.65

(d)

	Washing machines	Electric fans	Refrigerators	Freezers
1st decile	78.53	148.10	50.40	3.01
2nd decile	84.41	158.43	59.38	3.14
2nd quintile	87.42	162.00	65.95	2.43
3rd quintile	90.77	169.24	70.70	2.85
4th quintile	94.20	173.55	75.42	3.86
9th decile	95.23	176.56	80.49	3.77
10th decile	97.69	188.01	82.30	6.63
Total	90.06	168.07	69.67	3.48

(e)

	Colour TVs	B/w TVs	VCRs	Electronic games
1st decile	74.55	36.34	12.05	12.69
2nd decile	84.96	30.39	13.40	15.20
2nd quintile	90.34	26.42	17.29	18.60
3rd quintile	94.02	24.26	19.92	21.58
4th quintile	98.68	22.55	22.59	23.81
9th decile	101.88	21.70	25.62	23.90
10th decile	107.55	20.41	30.85	24.22
Total	93.50	25.53	20.15	20.40

(f)

	Hi fi sets	Stereo cassettes	Mono cassettes	Cameras
1st decile	6.15	20.30	41.14	17.79
2nd decile	8.12	22.71	44.33	21.55
2nd quintile	10.65	24.54	45.67	26.48
3rd quintile	10.88	28.34	46.24	30.84
4th quintile	14.31	27.97	46.79	37.36
9th decile	16.45	28.58	48.98	44.29
10th decile	19.60	31.86	49.65	48.31
Total	12.20	26.51	46.15	32.13

(g)

	Pianos	Other instruments	Space heaters	Air conditioners
1st decile	0.22	2.94	1.64	3.79
2nd decile	0.43	3.56	2.63	5.68
2nd quintile	0.65	5.28	2.84	7.77
3rd quintile	0.62	7.42	3.08	10.10
4th quintile	0.87	8.34	3.73	14.35
9th decile	1.70	10.16	4.16	18.39
10th decile	1.83	10.42	5.00	23.83
Total	0.85	6.92	3.27	11.61

(h)

	Electric cookware	Showers	Range hoods	Vacuum cleaners
1st decile	71.35	18.06	21.28	4.05
2nd decile	78.22	22.72	26.74	5.66
2nd quintile	85.09	27.69	32.85	8.35
3rd quintile	90.32	33.75	37.96	9.66
4th quintile	98.40	40.69	46.14	12.74
9th decile	101.88	45.74	48.86	14.16
10th decile	111.99	50.81	53.42	18.12
Total	91.10	34.16	38.42	10.35

1997

(a)

	Fur coats	Overcoats	Blankets	Carpet: sq.m.
1st decile	25.58	137.77	99.41	58.15

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2nd decile	34.45	158.62	115.86	89.09
2nd quintile	42.48	178.48	127.96	110.58
3rd quintile	48.88	188.43	143.82	139.70
4th quintile	56.20	200.31	153.54	137.44
9th decile	65.85	211.60	161.31	165.21
10th decile	74.71	226.04	171.96	178.11
Total	49.57	186.85	139.92	126.60

(b)

	Lounge suites	Mattress beds	Sofas	Wardrobes
1st decile	41.41	26.75	144.61	77.88
2nd decile	48.37	32.28	170.96	77.46
2nd quintile	52.19	37.07	192.17	80.77
3rd quintile	54.09	43.04	206.07	83.97
4th quintile	55.86	45.60	224.82	84.62
9th decile	57.57	49.69	235.00	87.29
10th decile	62.19	56.05	256.96	92.88
Total	53.38	41.62	205.37	83.42

(c)

	Desks	Motorcycles	Bicycles	Cars
1st decile	72.21	5.86	164.92	0.09
2nd decile	76.28	8.58	176.15	0.23
2nd quintile	81.86	10.68	182.10	0.07
3rd quintile	85.49	11.31	182.41	0.16
4th quintile	89.84	13.40	181.95	0.14
9th decile	94.22	14.63	179.74	0.32
10th decile	94.30	16.21	177.23	0.54
Total	85.14	11.60	179.10	0.19

(d)

	Sewing machines	Washing machines	Electric fans	Refrigerators
1st decile	56.24	77.72	143.93	53.85
2nd decile	55.91	83.88	151.88	62.66
2nd quintile	55.82	87.19	161.15	68.66
3rd quintile	56.81	90.35	166.61	74.52
4th quintile	58.06	92.26	173.15	79.38
9th decile	60.26	93.71	174.96	81.63
10th decile	61.03	96.28	184.85	86.54
Total	57.48	89.12	165.74	72.98

(e)

	Freezers	Colour TVs	Video disc players	VCRs
1st decile	3.19	83.56	2.32	11.52
2nd decile	3.56	90.03	3.78	15.88
2nd quintile	3.45	96.85	4.89	18.77
3rd quintile	4.00	101.53	6.64	21.71
4th quintile	4.79	105.32	10.29	24.89
9th decile	5.97	107.84	12.07	26.64
10th decile	7.35	115.99	16.86	28.41
Total	4.46	100.48	7.87	21.32

(f)

	Computers	Hi fi sets	Cassette recorders	Video cameras
1st decile	0.68	7.16	46.98	0.27
2nd decile	1.22	10.75	52.33	0.68
2nd quintile	1.43	13.54	56.57	0.36
3rd quintile	2.62	14.72	58.37	0.81
4th quintile	3.10	18.19	61.03	0.82
9th decile	4.40	19.25	59.61	1.13
10th decile	5.36	23.16	61.17	2.15

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Total	2.60	15.32	57.20	0.82

(g)

	Cameras	Pianos	Other instruments	Ovens
1st decile	16.18	0.34	2.39	1.68
2nd decile	22.94	0.38	3.32	2.53
2nd quintile	28.34	0.58	4.41	3.76
3rd quintile	33.55	1.08	5.47	5.12
4th quintile	38.77	1.04	7.75	6.02
9th decile	45.44	1.59	6.62	8.48
10th decile	50.52	1.63	9.17	11.45
Total	33.64	0.93	5.68	5.40

(h)

	Air conditioners	Electric cookware	Showers	Range hoods
1st decile	5.46	69.01	20.86	24.13
2nd decile	8.26	77.92	26.95	29.42
2nd quintile	11.69	87.13	33.74	36.48
3rd quintile	15.82	90.88	39.18	43.47
4th quintile	19.79	101.44	44.92	49.44
9th decile	23.35	104.20	50.27	54.70
10th decile	31.27	113.41	55.68	58.98
Total	16.29	92.35	38.94	42.60

(i)

	Vacuum cleaners	Gym equipment	Mobile phones
1st decile	3.92	0.60	0.34
2nd decile	6.05	0.83	0.65
2nd quintile	7.98	1.40	1.17
3rd quintile	11.28	2.09	1.30
4th quintile	12.40	2.98	2.08
9th decile	14.51	3.27	3.07
10th decile	18.81	5.11	3.87
Total	10.66	2.28	1.70

Figures from *Zhongguo tongji nianjian*. The format changes in 1983 (rural and urban figures consolidated), 1984 (five categories of goods added), 1987 (ten categories added and one dropped), 1990 (one category added), 1992 (fifteen categories added and four dropped) 1996 (one category added) and 1997 (seven categories added and five dropped) in order to account for changing cost and availability of consumer durables.

Production of TV sets (1,000 sets)

1977	285	1988	25,051
1978	517	1989	27,665
1979	1,329	1990	26,847
1980	2,492	1991	26,914.1
1981	5,394	1992	28,678.2
1982	5,920	1993	30,329.7
1983	6,840	1994	32,832.6
1984	10,038	1995	34,962.3
1985	16,677	1996	35,418.1
1986	14,594	1997	36,372.4
1987	19,344		

Figures from *Zhongguo tongji nianjian*.

Production of refrigerators (1,000)

1977	24.6	1988	7,576.3
1978	28.0	1989	6,707.9
1979	31.8	1990	4,631
1980	49.0	1991	4,699
1981	55.6	1992	4,858

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1982	99.9	1993	5,966.6
1983	188.5	1994	7,681.2
1984	547.4	1995	9,185.4
1985	1,448.1	1996	9,796.5
1986	2,250.2	1997	10,444.3
1987	4,013.4		

Figures from *Zhongguo tongji nianjian.*

Domestic sales of TV sets (1,000)

1978	606.5	1988	11,204
1983	4,107.7	1991	9,870.9
1984	6,129.0	1992	9,797

Domestic sales of refrigerators (1,000)

1978	34.5	1990	2,467.2
1983	13.7	1991	2,556
1984	89.1	1992	2,733
1988	2,876		

Total savings deposit (million yuan)

(a) Total

1977	18,160	1988	380,150
1978	21,060	1989	514,690
1979	28,100	1990	703,420
1980	39,950	1991	910,700
1981	52,370	1992	1,154,540
1982	67,540	1993	1,476,239
1983	89,250	1994	2,151,880
1984	121,470	1995	2,966,225
1985	162,260	1996	3,852,084
1986	223,760	1997	4,627,980
1987	307,330		

(b) Urban

Year	Amount	%	Year	Amount	%
1977	13,510	72.41	1988	265,920	69.95
1978	15,490	73.55	1989	373,480	72.56
1979	20,260	72.10	1990	519,260	73.82
1980	28,250	70.71	1991	679,090	74.57
1981	35,410	67.62	1992	867,810	75.17
1982	44,730	66.23	1993	1,162,730	78.76
1983	57,260	64.16	1994	1,670,280	77.62
1984	77,660	63.93	1995	2,346,670	79.11
1985	105,780	65.19	1996	3,085,020	80.09
1986	147,150	65.76	1997		
1987	206,760	67.28			

(c) Rural

Year	Amount	%	Year	Amount	%
1977	4,650	27.59	1988	114,230	30.05
1978	5,570	26.45	1989	141,210	27.44
1979	7,840	27.90	1990	184,160	26.18
1980	11,700	29.29	1991	231,940	25.43
1981	16,960	32.38	1992	286,730	24.83
1982	22,810	33.77	1993	357,620	21.24
1983	31,990	35.84	1994	481,600	22.38
1984	43,810	36.07	1995	619,560	20.89
1985	56,480	34.81	1996	767,070	19.91
1986	76,610	34.24	1997		

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1987	100,570	32.72

Figures from *Zhongguo jingji nianjian.*

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Chapter 9.1f
Prices of Works of Art
Josephine Fox with John Clark

Auction prices for works of Fu Baoshi

Title	Format	Size (cm)	Place	Time	Reserve	Sale price
Shi Gong zhong song tu	Scroll	117 x 28.3	Hong Kong	5.86		105,000 HK
Meiren	Scroll	85 x 54.6	Hong Kong	11.86		150,000 ``
Wan gan yan yu tu	Scroll	104.3 x 59.7	Hong Kong	1.87		120,000 ``
Pipa xing xin			Hong Kong	1.88		12,000 ``
Qiong fei qian chi zou lei ting			Hong Kong	1.88		160,000 ``
Qiu pu yun piao tu			Hong Kong	5.88		70,000 ``
Guan pu tu	Scroll	57 x 33.5	Hong Kong	9.89		75,000 ``
Mian bi tu	Scroll	61 x 33.5	Hong Kong	9.89		70,000 ``
Guan pu tu	Scroll	104.5 x 59.7	Hong Kong	9.89		350,000 ``
Xi tong tu	Scroll	137.5 x 40	Hong Kong	9.89		600,000 ``
Shanlin gao shi tu	Scroll	109.3 x 61.3	Hong Kong	9.89		300,000 ``
Fa zhou		76 x 40.5	Hong Kong	3.90		154,000 `` (WLC) 140,000 `` ((XJR)
Wen hui tu		132.5 x 44.7 (WLC) 96.5 x 33 (XJR)	Hong Kong	3.90		176,000 `` (WLC) 130,000 `` (XJR)
Chang bai fei pu		78.5 x 43	Hong Kong	3.90		440,000 ``
Song feng gao shi		132.5 x 44.7	Hong Kong	3.90		176,000 `` (WLC) 160,000 `` (XJR)
Xiang jun	Fan	25 x 29	Hong Kong	3.90		82,500
Guan pu tu		104 x 59.5	Hong Kong	3.90		902,000`` (WLC) 820,000 `` (XJR)
Lushan shi yi		44 x 58	Hong Kong	3.90		110,000 `` (WLC) 100,000 ``(XJR)
San lao guan pu		44.5 x 86	Hong Kong	3.90		66,000 `` (WLC) 60,000 `` (XJR)
Chun jiang fang zhao		80.5 x 48	Hong Kong	3.90		121,000 `` (WLC) 110,000 `` (XJR)
Zhu lin qi xian tu			Hong Kong	9.90		825,000 ``
You xian zhu qin tu	Scroll		Hong Kong	11.90		93,600 ``

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Zhui chi bi	Fan		Hong Kong	11.90		143,000 ``
Xue yong lan tian tu	Scroll		Hong Kong	11.90		484,000 ``
Ju shi peng cha tu			Hong Kong	11.90		132,000 ``
Dong hu you			Hong Kong	11.90		220,000 ``
Shen shui gu miao		36 x 51.5	Hong Kong	3.91		154,000 ``
Qiu shan tu		131 x 53.4	Hong Kong	3.91		440,000 ``
Xue yuan feng hua tu		78.5 x 229.5	Hong Kong	3.91		1,056,000 ``
Xiling Xia	Mounted paper		Hong Kong	9.91		1,760,000 ``
Feng yun xing zhou bing shufa	Fan		Hong Kong	9.91		66,000 ``
Chi bi ye you tu	Hand scroll		Hong Kong	9.91		990,000 ``
Wen hui tu	Mounted paper		Hong Kong	9.91		308,000 ``
Shinu	Mounted paper	96 x 36.5	Hong Kong	9.91		506,000 `` (WLC) 500,000 `` (XJR)
Zhong Kui	Scroll	117 x 53	Hong Kong	9.91		770,000 `` (WLC) 700,000 `` (XJR)
Guan pu tu	Scroll	68 x 34	Hong Kong	9.91		88,000 `` (WLC) 80,000 `` (XJR)
Kan shan tu	Scroll	85 x 55	Hong Kong	9.91		264,000 `` (WLC) 240,000 `` (XJR)
Xue xi gu (ZZX) Xue tu (WLC) Xue xi tu (XJR)	Scroll	159.5 x 67.4	Hong Kong	5.92	400,000 - 500,000 HK	550,000 `` (ZZX, WLC) 500,000 `` (XJR)
Qian xian shi yi tu	12 leaf album	25 x 30.4 (ZZX) 20 x 30.4 (WLC)	Hong Kong	5.92	1,200,000 - 1,500,000 ``	1,320,000 ``
Shui ting gao shi	Scroll	33 x 39.5	Hong Kong	5.92	150,000-180,000 ``	165,000 `` (ZZX, WLC) 150,000 `` (XJR)
Du Mu shi yi tu	Scroll	203 x 125.5	Hong Kong	5.92	1,000,000-1,200,000 ``	2,090,000 `` (ZZX, WLC) 1,900,000 `` (XJR)
Chi bi ye you	Scroll	54 x 35.5	Hong Kong	5.92	180,000-220,000 ``	165,000 `` (ZZX, WLC) 150,000 `` (XJR)
Zhou ming dai jiu tu	Scroll	84.5 x 56.2	Hong Kong	5.92	350,000-400,000 ``	506,000 `` (ZZX, WLC)

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						460,000 `` (XJR)
Chi bi tu	Scroll	169 x 71	USA	6.92		52,800 US
Mai cha tu	Scroll	77.5 x 44	USA	6.92		12,100 ``
Songlin yaji	Scroll	56.5 x 89	USA	6.92		16,500 ``
Jing po fei quan	Album	97.2 x 180.8	Hong Kong	9.92		880,000 ``
Mu nian liu yan dan kan shan		85 x 54.9	Hong Kong	10.92		330,000 ``
Liu an qing zhou	Scroll	46 x 59	Hong Kong	3.93	120,000-150,000 ``	115,000 ``
Qutang Xia	Transverse scroll	52 x 59.8	Hong Kong	3.93	250,000-300,000 ``	230,000 ``
Ruan qin shinu	Scroll	68.4 x 54.5	Hong Kong	3.93	350,000-400,000 ``	345,000 ``
Qu Yuan	Scroll	83.6 x 57	Hong Kong	3.93	1,200,000-1,500,000 ``	Not sold
Lan ting ya ji tu	Scroll	218.1 x 62.3	Hong Kong	3.93	700,000-900,000 ``	570,000 ``
Hou chi bi	Fan	54 x 20	Hong Kong	3.93		69,000 ``
Furongguo li jin chaohui	Scroll	48 x 68.6	Hong Kong	10.93	200,000-250,000 ``	149,500 ``
Gao shan yang zhi	Scroll	177 x 97	Hong Kong	10.93	1,500,000-1,800,000 ``	1,670,000 `` (ZZX,WLC) 1,600,000 `` (XJR)
Song xia fu qin tu	Scroll	95.2 x 34.3	Hong Kong	10.93	200,000-250,000 ``	253,000 ``
Shan gui	Scroll	167 x 88	Hong Kong	10.93	900,000-1,200,000 `` (ZZX) 800,000-1,000,000 `` (PMH)	955,000 ``
Fei ren lian tie, tie lian ren	Scroll	23.5 x 30.2	Hong Kong	10.93		110,000 ``
Shuixiang	Mounted paper	33 x 44.5	Beijing	3.94	50,000-55,000 RMB	88,000 RMB
Guan pu tu	Scroll	82 x 150	Beijing	3.94	800,000 - 1,000,000 ``	Not sold
Guan pu tu	Scroll	68.7 x 47.7	Hong Kong	5.94	150,000-180,000 HK	126,500 HK
Renwu	Scroll	116.6 x 52.5	Hong Kong	5.94	400,000-500,000 ``	Not sold
Chi bi ye you	Scroll	82 x 29.5	Hong Kong	5.94	200,000-250,000 ``	230,000 ``
Du chuan	Scroll	87 x 27.9	Hong Kong	5.94	150,000-180,000 ``	138,000 `
Qu Yuan	Scroll	67.8 x 39.5	Hong Kong	5.94	70,000-90,000 ``	138,000 ``
Xue yong lan guan tu	Scroll	87 x 56.8	Hong Kong	5.94	220,000-250,000 ``	Not sold
Ruan xian shinu	Scroll	61 x 36.5	Hong Kong	5.94	400,000-450,000 ``	Not sold (ZZX) 437,000 (XJR)
Song shan	Fan	18.8 x 48.5	Hong Kong	5.94	50,000-	69,000 ``

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gao shi	(with Shen Yimo)				70,000 ``	
Qian shan jing xiu	Mounted paper	28 x 38.7	Hong Kong	5.94	25,000-30,000 ``	74,750 ``
Guan chao tu	Mounted paper	87.8 x 45.3	Hong Kong	5.94	15,000-18,000 `` (ZZX) 150,000 - 180,000 `` (XJR)	230,000 ``
Xue zhong xing	Mounted paper	109.5 x 34	Hong Kong	5.94	400,000-450,000 ``	526,000 ``
Chun yu	Scroll	28.6 x 41.5	Hong Kong	5.94	50,000-60,000 ``	92,000 ``
Shu zhong shanshui	Scroll	86 x 28	Shanghai	6.94	120,000-140,000 RMB	140,000 RMB (ZZX, XJR) 154,000 HK (LG) 154,000 RMB (XJR)
Changjiang san xia tu		172 x 104	Shanghai	6.94	350,000-400,000 ``	330,000 HK (LG) 330,000 RMB (XJR)
Mei du zhuang guan	Mounted paper	27.8 x 82.8	Beijing	9.94		506,000 RMB
Shan	Fan	19 x 52	Beijing	9.94		88,000 ``
Shanshui	(2 leaves)	24.1 x 33.3 each	Hong Kong	9.94	60,000-80,000 HK	92,000 HK
Taozhou ming		72 x 49.5	Hong Kong	9.94	300,000-500,000 ``	548,000 ``
Ruan qin shinu		67.5 x 68	Hong Kong	9.94	300,000-350,000 ``	345,000 ``
Guan pu tu		112.3 x 28	Hong Kong	9.94	100,000-120,000 ``	126,000 ``
Yuan An wo xue		110.4 x 58.8	Hong Kong	9.94	1,800,000-2,000,000 ``	1,780,000 ``
Ping sha luo yan		43.5 x 60.5	Hong Kong	9.94	200,000-220,000 ``	570,000 ``
Ruan qin shinu		68.4 x 54.5	Hong Kong	9.94	300,000-350,000	345,000
Qiu ting xian bu	Mounted paper	119 x 65.5	Beijing	11.94	350,000-400,000 RMB	462,000 RMB
Guan yunhai	Mounted paper	68 x 45	Beijing	11.94	200,000-250,000 ``	462,000 ``
Bajiao shuang mei tu	Scroll	137 x 50	Beijing	11.94		352,000 ``
Dong Po ye you chi bi tu	Scroll	73.7 x 33.2	Beijing	11.94	100,000-120,000 ``	143,000 ``
Dongting Xiang nu	Scroll	46.5 x 59.5	Beijing	11.94	250,000-280,000 ``	330,000 ``
Shanshui	Mounted paper	48 x 61.5	Beijing	11.94	80,000-100,000 ``	209,000 ``
Shanshui	Fan	25 x 54	Beijing	11.94	60,000-	63,800 ``

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renwu					80,000 ``	
Song xia gao shi	Scroll	67 x 40.5	Beijing	11.94	180,000-200,000 ``	209,000 ``
Shen shan fei pu		125.2 x 61	Hong Kong	3.95	500,000-700,000 HK	515,000 HK
Ping sha luo yan		31 x 37	Hong Kong	3.95	120,000-150,000 ``	172,500 ``
Wu xia yang fan		106 x 40	Hong Kong	3.95	20,000-25,000 ``	20,700 ``
Pan xi ting yan	Fan		Hong Kong	3.95	70,000-90,000 ``	97,750 ``
Zhuan shu	Calligraphy album	100.7 x 20.9/leaf	Hong Kong	3.95	60,00-80,000 ``	57,500 ``
Qu Yuan shi hua (with Guo Moruo)		67.5 x 39	Shanghai	4.95	140,000-160,000 RMB	165,000 RMB
Shanshui	Album	145 x 362	Beijing	4.95		3,300,000 ``
Yun zhong jun he da siming	Mounted paper	221.5 x 132	Beijing	4.95		3,960,000 ``
Chun feng yang liu wan qian tiao	Mounted paper	39 x 52	Beijing	5.95		242,000
Shi tao shiyi	Scroll	145.5 x 87	Beijing	5.96	350,000-550,000 ``	660,000 ``
Furongguo li jin chaohui	Scroll	68 x 91.5	Beijing	5.96	350,000-450,000 ``	374,000 ``
Chi bi ye you	Fan	18 x 49	Beijing	5.96	50,000-70,000 ``	60,500 ``
Jin xian jiu de		99 x 58.5	Guangzhou	9.96		1,023,000 ``
Ting quan tu		76.5 x 51	Guangzhou	9.96		363,000 ``
Gu jiu tu		15 x 11.5	Guangzhou	9.96		85,800 ``
Xinzha		25.5 x 19	Guangzhou	9.96		20,900 ``
Mao Zhuxi guju	Mounted paper	46 x 62.5	Beijing	10.96	200,000-250,000 ``	352,000 ``
Gui Fei mi jun wang tu	Scroll	109 x 31	Beijing	11.96	600,000-800,000 ``	1,771,000 ``
Yong qin fang you tu	Scroll	105 x 65	Beijing	11.96	300,000-400,000	352,000 ``
Tian chi pubu	Scroll	97 x 39.5	Beijing	11.96	280,000-350,000 ``	308,000 ``
Jing bo fei quan	Scroll	48.5 x 61	Beijing	11.96	160,000-180,000 ``	352,000 ``
Xingshu	Transverse scroll	31 x 98	Beijing	11.96	10,000-20,000 ``	44,000 ``
Xiashan tu	Scroll	34 x 46	Beijing	4.97	100,000-120,000 ``	107,300`` (LG) 107,800 `` (CG)
Xiang jun	Scroll	63 x 35	Beijing	4.97	90,000-110,000 ``	192,500 ``
Shanshui	Mounted paper	72.5 x 52	Beijing	4.97	180,000-220,000 ``	165,000 ``
Qin Huai liu yin	Mounted paper	110.1 x 62.5	Beijing	4.97	180,000-200,000 ``	Not sold
Shanshui	Mounted paper	67 x 33.5	Beijing	4.97	140,000-160,000 ``	Not sold
Xuezhong fang you tu	Scroll	95 x 33	Beijing	6.97	300,000-400,000 ``	352,000 ``
Fu qin tu	Scroll	180 x 58.5	Beijing	6.97	800,000-	Not sold

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					1,000,000 ``	
Guan chao tu	Scroll	66 x 45	Beijing	6.97	350,000-400,000 ``	Not sold
Er Xiang tu	Scroll	60.5 x 54	Beijing	6.97	300,000-400,000 ``	Not sold
Yun shan fang you tu	Scroll	70.5 x 34	Beijing	6.97	160,000-180,000 ``	220,000 ``
Shanshui tu	Scroll	33.5 x 45	Beijing	11.97	150,000-180,000 ``	154,000 ``
Xiang furen	Mounted paper	26 x 25	Beijing	10.98	130,000-180,000 ``	242,000 ``
Guan pu tu shanmian	Scroll	54 x 20	Beijing	10.98	85,000-95,000 ``	90,200 ``
Shanshui shanmian	Scroll	18.7 x 53	Beijing	10.98	38,000-48,000 ``	38,500 ``
Shanshui (with Guan Shanyue)	Scroll	44 x 52.5	Beijing	10.98	150,000-180,000 ``	176,000 ``
Dantai yaji tu	Scroll	104 x 61	Beijing	10.98	450,000-600,000	462,000 ``
Guan pu tu	Scroll	97 x 45.5	Beijing	10.98	280,000-320,000 ``	Not sold
Xiao se qiu feng	Scroll	97 x 40	Beijing	10.98	180,000-250,000 ``	Not sold
Jin xian jiu de	Mounted paper	100 x 59	Beijing	10.98	600,000-800,000 ``	913,000 ``
Xing zhou	Scroll	123 x 66.5	Beijing	10.98	400,000-500,000 ``	363,000 ``
Guan hai	Mounted paper	88 x 45	Beijing	10.98	200,000-300,000 ``	Not sold
Qu Yuan xing yin tu ji xingshu (with Guo Moruo)	Scroll	67.5 x 39.5	Beijing	10.98	180,000-250,000	264,000 ``
Songyuan di yi ke (with Guan Shangyue)	Scroll	138 x 69	Beijing	10.98	100,000-140,000 ``	107,800 ``

ZZX stands for Zhang Zhixiong ed. *Chu ru yishu shichang,* Shanghai Shuhua, 1997; LG for Liu Gang and Liu Xiaoqiong ed. *Yishu shichang,* Jiangxi Fine Arts, Nanchang, 1998; WLC for Wu Lichao, *Ming jia shuhua shichang xingqing,* Hongqi, Beijing, 1996; and XJR for *Qing dai shuhua jianding yu yishu shichang,* Shanghai Shudian, 1996. CG stands for auction records provided by China Guardian Auctions Co.Ltd. There is occasional disagreement between the sources about sale prices.

Auction prices for works of Li Keran

Title	Form	Size	Place	Time	Reserve	Sale price
Huang Shan	Scroll	66.8 x47	Hong Kong	5.80		25,000 HK
Huaguo Shan	Scroll	70 x 46	Hong Kong	5.80		21,000 ``
Huang Shan	Album	38.5 x 26.6	Hong Kong	5.80		17,000 ``
Mutong	Scroll	68.5 x 45	Hong Kong	11.80		15,000 ``
Li Jiang fengguang	Scroll		Hong Kong	11.80		20,000 ``
Mutong	Scroll	68 x 42.5	Hong Kong	11.80		16,000 ``
Qiu lin xi zhao	Scroll	49.5 x 40.5	Hong Kong	1.81		28,000 ``
Mu	Scroll	92.8 x 60	Hong Kong	1.81		120,000 ``
Shu sha fei quan	Scroll	69 x 94.3	Hong Kong	1.81		100,000 ``

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Xue mu tu	Scroll	69 x 45.6	Hong Kong	1.81	28,000 ``
Qiu sheng tu	Scroll	69 x 45.5	Hong Kong	5.81	19,000 ``
Mutong tu	Scroll	94 x 34	Hong Kong	11.81	30,000 ``
Rong shu chang he	Scroll	69 x 46.2	Hong Kong	5.83	85,000 ``
Mutong tu	Scroll	70 x 46.2	Hong Kong	5.83	25,000 ``
Niu Zhong Kui tu	Scroll	67 x 45	Hong Kong	2.84	20,000 ``
Longjing jingse	Scroll	32 x 41	Hong Kong	2.84	28,000 ``
Xiao heshang tu	Scroll	68 x 45.2	Hong Kong	11.84	66,000 ``
Chun yu Jiangnan	Scroll	68 x 44.7	Hong Kong	11.84	33,000 ``
Meihua tu	Scroll	69.2 x 49.8	Hong Kong	11.84	14,000 ``
Mutong	Scroll	68 x 41.6	Hong Kong	11.84	15,000 ``
Xiong guan man dao tu	Scroll	111.2 x 137.2	Hong Kong	11.84	52,000 ``
Mutong tu	Mounted paper	45.2 x 34.3	Hong Kong	5.86	30,000 ``
Shuang niu tu	Mounted paper	36.8 x 42.4	Hong Kong	5.86	20,000 ``
Zhongxu song mei tu	Scroll	82.3 x 46.2	Hong Kong	5.86	50,000 ``
Li Jiang yu ji	Scroll	66 x 44	Hong Kong	5.86	32,000 ``
Chang mei	Scroll	68 x 45	Hong Kong	5.86	13,000 ``
Wu niu tu	Hand scroll	59 x 95.2	Hong Kong	11.86	68,000 ``
Shanshui	Scroll	68.3 x 45.7	Hong Kong	11.86	40,000 ``
Ku yin tu	Scroll	86.5 x 53	Hong Kong	1.87	55,000 ``
Huai su xue shu	Scroll	90 x 52	Hong Kong	1.87	38,000 ``
Mu yun tu	Scroll	68.5 x 46.3	Hong Kong	1.87	75,000 ``
Ying xi tu	Scroll	69.5 x 47.8	Hong Kong	5.87	34,000 ``
Huai su xue shu	Scroll	68.5 x 45.5	Hong Kong	11.87	55,000 ``
Song xia ou mian tu	Scroll	94.5 x 34.3	Hong Kong	11.87	40,000 ``
Mu niu tu	Scroll		Hong Kong	1.88	35,000 ``
Jiang shu fan jing tu	Mounted paper		Hong Kong	1.88	80,000 ``
Li Jiang sheng jing tu	Scroll		Hong Kong	1.88	160,000 ``
Qian yan jing xiu wan he zheng liu	Scroll	138.5 x 68	Hong Kong	1.88	130,000 ``
Jin Jiang ge	Scroll	69.5 x 47	Hong Kong	5.88	40,000 ``
Budai heshang tu			Hong Kong	5.88	65,000 ``
Ceng yan jing lan tu	Scroll	68.5 x 44.2	Hong Kong	11.88	50,000 ``
Hu tang you ting tu	Scroll	68.5 x 40.4	Hong Kong	11.88	28,000 ``
Qian yan jing xiu tu	Scroll	69 x 47	Hong Kong	1.89	70,000 ``
Qiu feng hong yu	Scroll	70.5 x 47	Hong Kong	1.89	40,000 ``
Liu tang gui mu tu	Scroll	65.6 x 45.7	Hong Kong	1.89	45,000 ``
Li Jiang fan	Scroll	68.6 x 44.5	Hong Kong	1.89	100,000 ``

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zhao tu						
Meiyuan tu	Scroll	70 x 45.7	Hong Kong	1.89		120,000 ``
Rong hu yi pie tu	Scroll		Hong Kong	5.89		110,000 ``
Gui mu tu	Scroll		Hong Kong	5.89		38,000 ``
Li Jiang tianxia jing	Scroll		Hong Kong	11.89		180,000 ``
Shanshui	Scroll		Hong Kong	11.89		85,000 ``
Yufu tu	Scroll		Hong Kong	11.89		10,000 ``
Shanshui	Scroll		Hong Kong	11.89		100,000 ``
Yuyu Shan	Scroll	68 x 46	Hong Kong	11.89		230,000 ``
Wan mu congcong cuiwei	Scroll	86 x 56	Hong Kong	11.89		350,000 ``
Yan Jiang xi zhao		68.5 x 103	Hong Kong	3.90		1,100,000 ``
Kan shan tu		69 x 45.8	Hong Kong	3.90		77,000 ``
Jiang shan sheng lan		92 x 60	Hong Kong	3.90		198,000 ``
Yuyu Shan		58.5 x 51	Hong Kong	3.90		77,000 ``
Xingshu Li Bai shi		133 x 66	Hong Kong	3.90		52,800 ``
Huang Shan yan xia		66 x 47	Hong Kong	3.90		242,000 ``
Li Jiang fengguang		100 x 69	Hong Kong	3.90		330,000 ``
Wu niu tu			Hong Kong	5.90		742,500 ``
Caihong shan se	Scroll		Hong Kong	11.90		121,000 ``
Yan yun shanshui		92 x 55	Hong Kong	3.91		396,000 ``
Li Jiang tianxia jing		70 x 89	Hong Kong	4.91		400,000 ``
Yu cun mu xun	Scroll		Hong Kong	9.91		82,500 ``
Mutong, lishu duilian	Mounted paper (3 leaves)		Hong Kong	9.91		165,000 ``
Chun niu	Scroll		Hong Kong	9.91		99,000 ``
Tiao er tu	Mounted paper		Hong Kong	9.91		104,500 ``
Mu yin tu	Mounted paper		Hong Kong	9.91		121,000 ``
Sao bei tu	Mounted paper		Hong Kong	9.91		71,500 ``
Cang yan song cui tu	Scroll		Hong Kong	9.91		242,000 ``
Yu hou shan quan	Mounted paper		Hong Kong	5.92		495,000 ``
Na liang tu	Scroll	50.5 x 37	Hong Kong	5.92	70,000-90,000 HK	88,000 ``
Xiao heshang	Scroll	68.3 x 44.9	Hong Kong	5.92	120,000-150,000 ``	121,000 ``
Chun mu	Scroll	68.5 x 48.5	Hong Kong	5.92	60,000-80,000 ``	66,000 ``
Huaguo Shan	Scroll	68.5 x 45.5	Hong Kong	10.92		209,000 ``
Huang Shan	Scroll	68.5 x 46.2	Hong Kong	10.92		374,000 ``
Qing Shan yu yu tu		92.5 x 58.5	Hong Kong	3.93	350,000-400,000 ``	287,500 ``

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Huang Shan lan sheng tu		96.7 x 60.8	Hong Kong	3.93	300,000-350,000 ``	368,000 ``
Qing Li yu chuan	Scroll	69 x 45	Hong Kong	10.93		250,000 ``
Shinu tu	Scroll	91.8 x 34	Hong Kong	10.93		170,000 ``
Yu yu quan sheng tu	Scroll	83 x 51	Hong Kong	10.93		170,000 ``
Fei pu qing yin	Scroll	68.5 x 46.3	Hong Kong	10.93	120,000-150,000 ``	161,000 ``
Li Jiang tianxia jing	Scroll	84.5 x 51.1	Hong Kong	10.93	250,000-300,000 ``	172,500 ``
Shuicun taohua yan yu zhong	Scroll	91 x 56	Beijing	3.94	700,000-800,000 RMB	Not sold
Shinu zhi shan tu	Scroll	137.3 x 34.5	Hong Kong	5.94	70,000-90,000 HK	115,000 HK (ZZX), 63,250 HK (XJR)
Li Jiang fan jing	Transverse scroll	68 x 137.2	Hong Kong	5.94	600,000-800,000 `` (XJR)	103,200 `` (WLC, ZZX) 1,320,000 `` (XJR)
Xi tong tu	Mounted paper	65.5 x 37.2	Hong Kong	5.94	80,000-100,000 ``	172,500 ``
Qing Li yan yu	Scroll	70 x 46	Hong Kong	5.94	90,000-120,000 ``	86,250 ``
Li Jiang caoping xi feng	Mounted paper	55 x 44.2	Hong Kong	5.94	80,000-100,000 ``	276,000 ``
Lu zhong shui yu tu	Scroll	70.5 x 34.7	Hong Kong	5.94	120,000-150,000 ``	115,000 ``
Shan jian qing yin	Mounted paper	69 x 46	Hong Kong	5.94	150,000-180,000 ``	218,500 ``
Rong lin fei pu	Mounted paper	69.6 x 46.7	Hong Kong	5.94	120,000-150,000 ``	299,000 ``
Mutong xi que	Mounted paper	100.5 x 51	Hong Kong	5.94	70,000-90,000 ``	Not sold
Ying chun tu	Scroll	67.2 x 47	Hong Kong	5.94	45,000-55,000 ``	Not sold
Qing tan yan yu	Scroll	70 x 46	Hong Kong	5.94	90,000-120,000 ``	86,250 ``
Zhong Xu	Mounted paper	66.7 x 48	Hong Kong	5.94	120,000-150,000 ``	Not sold
Qiu jing	Mounted paper	40.5 x 59.1	Hong Kong	5.94	80,000-90,000 ``	172,500 ``
Mutong shuiniu	Scroll	67.6 x 44.6	Hong Kong	5.94	60,000-80,000 ``	57,500 ``
Cang yan fei pu	Mounted paper	139.5 x 68.8	Shanghai	6.94	360,000-400,000 RMB	528,000 RMB (WLC) 528,000 HK (LG) 480,000 RMB (ZZX)
Qiu lin fang mu	Scroll	69.3 x 46	New York	6.94	8,000-10,000 US	69,000 US
Shuhua	Fan		Hong Kong	9.94	60,000-80,000 HK	184,000 HK
Xingshu		138.5 x 69.5	Hong Kong	9.94	40,000-60,000 ``	36,800 ``
Mutong wan		63 x 57	Hong Kong	9.94	50,000-	57,500 ``

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niao					60,000 ``	
Shu miao bai zhong quan		94.5 x 66.5	Hong Kong	9.94	700,000-900,000 ``	790,000 ``
Qing yin xi zhao		68.2 x 43.5	Hong Kong	9.94	150,000-180,000 ``	161,000 ``
Wu niu tu		87 x 50	Hong Kong	9.94	120,000-150,000 ``	103,500 ``
Xingshu		134 x 65.5	Hong Kong	9.94	40,000-50,000 ``	43,700 ``
Yu hou qing yin		137 x 68.5	Hong Kong	9.94	600,000-700,000 ``	625,000 ``
Liu xia mu niu		70 x 37	Hong Kong	9.94	50,000-70,000 ``	40,250 ``
Qiu mu		69 x 45.3	Hong Kong	9.94	60,000-80,000 ``	63,250 ``
Xingshu		69 x 101	Hong Kong	9.94	40,000-50,000 ``	99,750 ``
Song xia ou mian	Mounted paper	95 x 34	Beijing	9.94		143,000 RMB
Xing hua chun yu Jiangnan	Mounted paper	79 x 49	Beijing	11.94	400,000-450,000 ``	748,000 ``
Wu xia fan jing	Scroll	69.5 x 45.8	Beijing	11.94		484,000 ``
Fang Song ren biyi shanshui	Mounted paper	34 x 104	Beijing	11.94	65,000-75,000	Withdrawn
Song yin mutong	Scroll	68.2 x 45.4	Beijing	11.94	100,000-150,000 ``	165,000 ``
Yu hou xie yang	Scroll	69 x 45.5	Beijing	11.94	320,000-350,000 ``	308,000 ``
Wu xia fan jing	Scroll	69.5 x 45.8	Beijing	11.94	300,000-400,000 ``	484,000 ``
Qing Li fengguang	Scroll	120.5 x 144.2	Beijing	4.95		2,420,000 ``
Bai miao renwu	Scroll	47 x 42	Beijing	4.95		154,000 ``
Mutong niubei xian hua	Scroll	58.5 x 45	Sichuan	4.95		77,000 ``
Shi sun feng		44 x 34.5	Hong Kong	4.95	50,000-70,000 HK	51,750 HK
Zhi yin		70.8 x 34.5	Hong Kong	4.95	60,000-80,000 ``	97,750 ``
Xingshu		67.7 x 41.5	Hong Kong	4.95	30,000-40,000 ``	34,500 ``
Luotuo feng		59 x 74.5	Hong Kong	4.95	120,000-150,000 ``	218,500 ``
Xingshu duilian	Album	35.5 x 34	Shanghai	5.95	26,000-32,000 RMB	35,200 RMB
Han shan she de	Scroll	64.5 x 37	Beijing	5.95		143,000 ``
Niubei xian hua tu	Mounted paper	69 x 46	Beijing	5.96	40,000-50,000 ``	77,000 ``
Li Bai shiyi tu	Mounted paper	68 x 47.5	Beijing	5.96	130,000-150,000 ``	132,000 ``
Gao lin mi ju tu		68.5 x 43	Guangzhou	10.96		99,000 ``
Shaoshan	Mounted	141.5 x 243.1	Beijing	10.96	1,800,000-	1,540,000 ``

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	paper				2,000,000 ``	
Jiangnan shuixiang	Scroll	69.5 x 46	Beijing	11.96	180,000-220,000 ``	715,000 ``
Shaoxing cheng						
Xinghua chun yu Jiangnan	Scroll	47 x 44.5	Beijing	11.96	120,000-150,000 ``	154,000 ``
Mu niu tu		32 x 44	Beijing	4.97		35,200 ``
Mu niu tu	Scroll	68 x 45.5	Beijing	4.97	32,000-42,000 ``	33,000 ``
Zhuo Zheng Yuan	Scroll	43 x 46.5	Beijing	4.97	50,000-60,000 ``	88,000 ``
Xinghua chun yu Jiangnan	Scroll	67 x 40	Beijing	6.97	50,000-80,000 ``	Not sold
Zhong Kui	Scroll	67 x 44	Beijing	6.97	70,000-80,000 ``	69,300 ``
Wang shan tu	Scroll	68 x 45	Beijing	6.97	65,000-80,000 ``	154,000 ``
Mu niu tu	Mounted paper	32 x 44	Beijing	6.97	18,000-25,000 ``	35,200 ``
Huan que tu	Scroll	70 x 46	Beijing	6.97	65,000-70,000 ``	77,000 ``
Gui mu tu	Scroll	69 x 40	Beijing	6.97	50,000-60,000 ``	82,500 ``
Jinggang Shan	Scroll	117.6 x 128	Beijing	10.97	1,800,000-2,500,000 ``	Not sold
Qiu mu tu	Fan	18 x 51	Beijing	11.97	35,000-50,000 ``	49,500 ``
Qiu mu tu	Scroll	70 x 46	Beijing	11.97	75,000-90,000 ``	88,000 ``
Wuxian fengguang tu	Scroll	77 x 49	Beijing	11.97	260,000-290,000 ``	308,000 `
Ku yin tu	Mounted paper	79 x 50	Beijing	11.97	150,000-200,000 ``	198,000 `
Muse tu	Mounted paper	45 x 34	Beijing	11.97	40,000-50,000 ``	41,800 ``
Bai shi tu	Scroll	68 x 47	Beijing	11.97	90,000-150,000 ``	96,800 ``
Yu hou xia shan tu	Scroll	69.5 x 46	Beijing	11.97	80,000-100,000 ``	101,200 ``
Mu qu tu	Mounted paper	38 x 47.5	Beijing	11.97	45,000-60,000 ``	77,000 ``
Xinghua chun yu tu	Scroll	69.5 x 46.5	Beijing	11.97	40,000-60,000 ``	66,000 ``
Mu niu tu	Scroll	49.5 x 45	Beijing	11.97	42,000-50,000 ``	46,200 ``
Wan shan chong die yi jiang qu tu	Mounted paper	45.5 x 82	Beijing	11.97	250,000-360,000 ``	396,000 ``
Yu guo xiyang hong	Scroll	51 x 41	Beijing	11.97	100,000-150,000 ``	Not sold
Xia yu shan ju tu	Scroll	68 x 47.5	Beijing	11.97	120,000-150,000 ``	154,000 ``
Qing jiang sheng jing tu			Beijing	1997		3,080,000 ``
Li Jiang bianshang	Mounted paper	69 x 46.5	Beijing	10.98	250,000-300,000 ``	Not sold
Gui mu tu	Scroll	66.5 x 49.2	Beijing	10.98	70,000-	Not sold

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					90,000 ``	
Kan shan tu	Scroll	69.5 x 46	Beijing	10.98	70,000-90,000 ``	Not sold
Fang mu tu	Scroll	68.5 x 45.5	Beijing	10.98	85,000-95,000 ``	Not sold
Gui mu tu	Mounted paper	69.5 x 46	Beijing	10.98	50,000-60,000 ``	52,800 ``
Xie niu tu	Scroll	68 x 46	Beijing	10.98	80,000-90,000 ``	Not sold
Shanshui	Scroll	69 x 46	Beijing	10.98	150,000-180,000 ``	Not sold
Chun mu tu	Scroll	68.5 x 46	Beijing	10.98	60,000-70,000 ``	66,000 ``
Qi yan xingshu duilian	Scroll	137 x 33.5	Beijing	10.98	20,000-25,000 ``	46,200 ``
Chun yu Jiangnan	Scroll	69 x 46	Beijing	10.98	120,000-150,000 ``	407,000 ``

Sources as for Fu Baoshi above.

Auction prices for oil paintings by Wu Guanzhong

Title	Form	Size (cm)	Place	Time	Reserve	Sale price
Jiangnan chun			Hong Kong	10.92		440,000 HK
Zhu lin		75 x 75	Hong Kong	10.93		57,400 ``
Zhu hai		75.5 x 75.5	Hong Kong	10.93	500,000-600,000 HK	570,000 ``
Baiyang yu shantao		65 x 46	Taipei	4.94	1,155,000-1,500,000 TB	1,700,000 TB
Lu Xun guxiang		46 x 61	Hong Kong	5.94	500,000-550,000 HK	1,340,000 ``
Fuchun Jiang		46 x 61	Hong Kong	5.94	300,000-350,000 ``	790,000 ``
Fuchun Jiang shang dayu chuan		45.7 x 61	Hong Kong	4.95		Not sold
Shaoxing Hu		46 x 61	Taipei	5.95		1,920,000 TB
Fengjing xiesheng	Oil on paperboard	54.5 x 38.5	Beijing	10.95	240,000-250,000 RMB	Not sold
Shaoshan	Oil on board	70 x 50	Beijing	4.97	480,000-580,000 ``	638,000 ``
Ruijin fengjing zu hua zhi yi	Oil on board	46 x 61	Beijing	5.98	250,000-280,000 ``	275,000 ``
Jinggang Shan fengjing zu hua zhi wu	Oil on board	61 x 46	Beijing	5.98	250,000-280,000 ``	275,000 ``

Wu Guanzhong has painted both *guohua* and *youhua*. The paintings listed above are the ones described unambiguously in the sources as oil paintings. Sources are Zhang Zhixiong, *Chu ru yishu shichang,* Shanghai Shuhua Chubanshe, 1997; Liu Gang and Liu Xiaoqiong, ed. *Yishu shichang,* Jiangxi Fine Arts, Nanchang, 1988; and auction results supplied by China Guardian Art Auction Co.Ltd and Rongbao Art Auction Co.Ltd.

Auction prices for works of Chen Yifei

Title	Form	Size (cm)	Place	Time	Reserve	Sale price
Weinisi			Hong Kong	10.92		154,000 HK
Yingsu hua			New York	11.92	40,000-60,000 US	110,000 US
Huangjin suiyue			Hong Kong	3.93	800,000-1,000,000	1,230,000 HK

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						HK
Suzhou qiaojing			Hong Kong	3.93		354,000 ``
Ren xiang		169 x 242	Hong Kong	10.93		1,670,000 ``
Yu tang chun wan		169 x 242.5	Hong Kong	10.93	800,000-1,000,000 ``	1,670,000 ``
Dai yue xi xiang		179 x 160.8	Hong Kong	5.94	600,000-800,000 ``	1,065,000 ``
Shan di feng	Oil on canvas	188 x 255	Beijing	11.94	600,000-800,000 RMB	2,600,000 RMB
Zhang chao - Minnan xilie		81.3 x 116.8	Hong Kong	3.95		138,000 HK
Huang He song		380 x 160	Hong Kong	3.95		1,285,000 ``
Suzhou shuixiang	Oil on canvas	112 x 107	Beijing	10.95	450,000-550,000 ”	418,000 RMB
Xizang jiating		66 x 66	Hong Kong	3.96		460,000 HK
Meng huan qu	Oil on canvas	105 x 75	Beijing	4.96	380,000-450,000 ``	1,100,000 RMB
Hepan yinyue	Oil on canvas	56.4 x 66.5	Beijing	4.97	380,000-480,000 ``	858,000 ``
Chun feng you lu Jiangnan	Oil on canvas	120 x 150	Beijing	4.97	600,000-800,000 ``	2,310,000 ``
Weinisi shuixiang	Oil on canvas	87 x 61	Beijing	5.98	320,000-380,000 ``	330,000 ``
Shanghai tan	Oil on canvas	200 x 150	Beijing	5.98	780,000-980,000 ``	1,221,000 ``

Sources as for Wu Guanzhong above.

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THAILAND

Chapter 9.2a

The Economic Base of Thai Contemporary Artists

Chintana Sandilands (National Thai Studies Centre, Australian National University) with John Clark

I. Introduction

Thailand is a country with relatively open borders and has managed to remain an independent state for many hundreds of years. The influences of foreign nations and cultures have nonetheless still played a part in various aspects of Thai society, including the arts and architecture. The state of the arts in Thailand changes in line with movement in socio-economic and political conditions. Art and architecture have often been used as tools to propagate nationalism, and to promote modernisation programmes under both the absolute monarchy and later democratic administrations. Both Thai and foreign artists and architects have historically, and continue to be, commissioned to fulfil court and state requirements.

The Rattanakosin period saw the introduction of a market-driven strategy of economic development, first applied both officially and in practice, after the signing of the Bowring Treaty in 1855 in the reign of King Rama IV. This was followed by other treaties in the same vein. This, in conjunction with the socio-economic and political reforms in the Rama V and Phibunsongkram ruling periods and the implementation of various Economic and Social Development Plans since the early 1960s aimed at modernising Thai society, has led to wide spread emergence of social attitudes favouring consumerism and materialism. The role of state intervention in Thailand has existed only to a certain extent. Chinese immigrants and Sino-Thai, on the other hand, have played major roles in the economy since the early Rattanakosin period and continue to do so in the present time, particularly in terms of production and trade and in the financial sector. Many of them now are financially and socially well-established and recognised as upper class Thai *nouveau riche*. The pattern of economic growth in Thailand since 1971 can be seen in Table 1.

This pattern of modernisation and economic development has had significant impacts on art. Traditional Thai artwork in various monasteries is still recognised as being "common goods" for public appreciation and are mostly free of charge. Luxury arts, on the other hand, in the past used to serve the monarchy, ruling class and upper classes, are at the present becoming increasingly commoditised and commercialised, a trend particularly clear when Thailand had high rates of economic growth in 1973-78 and 1987-1990.

Table 1 Growth, Inflation and Capital Formation, 1971-1990 (percent)

Year	Real GDP Growth	Inflation (CPI)	Rate of Change of Real Investment	
			Private	Public
1971	4.96	0.25	1.45	-2.09
1972	4.07	5.05	-0.43	4.46
1974	4.35	24.37	6.41	-30.32
1975	4.85	5.36	-8.85	42.90
1980	4.78	19.76	-2.59	18.88
1982	4.06	5.24	1.38	-8.54
1985	3.51	2.42	-11.19	7.57
1986	4.92	1.81	0.51	-11.58

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Low Growth	4.44	8.03	-1.41	2.66
1979	5.31	9.87	5.13	1.13
1981	6.33	12.70	3.71	6.35
1983	7.25	3.71	13.45	11.50
1984	7.13	0.89	10.62	11.65
Medium Growth	6.51	6.79	8.24	7.66
1973	9.86	15.38	21.52	-17.49
1976	9.88	4.13	3.87	45.14
1977	9.90	7.48	26.30	18.21
1978	10.44	7.95	7.38	21.10
1987	9.47	2.55	29.22	-13.07
1988	13.22	3.84	32.01	-9.39
1989	12.05	5.36	32.07	13.17
1990	10.00	5.98	24.24	35.59
High Growth	10.60	6.58	22.08	11.66

Source: Warr, P. G. and Bhanupong Nidhiprabha. (1996). *Thailand's macroeconomic miracle: Stable adjustment and sustained growth.* Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press. p.180.

Due to their high financial status, better education and international experience, art consumption can also be utilised to serve and upgrade the social status of the Sino-Thai *nouveau riche* to be equivalent to the by-birth Thai elite. The private sector, Thai upper class as well as Sino-Thai corporate groups, have become increasingly dominant as art consumers, collectors, speculators, patrons, conservers, distributors and promoters, relative to the diminishing role of the public sector. Most actors within the Thai artistic network have had to voluntarily or involuntarily adapt to an increasingly market-driven and globalised environment, while at the same time many artists are also trying to conserve their localisation in their artwork. The socio-economic and political developments since the early Rattanakosin period have yielded both financial and non-financial benefits to the arts and have enhanced the development of both traditional and contemporary art styles. These developments have also led to fears about the over-commercialisation of contemporary and traditional art forms and a loss of local validity and integrity.

II. The Structure of the Thai artistic network

Virginia Henderson (1998) clearly presented a macro-structural view of the social dynamics of the production of art in Thailand which will be used as the basis of analysis in this paper as shown in the following diagram. However for simplicity, the term "Thai artistic network" will be used throughout the text to refer to this system of social organisation.

'Thai artistic network' refers to all of the various agencies, performing diverse roles, interwoven within the Thai art world. It is composed of various groups, encompassing artists and their families; different levels of public and private educational institutions; government bodies like the Office of the National Cultural Commission (ONCC), Tourist Authority of Thailand (TAT) and Bangkok Metropolitan Authority (BMA); corporations and banks as predominant organisers of commissions, competitions, exhibitions and sponsorship; royal and private patrons; art galleries some of which also act as art dealers and art distributors for foreign tourists, hotels, decorators and architects; media, both art critics and various forms of artistic publications and finally local and foreign individual collectors, speculators, and consumers. (Henderson, 1998, Appendix 1)

The Thai artistic network can be roughly divided into the supply side, artists and art producers, and the demand side, art consumers, collectors, speculators and other buyers. However there are some agents in the network who have multiple or duplicate functions as art producers, art consumers, art distributors, art conservers, art patrons and promoters.

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Table 1 Structure of Thai Artistic Network

Supply Side / Producer:

Artist
Institution
Individual

Demand Side / Consumer

Artist
Royal
Corporation
Bank
Gallery
Collector
Speculator
Customer
Foreign Tourist
Hotel
Dealer
Museum
Government Body
Educational Institution

Art Distributor

Artist
Artist's Family / Heir
Museum
Gallery
Auction Company
Speculator
Collector
Decorator
Architect

Art Promoter

Media
Art Critic
Publication
Exhibition
Curator
Contest
Commission Work
Special Occasion
Special Training
Self Promotion
Advertising
Art Application
Art Publisher

Art Patron and / or Art Conserver

Monarch
Royal Family Member
Individual
Corporation
Bank
Government Body
Gallery
Embassy
Educational Institution

Source: Compiled by the author

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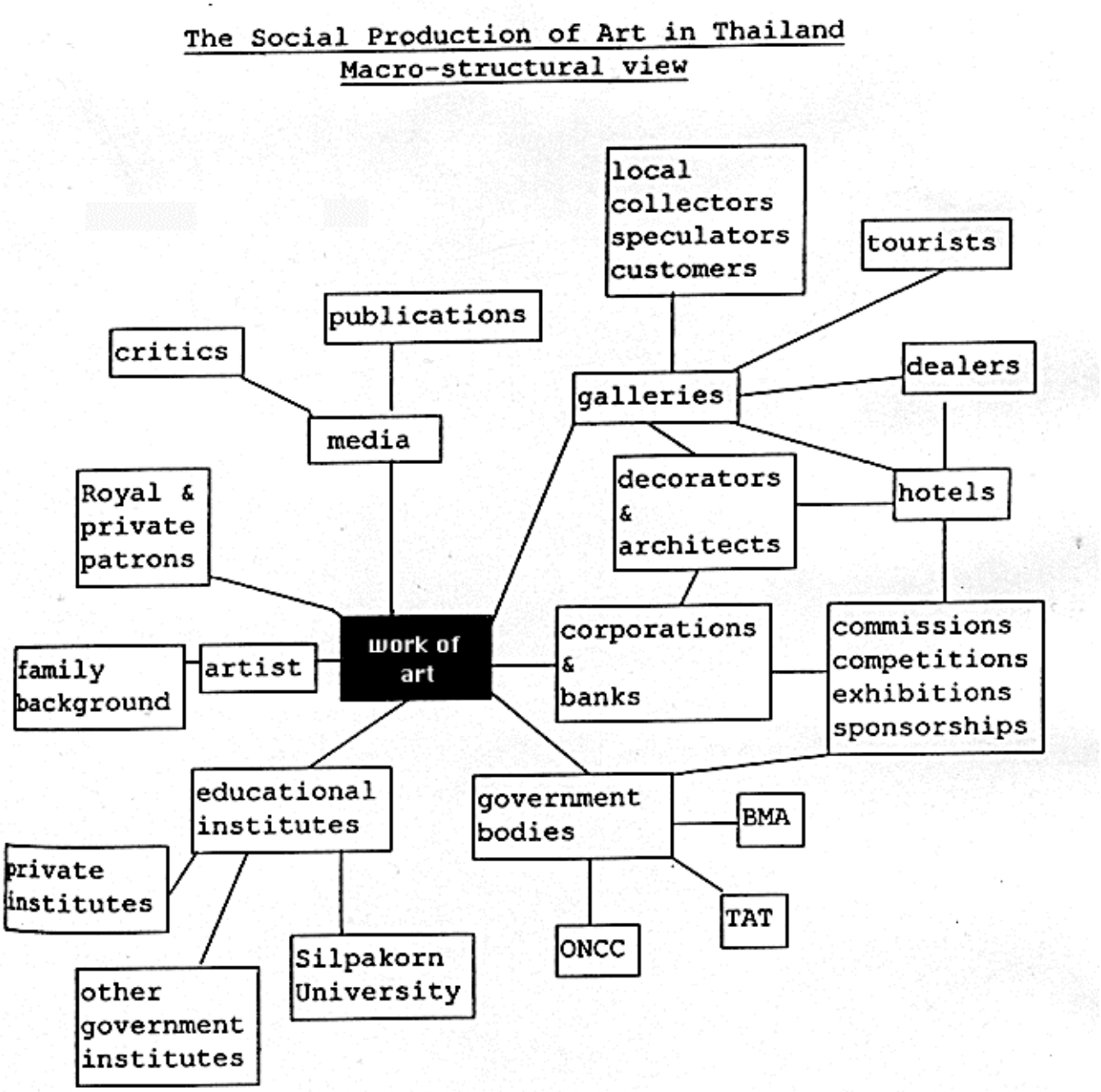
Table 2:



Source: Henderson, V. (1998). *The social production of art in Thailand: Patronage and commodisation, 1980-1998.* Unpublished Master Thesis, Chulalongkorn University, Thailand. Appendix 1.

This paper will mainly focus on the economic base of Thai contemporary artists during the 1970s up until September, 2000. However, the influence and actions of other actors within the Thai artistic network will also be considered, if and when necessary. The information presented in this paper was collected between December 1999 and September 2000 during a total of 28 interviews with various people involved in the Thai art world. Those interviewed were predominantly established Thai artists, these 24 artists comprised of 19 artists from public universities and 5 independents. These

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artists cover a range of artistic styles and media, from neo-traditional painting, modernist or academic painting, prints, sculpture and installation works and avant-garde. In addition to these artists, select others involved in the Thai art world were interviewed, namely 1 artist's heir and 3 gallery owners. Due to the limitation of time and difficulties with disclosure of information, some additional library research both in Thailand and Australia was required.

The presentation in this paper is divided into following topics:

I) Market structure of the Thai art world

II) The composition of contemporary artists in Thailand

III) The geographic distribution of Thai contemporary artists

IV) The economic bases of select Thai artists
- A. Public Servant Artists in the Department of Fine Arts
- B. Government University Instructors
  - a.) Silpakorn University Camp
  - b.) Chulalongkorn University Camp
  - c.) Srinakarinwirote University Camp
- C. Independent artists

V) Factors related to the economic bases of contemporary Thai artists
- A. Income distribution and Poverty Incidence
- B. Customers
  - a.)The Monarch
  - b.) Corporate and banking sector
  - c.) Art galleries
  - d.) Amateur artists
- C. Society
  - a.) The illegal economy
  - b.) Political stability
  - c.) Education
  - d.) Laws and regulations concerning the Arts
  - e.) Social attitudes
    - Consumerism and materialism
    - Spiritualism

VI) Conclusion

I) MARKET STRUCTURE OF THE THAI ART WORLD

The type of market in which any given firm operates within the wider economy can have a number of different structures. Market structure refers to "...those characteristics of markets that influence the behaviour and performance of firms that sell in that market….The number of sellers and the nature of the product are important characteristics of market structure. Others are the ease of entering the industry, the nature and number of purchases of the firm's products and the firm's ability to influence demand by advertising." (Lipsey, 1989, p. 201). Economic theory focuses on four types of market structure, namely perfect competition, monopoly, oligopoly and monopolistic competition, which are believed to "represent a high proportion of the cases actually encountered in market economies." (Lipsey, 1989, p. 201).

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Study of the market structure of the Thai contemporary art world is unique and rather complicated due to a variety of factors. There is a deficiency of official and systematic collection and recording of data and information related to the network. In particular, the sources of finance and amount of income earned by both artists and other actors in the Thai art world are not publicly disclosed as they are regarded as personal information. Only occasionally is some financial information released, 'leaked' either intentionally or unintentionally to the public through media such as daily newspapers, journals and magazines and through interviews. However it is widely acknowledged within both the artistic networks themselves and by outsiders that the figures are rarely accurate, being either overstated or understated. Overall it is fair to say that Thai artistic networks are neither transparent or accountable.

Nevertheless, through the collection of primary and secondary sources of data and information such as is available, the Thai artistic networks seem likely to have a monopolistic market structure when considered in terms of the following important characteristics.

There are a number of producers/sellers and consumers/buyers with relatively few barriers for entry into the industry, apart from financial considerations. The artistic products are distinctive or, economically speaking, 'differentiated' with an image of "no perfect substitution", thus generating potentially monopolistic power for some artists. However, both explicit and implicit forms of advertising have significant roles in influencing demand, since consumers/buyers in the Thai art market, both domestic and international, have imperfect knowledge and information. Nevertheless the price of art works, in general, is still determined by market mechanisms even though both producers/sellers and consumers/buyers have claimed to be price-maker and price-taker on occasion. Discriminatory pricing is also often applied. Competition in the Thai artistic market is mainly in the form of non-price competition and only occasionally in the form of price competition. There is also a low degree of government intervention due to the continual underestimation by the government of the role and importance of art in the public sector.

Another aspect of the art market worth considering is the size of the organisations, or firms (and in some cases individual artists) and the amount of their earnings. N. Kakwani, a famous economist in income distribution studies, defined the differences between the formal and informal sector by using the size and earnings of a given firm as important criteria. (Appendix 1). Concerning the size of the firms, artists, like other professionals such as doctors and lawyers, belong to 'small firms' (less than or equal to 10 employees or employers), so by definition, they should belong to the informal sector. However when considering their earnings, we can generalise from the collected data and information that their earnings, once established as professional and popular artists, are generally high or very high, even though we can not precisely know the earnings of Thai contemporary artists. Therefore artists, like doctors and lawyers, should be considered part of the formal sector. The informal sector is characterised not only by the small size of the firm, but also by low earnings as is demonstrated by many employees in the agricultural sector.

II) THE COMPOSITION OF CONTEMPORARY ARTISTS IN THAILAND

The *Golden Jubilee Art Exhibition: 50 Years of Thai Art on the occasion of the 50th Anniversary of His Majesty the King Bhumibol Adulyadej's Accession to the Throne*, held during December 1996 to January 1997, was one of the first events that systematically recorded the details of a large group of recognised artists within Thailand. The Bangkok Metropolitan Authority (BMA) holds records of 3,000 Thai artists. There were previously records of artists within Thailand, notably a study of "Art since 1932" published in 1982 by the Thai Studies Institute at Thammasat University which recorded the names of a number of artists in Thailand although with few details. The most up-to-date and comprehensive was the publication released at the Golden Jubilee Art Exhibition mentioned above.

The catalogue from the Golden Jubilee Art Exhibition collected detailed biographies of 401 artists, 397 Thai and 4 prominent foreign artists, recording their outstanding works, awards and exhibitions. The majority of the artists in the Exhibition Records (376) were still living, with only 25

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deceased artists included, the range of ages of the artists was between 22 and 89 years of age.

Among those 376 artists, 76.86% were under 55 years of age, 23.14% were over 55 years of age and 332 or 88.3% of those living (376) were male . A preliminary analysis reveals that the majority of recognised Thai artists have maturity, experience and are socially well-established. They are also predominantly male. Table 3, 4 and 5 present details of the gender and age divisions revealed in the Golden Jubilee Study.

Table 3 Gender Distribution of Thai Artists

Status	**Male**	**Female**	**Total**
Live	332	44	376 (93.76%)
Deceased	21	4	25 (6.23%
Total	**353** (88.02%)	**48** (11.97%)	**401**

Source: Compiled from *: Golden Jubilee Art Exhibition: 50 Years of Thai Art's Catalogue***.** Bangkok: The Rama IX Art Museum Foundation, 1996. pp. 506-593.

Table 4 Age Distribution of Thai Artists (Live)

Age	**Number of Artist**	**Percent**
Less than 55	289	76.86
More than 55	87	23.14
Total	376	
Minimum age	22 years old	
Maximum age	89 years old	

Source: Compiled from *: Golden Jubilee Art Exhibition: 50 Years of Thai Arts Catalogue***.** Bangkok: The Rama IX Art Museum Foundation, 1996. pp. 506-593.

Table 5 Age Distribution of Thai Artists (Deceased)

Age	**Number of Artists**
35-39	1
40-44	1
45-49	2
50-54	1
55-59	1
60-64	3
65-69	4
70-74	3
75-79	1
80-84	3
85-89	2
Not available	3
Total	25
Minimum age	39 years old
Maximum age	89 years old

Source: *Golden Jubilee Art Exhibition: 50 Years of Thai Art***.** Bangkok: The Rama IX Art Museum Foundation, 1996, pp. 506-593.

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III. The Geographioc Distribution of Contemporary Thai Artists

The Thai Kingdom can be geographically divided into 7 regions, these being the Bangkok Metropolitan and Vicinity, the Sub-central Region, the Eastern Region, Western Region, Northern Region, Northeastern Region and Southern Region. Since the region of 'Bangkok Metropolis and Vicinity' and in particular the Bangkok Metropolis, is significantly more developed than the other regions, the economy of Thailand is recognised as a dual economy - Bangkok Metropolis and the rest.

With this fact in mind, we can examine the geographic distribution of Thai artists recorded in the biographical records complied by Rama IX Art Museum Foundation. As is shown in Table 6, records up until 1996 show that 39.09% of the artists studied were born in the region of the Bangkok Metropolitan and Vicinity, predominantly in the Bangkok Metropolis itself (34.04%). Considerable numbers of artists also originated in the Northern, Northeastern and Southern regions (14.63% were born in the Northern Region while 12.77% and 11.44% were born in the Northeastern and Southern Regions respectively) and the remaining 18% were born in the Sub-central, Eastern and Western Regions, approximately 6% in each region.

There is considerable geographic mobility among Thai artists. Tables 6 and 7 show clearly that artists in every region except Bangkok Metropolitan and Vicinity are living and/or working in regions other than their own place of birth. The overwhelming majority, at 76.33%, prefer the Bangkok Metropolitan region. That makes the number of artists who live/work in Bangkok nearly double (76.33%), the number of artists who were born there (39.09%). This is true also of the Bangkok Metropolis itself, 34.04% of artists in the list were born there, but 63.30 % live and/or work there. There is also some movement to the larger provincial cities with regional universities, the two most favoured being Chiang Mai and Khon Kaen. Only 1.86% of Thai artists live and/or work internationally. The studies clearly reveal that at the end of the 1990s Bangkok Metropolitan and Vicinity, and particularly Bangkok Metropolis itself, were the most favoured places for established artists to live. The reasons are many fold, but the security of economic and social bases available to artists there is certainly a large factor. This preference for living in Bangkok appears to hold true regardless of the geographic spread of birthplaces, and indeed the majority of recognised contemporary Thai artists were born outside of the Metropolitan hub of the country.

Table 6 Percentage of Geographical Distribution of Some Thai Artists, 1996 By Place of Birth and Place of Residence / Work*

Region	Place of Birth	Place of Residence / Work
Bangkok Metropolitan and Vicinity	39.09	76.33
Bangkok Metropolis	(34.04)	(63.30)
Others	(5.05)	(13.03)
Sub-central Region	6.38	1.06
Eastern Region	6.12	1.60
Western Region	6.12	1.60
Northern Region	14.63	10.90
Northeastern Region	12.77	4.26
Southern Region	11.44	1.33
Other Countries	.26	1.86
No Information	3.19	1.06

- Excludes 25 deceased artists.
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Source: Compiled from *Golden Jubilee Art Exhibition: 50 Years of Thai Art,* Bangkok: The Rama IX Art Museum Foundation, 1996, pp. 506-593.

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Table 7 Distribution of Some Thai Artists, 1996
By Place of Birth and Place of Residence / Work

Region	Place of Birth	Place of Residence / Work
Bangkok Metropolitan and Vicinity	**147**	**287**
Bangkok Metropolis	128	238
Samut Prakan	7	6
Nonthaburi	2	30
Pathum Thani	2	8
Nakhon Pathom	5	5
Samut Sakhon	3	
Sub-central Region	**24**	**4**
Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya	11	2
Ang Thong	3	
Lop Buri	3	
Sing Buri	5	1
Chai Nat	2	
Saraburi		1
Eastern Region	**23**	**6**
Chon Buri	7	5
Rayong		
Chanthaburi	6	
Trat	4	
Chachoengsao	4	1
Prachin Buri	2	
Nakhon Nayok		
Sa Kaeo		
Western Region	**23**	**6**
Ratchaburi	7	3
Kanchanaburi	1	2
Suphan Buri	5	
Samut Songkhram	4	
Petchaburi	4	
Prachuap Khiri Khan	2	1
Northern Region	**55**	**41**
Chiang Mai	15	32
Lamphun	3	4
Lampang	4	1
Uttaradit		
Phrae		
Nan	2	
Phayao	2	
Chiang Rai	6	1
Mae Hong Son	1	
Nakhon Sawan	7	1
Uthai Thani	1	
Kamphaeng Phet	2	1
Tak		
Sukhothai	5	1
Phitsanulok	5	
Phichit		
Phetchabun	2	
Northeastern Region	**48**	**16**
Nakhon Ratchasima	11	3
Buri Ram	2	
Surin	1	

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	Si Sa Ket		4				
	Ubon Ratchathani		6			1	
	Yasothon			2			1
	Chaiyaphum			1			
	Amnat Charoen						
	Nong Bua Lam Phu						
	Khon Kaen			3			6
	Udon Thani			3			1
	Loei			4			
	Nong Khai						1
	Maha Sarakham			4			3
	Roi Et			2			
	Kalasin			2			
	Sakon Nakhon						
	Nakhon Phanom	3					
	Mukdahan						
Southern Region			**43**		**5**		
	Nakhon Si Thammarat			18			
	Krabi			2			
	Phangnga			3			
	Phuket						
	Surat Thani			6			
	Ranong			1			
	Chumphon			1			
	Songkhla		3			3	
	Satun						
	Trang			3			
	Phatthalung			3			1
	Pattani			1			1
	Yala			2			
	Narathiwat						
Other Countries				**1**			**7**
	USA						5
	China			1			
	Germany						1
	Others						1
No Information				**12**			**4**
TOTAL				**376**			**376**

Source: Compiled from *Golden Jubilee Art Exhibition: 50 Years of Thai Art,* Bangkok: The Rama IX Art Museum Foundation, 1996, pp. 506-593.

Table 8 **Place of Birth of Deceased Artists*** (UPDATED TO YEAR 2000)

Thailand			
	Bangkok Metropolis		14
	Nakhon Pathom		1
	Lamphun		1
	Phetchaburi		1
	Ubon Ratchathani	1	
	Samut Prakan		1
	Nakhon Ratchasima		1
	Phrae		1
Other Countries			
	Switzerland		1
	Japan		1
	Italy		1
No information			1
TOTAL		**25**	

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***** For deceased artists, there is no information of their places of residence / work except for some artists who passed away after 1997. However information from other sources shows most of them lived and / or worked in Bangkok Metropolis.

Source: Compiled from *Golden Jubilee Art Exhibition: 50 Years of Thai Art,* Bangkok: The Rama IX Art Museum Foundation, 1996, pp. 506-593.

III) ECONOMIC BASES OF THAI CONTEMPORARY ARTISTS

The artists in the biographical study cited earlier, and Thai artists in general, are relatively self-reliant and able to enjoy freedom of expression. They are also constrained in their art insofar as they, like others, must make a living, at least a minimum level of income sufficient to allow them to continue to produce their art unhindered. In addition, the stability of financial earnings can also help them to conserve their professional ethics and morals.

The lack of financial support from the public sector combined with a knowledge of the importance of financial stability if their integrity in their art works is to be maintained has resulted in most Thai artists having supplementary sources of income to support themselves and their art. Surprisingly, they can do other activities as well as being professional artists and it is these supplementary occupations that determines their economic base.

In the past two of the most secure and popular means of securing additional income were being public servants in governmental bodies concerned with the Arts or being instructors in various government universities. This analysis will place significant emphasis on these two groups in consideration of the economic base of Thai artists.

A) PUBLIC SERVANT ARTISTS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF FINE ARTS

Sculptors who work in the Fine Arts Department are limited by the frameworks formulated by the government. The government bears all of the costs of artwork production and the artworks are mainly for public consumption and free of charge. The artists will earn income according to their classification level while the quality and quantity of their work is used as criteria in consideration for their annual promotion. Occasionally they will get a double promotion. Even though their incomes are relatively low, they are secure. Some prominent artists from the Department are also occasionally selected to serve the monarchy directly, people like Silp Bhirasri and Paitoon Muangsomboon. It is regarded as an honourable and prestigious experience. In general, the artists in this group can not afford to have a luxurious lifestyle since their economic base is mainly their salary. In cases where some are able to earn extra income from privately commissioned works and other fringe benefits prior to and/or post retirement, then their lifestyle may be somewhat higher. The economic crisis since 1997 may slow down demand for artworks in the public sector as well as demand for sculptures from the private sector, but a demand for monuments and sculptures still exists. Since the Thai government is downsizing the public service, the opportunities are rarer for "young blood" sculptors to become public servants in the Department, so this economic base will be vulnerable in the future. At the same time, established sculptors in the Fine Arts Department will become a scarce resource. There will be competition between the public and private sectors. The higher return from privately commissioned works may encourage them to take early retirement and do private commission work. There, their monetary returns are generally determined by market mechanisms and are possibly vulnerable due to higher competition.

B) GOVERNMENT UNIVERSITY INSTRUCTORS

Being a university instructor is a very secure position for Thai artists, both economically and socially. Academic artists in the government universities in Bangkok can be divided into three camps: Silpakorn, Chulalongkorn and Srinakarinwirote. All camps share basic similarities, the instructors and professors are expected to perform similar basic duties that university instructors are normally

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assigned. These differ little from other faculties, for example teaching and some doing some administrative work. Some art professors are elected members of various committees, Chairpersons, Deputy Rectors or even Rectors of the universities. For holding those administrative positions and performing their duties, the income rates between the three camps are similar as they are based on the government standard. (Table 9). Theoretically their annual promotions and criteria on which their performances are judged are also according to a central standard. Specifically for art professors, the artwork which they produce is one means by which their promotions are evaluated and awarded, differing from other faculties where pure research and academic work is considered. In addition to their salaries, the instructors in all these camps also receive 'position bonuses' according to their rank in the teaching hierarchy. (Table 10)

Table 9 Nominal Monthly Salaries of Civil Servants, 1933-1990

Date of Enforcement	Nominal Monthly Salaries	
	Lowest Rank	Highest Rank
1933	20	1,000
12/28/36	20	1,000
10/07/39	20	1,000
10/24/42	20	1,000
01/01/48	30	1,200
05/18/51	30	1,400
05/16/54	30	1,400
11/01/59	450	8,000
10/01/67	540	8,600
06/01/73	600	8,600
01/01/74	750	9,855
10/09/75	750	10,900
10/01/78	900	12,690
01/01/80	1,080	15,225
01/01/82	1,255	17,745
01/01/89	2,100	25,000
04/01/90	2,350	30,600
10/01/94*	4,100	59,090

Sources: Warr, P. G. and Bhanupong Nidhiprabha. (1996). *Thailand's macroeconomic miracle: Stable adjustment and sustained growth.* Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press. p. 23 . * Royal Thai Government Gazette. (1995, January), 112, Serial No. 1A. p. 6.

Table 9 (continued)
Nominal Monthly Salaries of Civil Servants, date of enforcement 10 /01/ 1994

Rank	C 1	C 2	C 3	C 4	C 5	C 6	C 7	C 8	C 9	C 10	C 11	C 11
1	4,100	4,900	6,020	7,380	9,040	11,120	13,680	16,800	20,640	25,370	29,690	42,120
1.5	4,200	5,040	6,190	7,580	9,300	11,440	14,070	17,280	21,220	26,080	30,520	43,050
2	4,300	5,180	6,360	7,780	9,560	11,760	14,460	17,760	21,800	26,790	31,360	43,980
2.5	4,400	5,320	6,530	7,980	9,820	12,080	14,850	18,240	22,390	27,510	32,210	44,910
3	4,500	5,460	6,700	8,190	10,080	12,400	15,240	18,720	22,980	28,230	33,070	45,850
3.5	4,600	5,600	6,870	8,410	10,340	12,720	15,630	19,200	23,570	28,960	33,940	46,780
4	4,700	5,740	7,040	8,610	10,600	13,040	16,020	19,680	24,170	29,690	34,820	47,720
4.5	4,800	5,880	7,210	8,820	10,860	13,360	16,410	20,160	24,770	30,420	35,710	48,660

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5	4,900	6,020	7,380	9,040	11,120	13,680	16,800	20,640	25,370	31,160	36,610	49,600
5.5	5,000	6,160	7,550	9,250	11,380	14,010	17,190	21,120	25,980	31,900	37,520	50,540
6	5,100	6,300	7,720	9,470	11,650	14,320	17,590	21,600	26,580	32,640	38,430	51,500
6.5	5,200	6,440	7,890	9,680	11,900	14,640	17,970	22,080	27,180	33,380	39,350	52,440
7	5,300	6,590	8,060	9,900	12,160	14,960	18,360	22,560	27,790	34,120	40,270	53,390
7.5	5,400	6,720	8,230	10,110	12,420	15,280	18,750	23,040	28,390	34,860	41,190	54,340
8	5,510	6,860	8,400	10,330	12,680	15,600	19,140	23,520	29,000	35,600	42,120	55,290
8.5	5,620	7,000	8,570	10,540	12,940	15,920	19,530	24,000	29,600	36,340	43,050	56,240
9	5,730	7,140	8,740	10,760	13,200	16,240	19,920	24,480	30,210	37,080	43,980	57,190
9.5	5,840	7,280	8,910	10,970	13,460	16,560	20,320	24,970	30,810	37,820	44,910	58,140
10	5,960	7,430	9,090	11,190	13,730	16,890	20,720	25,460	31,420	38,560	45,850	59,090
10.5	6,080	7,580	9,270	11,410	14,000	17,230	21,130	25,970	32,050	39,330	46,780	
11	6,200	7,730	9,450	11,640	14,280	17,580	21,550	26,480	32,680	40,110	47,720	
11.5	6,320	7,880	9,640	11,860	14,560	17,930	21,970	27,000	33,310	40,880	48,660	
12	6,450	8,040	9,830	12,090	14,840	18,290	22,390	27,510	33,950	41,660	49,600	
12.5	6,580	8,200	10,020	12,320	15,130	18,650	22,830	28,040	34,610	42,470	50,540	
13	6,710	8,360	10,220	12,560	15,420	19,020	23,260	28,580	35,270	43,290	51,500	
13.5	6,840	8,520	10,420	12,800	15,720	19,390	23,710	29,130	35,960	44,110	52,440	
14	6,980	8,690	10,630	13,050	16,020	19,770	24,170	29,690	36,660	44,940	53,390	
14.5	7,120		10,840	13,300	16,330	20,150	24,640	30,270	37,340	45,750	54,340	
15	7,260		11,050	13,560	16,640	20,540	25,110	30,850	38,030	46,570	55,290	
15.5			11,260	13,820	16,950	20,930	25,580	31,430	38,720	47,390	56,240	
16			11,470	14,080	17,260	21,320	26,050	32,010	39,410	48,210	57,190	
16.5			11,680	14,340	17,570	21,710	26,520	32,590	40,100	49,030		
17			11,890	14,600	17,880	22,100	26,990	33,170	40,790	49,850		
17.5			12,100	14,860	18,190	22,490	27,460	33,750	41,480	50,670		
18			12,310	15,120	18,500	22,880	27,930	34,330	42,170	51,490		
18.5			12,520	15,380	18,810	23,270	28,400	34,910	42,860	52,310		
19			12,730	15,640	19,120	23,660	28,870	35,490	43,550	53,130		
19.5			12,94	15,90	19,43	24,05	29,34	36,07	44,24			

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			0	0	0	0	0	0	0			
20			13,150	16,160	19,740	24,440	29,810	36,650	44,930			
20.5								37,340				
21								38,030				
21.5								38,720				
22								39,410				
22.5								40,100				
23								40,790				
23.5								41,480				
24								42,170				

Source*: Royal Thai Government Gazette* (in Thai). (1995, January*), 112*, Serial No. 1A. p. 6.

Table 10 Supplementary Incomes of University Instructor (baht / month)

Professor (C 11)	15,600
Professor (C 9-10)	13,000
Associate Professor (C 9)	9,900
Associate Professor (C 7-8)	5,600
Assistant Professor (C 8)	5,600
Assistant Professor (C 6-7)	3,500
Rector	15,000
Vice-Rector, Dean, Director	10,000
Rector Assistant, Deputy Dean, Deputy Director, Head of Department	5,600

Source*: Royal Thai Government Gazette* (in Thai*)* (1995, January*), 112*, Serial No. 1A.p. 15, 18.

Despite these similarities in tertiary education salaries, there are significant differences between the three 'camps' in the art world which are associated with specific tertiary educational institutions, and which are also arrayed in ideological and social terms as well as economic ones.

a.) SILPAKORN CAMP

Silpakorn University is recognised as one of the most conservative and well-established universities in Thailand. The alumni of Silpakorn University continue play significant roles within the University, with the majority of the professors and lecturers being alumni themselves. Some of these staff members join with some senior students to arrange various kinds of low cost intensive training for the secondary students who aim to pass the special entrance exam organised by Silpakorn University. These training courses are a popular source of additional income for young alumni and senior students, with the administrative costs kept very low. No costs are incurred for advertising, which is done by 'word of mouth' and the site used is a public lawn in the University and so free of charge.

Other secondary sources of income still follow the traditions originated by Silpa Bhirasri. An important one is participation in the annual National Exhibition of Art. In addition, the staff and students also participate in two other prestigious art exhibitions, the Bua Luang Exhibition of Painting organised by the Bangkok Bank and the Contemporary Art Exhibition organised by the Thai Farmers Bank. Many artists have been awarded major monetary prizes. The maximum

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monetary awards for these types of competition are continually increasing, with recorded prizes of up to 100,000 baht. (Table 11)

Table 11 Bangkok Bua Luang Prizes

Year	First Prize	Second Prize	Third Prize	Total
1974	15,000	10,000	5,000	70,000
1979	25,000	20,000	10,000	170,000
1991	70,000	40,000	30,000	510,000
1995	100,000	70,000	50,000	660,000

Source: Henderson, V. (1998). *The social production of art in Thailand: Patronage and commoditisation, 1980-1998*. Unpublished MA Thesis, Chulalongkorn University, Thailand. p. 152.

Established academic artists in the Silpakorn Camp generally stop sending their artworks to contests and became honorary artists, although artists such as Chalood Nimsamer, Sawasdi Tantisuk, Pishnu Suphanimit and Preecha Thaothong still continue to contribute by being on selection committees and exhibiting their work in prestigious art exhibitions. Significant fees can be earned by being on a selection committee with art exhibitions in the private sector paying up to 10,000 baht.[1] Only Prinya Tantisuk continues to send his work for competition in those prestigious art exhibitions regularly since he regards this as a required duty of an artist. He has won the Thai Farmers Bank art exhibition major prize nine times between 1979 and 1991.[2]

However some people consider these types of exhibitions to be unfair competitions as the majority of the members of the selection committees and judging panels are associated with the Silpakorn Camp. It is hard to avoid allegations of nepotism and favouritism in their judgments. The composition of the selection committee changes only a little between each exhibition. In addition, the composition of the selection committee is fixed and publicly announced a long time in advance. This results in accusations that some competitors will lower their professional ethics by creating their artworks to appeal to the individual judges. The artistic selection criteria are also criticised as inflexible and out of date. Many see the exhibitions as spoiling the individuality of the "young blood" artists by encouraging conformity, particularly among those receiving awards. There is a tendency among previous winners to use the prizes as a base for quoting the price of their artworks and sometimes the quoted prices are higher than the artwork price of senior and well established artists. This causes anger among well-established artists, and the expensively prices artworks often are unable to be sold, resulting in discouragement for the young, simply for not understanding the value and nature of art prizes. Nonetheless, for both established artists and 'young blood' artists, the awards can pave the way to increased sales of their artworks, and are a considerable source of social prestige. All of the artists interviewed for this study have participated, competed and won awards in these exhibitions in the past, and some continue to do so.

Due to the well established status of the Silpakorn University, and the wide social networks that come with academic positions there, academic artists in Silpakorn relatively speaking do not face many difficulties in obtaining sponsorship for solo and/or group art exhibitions both internationally and domestically. These sponsorships are obtained from the public and private sectors. Some academic artists are able to form long term relationships with foreign institutions, giving them opportunities to have their art exhibited overseas regularly, like Thavorn Ko-Udomvit whose economic base seems to focus on the overseas markets more than the domestic markets. These exhibitions are important sources of income for established academic artists because they are opportunities to advertise, promote and sell one's artworks directly. However sale of art work

[1] Interview with Charood Nimsamer, Preecha Thaothong, Pishnu Suphanimit and other academic artists in December 1999 and January-February 2000.
[2] Interview with Prinya Tantisuk in February 2000.

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internationally must occur through art dealers, resulting in a loss of around fifty percent of the sale price. The real benefits come from increased social prestige in Thailand, and the far higher prices that art work can attract internationally. At the present time, there is a tendency to over quote prices during exhibitions, though these quoted prices are generally negotiable and there maybe some discriminatory discounting after the exhibition. It can be assumed that the pricing and payment for works exhibited overseas is more systematic and transparent than in comparative Thai exhibitions. Academic artists often face difficulties with customs both at entry and exit as custom officials usually do not have any knowledge about the artworks and the law and regulations about sending art works overseas are ambiguous. Apart from filling out the necessary declaration forms, they are sometimes asked to pay tax on their own artworks. To avoid these troubles these academic artists and other artists who have the art exhibitions overseas carry their artworks personally and/or use personal connections. Unsold artworks may be left overseas as Thavorn Ko-Udomvit has done.[3] International art exhibitions can be viewed as a means by which to raise the profile of artists, gaining international recognition for both the artists and the country, but it can also be seen as a chance of losing some good artworks to overseas consumers as well.

Most academic artists in the Silpakorn Camp are also able to get scholarships from both the Thai and foreign governments for further education and training overseas, mainly in Italy, France, the United States of America and Japan. However most of the established academic artists in the Silpakorn Camp do not see a PhD level of education as a necessary pre-condition for being a successful artist.[4] Their attitude is consistent with the statistics reflected in the artists' biography complied by the Rama IX Art Museum Foundation. Of 401 artists in the list, only a small number of them have a PhD level of education. When they are studying abroad, some manage to earn extra income by selling their work and saving their continuing domestic incomes and salaries. Those who get a lesser amount of scholarship income may have to produce extra artworks to make a living and support their own education and training abroad, and also use their domestic income and savings.

Most of the established academic artists interviewed in Silpakorn Camp have commission works mainly from the private sector as their economic base. Chalood Nimsamer is one of the most well-established and successful, regularly managing to obtain "many millions" of baht worth of artwork commissions from both the public and private sectors.[5] Others like Preecha Thaothong, Nonthiwat Chandanapalin, Pishnu Supanimit and Panya Vijintanasarn can usually earn "millions" in commissions and can earn "many millions" depending on the size and type of the artwork.[6] Particular to the Silpakorn Camp is the fact that customers or buyers approaching the artists to produce commissioned work will not be accepted as customers if they try to dominate the style, price or image of the art they are buying. The status of Silpakorn artists is such that they can receive commissions yet create according to their own tastes.[7]

Some artists have said that the usual cost of these commissioned works is around thirty percent of the allocated price, therefore a profit of between 60 - 70 % is earned as gross income. [8] These established academic artists and others are sometimes selected for prestigious Royal Projects, a well-known one being the Mahajanaka Project. Even though the income they receive from these projects is negligible, they gain public recognition and prestige as other forms of return.[9] They can use this experience, and the prestige it brings, to smooth their artistic path in the future, at least domestically. There is another noteworthy factor of concerning the incomes gained by artists through commissioned work. The taxation rates for art works is very different from taxation rates for other

[3] Interview with Thavorn Ko-Udomvit in February 2000.
[4] Interview with Chalood Nimsamer, Preecha Thaothong and other academic artists in January 2000.
[5] Interview with Chalood Nimsamer in January 2000.
[6] Interview with many artists and other artistic network in December 1999 and January-February 2000.
[7] All interviewed artists.
[8] Interview with Chalood Nimsamer in June 2000.
[9] Interview with Nonthiwat Chandanapalin, Chalermchai Kositpipat, Pishnu Suphanimit, Preecha Thaothong and Panya Vijintanasarn.

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occupations and products. The tax will be calculated from seventy percent of the cost price, while in other production the tax rate is calculated from as low as thirty percent of the cost price. This situation results often in art sales being under reported. [10]

Some of the established academic artists in this Camp also manage to gain additional income by writing. While Chalood Nimsamer focuses on writing mainly text books, Pishnu Suphanimit focuses his writing on art criticism and helping the public "getting to know" artists and the themes of their work in some prominent Thai magazines like Silpa Watthanatham and Praew. [11] Using simple language, being informative, creative and attempting to be objective, he is widely popular amongst the readers. His semi-documentary pocket books are very popular and have been reprinted many times. Writing is, for both these artists, a significant form of supplementary income. On average, writing an article for magazines will earn approximately 1,000 up to 3,000 baht, although after the 1997 economic crisis, the maximum rate dropped slightly to 2,000 baht per article.[12] For many years Prinya Tantisuk wrote occasional articles for the weekly Siam Rath. Apart from his art works and research work, he also compiled and submitted copies of these articles to the Faculty for his annual promotion.[13] The returns possible from writing books depends on the volume of printing and reprinting. Writing compulsory textbooks like Chalood and semi-documentary pocket books at affordable prices can earn artists large lump sums of money, when the time comes. Normally the authors will receive a set portion of the price of each book sold, around 10% of the cover price,[14] due to the low cost of photocopying and the availability of their books in the library this style of writing can slow down the volume of circulation in the market. However it is a long term income source for them, and for their heirs when they inherit the copyright.

Some of established academic artists in this Camp are also occasionally invited to be guest speakers by public and private organisations. On average they can earn between baht 2,000 up to baht 3,000 per time. Some may earn more from private enterprise.[15] Some academic artists like Panya Vijintanasarn voluntarily contribute to society by training potential young artists at Surat Thani Province occasionally.[16] The artist himself and Silpakorn gain social prestige in return.

Damrong Wong-Uparaj and Chamruang Vichienkhet are two well-established academic artists from the Silpakorn Camp who, since their retirement from the faculty, have lived simple lives and been able to survive very well. Recently Damrong completed his own art gallery in Nakhon Chaisri District, in Nakhon Pathom Province, supported mainly from his personal budget and limited donations. He is well-known amongst foreign artists, and is occasionally invited to have exhibitions abroad. The gallery is expected to serve both Thais and foreigners who are genuinely interested in art. It is set to be free of charge and he plans it also to be free of all vices. In the near future, it will also be a place for doing library research about art. [17] Chamluang Vichienkhet, on the other hand, concentrates more on commercial art production. Many of his pieces have been duplicated and sold out. He also regularly receives commissions for artworks, both from the public and private sectors.[18]

Well-established academic artists, from both the Silpakorn Camp and elsewhere, can earn extra income of between 8,000 baht monthly to support them and their continued art production, if they

[10] Interview with Chalood Nimsamer and other artists in December 1999 and January-February 2000.
[11] Interview with Chalood Nimsamer and Pishnu Suphanimit in January and June 2000.
[12] Interview with Chalood Nimsamer, Pishnu Suphanimit, Amnart Yensabai and Wirun Tangcharoen in June 2000
[13] Interview with Prinya Tantisuk in February 2000.
[14] Interview with Chalood Nimsamer, Pishnu Suphanimit and Chakkrabhand Posayakrit in January, February and June 2000.
[15] Interview with Chalood Nimsamer, Pishnu Suphanimit, Preecha Thaothong and other artists.
[16] Interview with Panya Vijintanasarn in January 2000.
[17] Interview with Damrong Wong-Uparaj in June 2000.
[18] Interview with Chamruang Vichienkhet in January 2000.

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are recruited as National Artists.[19] Chalood Nimsamer, Chamruang Vichien-khet and Damrong Wong-Uparaj are amongst the artists who have received this accolade.

In regard to now-deceased artists in the Silpakorn Camp, Tawee Nandakwang was widely recognised as doing art for arts sake. He is also used as a warning for emerging artists. Due to a lack of concern for marketing, he always underquoted the price of his artworks. Only one piece of his art was ever sold for more than baht 100,000 while he was alive and he and his family had continuous financial problems.[20] His art works, now widely renowned, have become scarce and in high demand. A prominent gallery like Sombat Permpoon Gallery can mark up the prices of his artworks many times and make huge profits. Now there are only a few left in the Gallery and worth many millions of baht apiece.[21] The July 2000 Christies auction had set one of his artworks between baht 1,200,000 to 1,500,000 and it was auctioned at baht 1,410,000. The artworks of other Silpakorn Camp artists, still living, are quoted and sold with baht 300,000 as the maximum. (Appendix 2).The new generation of artists in general regard Tawee as a case of artistic mismanagement and mistakes and try their best not to imitate him in this area.[22]

B.) CHULALONGKORN CAMP

Academic artists belonging to the Chulalongkorn Camp try hard to differentiate themselves from the Silpakorn Camp. Many of the staff have graduated from prominent universities abroad, one of whom is Apinan Poshyananda, one of the most famous of the Chulalongkorn artists. He distinguished himself by writing books about Thai art in English, with one of the most popular being Modern Art in Thailand: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. This book gives an excellent background of the nature of Thai artistic networks. His style of presentation is clear, systematic and very informative. It is useful particularly to people with little or no background knowledge of Thai art. He is an internationally recognised professional art curator in Thailand. At the present time, he is the key supervisor of the Chulalongkorn Art Gallery. With his modern and western style of gallery management, the Gallery is generally accepted as the best in Thailand. Sometimes his style of administration has created conflict with conservative members of his committee as happened with the Vasan Sitthikhet Art Exhibition in August 2000. (Please refer to the 'Independent Artist' section for details).

Kamol Phaosavasdi and Channarong Pornrungroj, two other academic artists from the Chulalongkorn Camp, are well known in foreign countries. Kamol has very strong connections with Japanese art museums and galleries and is often invited to have regular art exhibitions there with full sponsorship.[23] Channarong Pornrungroj is internationally recognised for his "Art for All" project which primarily targeted disabled Thai children, with future plans for expansion to include disabled children in all ASEAN countries. The project was established in 1999 in The Celebrations for the Auspicious Occasion of His Majesty the King's Seventy Second Birthday Anniversary, and initially focused solely on Thai disabled children. (Art for All, 1999, p. 151-158). This year the project emphasised incorporating both able-bodied and disabled children, aiming for international reconciliation and cooperation. The stated aims of the project are to introduce various forms of art to children in a fun way and to encourage interaction between children with and without disabilities. The project receives sponsorship from a number of domestic and international organisations, and is staffed by both international and Thai volunteers. Some of the Thai volunteers are art teachers from throughout Thailand and the organisers view the project as having an important role in the development of future techniques for teaching art within Thailand. In addition to this Channarong

[19] Interview with Chamruang Vichienkhet, Charood Nimsamer and Damrong Wong-Uparaj in January and June 2000.
[20] Interview with Tawee Nandakwang's wife in February 2000.
[21] Interview with Sombat Wattanachai in December 1999 and January 2000.
[22] Interview with Tawee Nandakwang's wife in February 2000.
[23] Interview with Kamol Phaosavasdi in February 2000.

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Pornrungroj also does some academic research as well.[24] It is clear that the sources of additional income for academic artists of the Chulalongkorn camp differ from those of the Silpakorn camp.

C.) SRINAKARINWIROTE CAMP

The Srinakarinwirote Camp has tried to differentiate itself from the others by creating what it sees as a 'new image of art'. The surroundings of the Faculty and offices are very clean, secured and organised. The students in the Faculty are encouraged to dress up in a neat, polite and clean style of uniform. The opposite style of dressing, as observed at Silpakorn University, is unacceptable. The recruitment process places more emphasis on the intellectual capability of students. The emphasis on an ability to present their artworks in words and writing is aimed at improve art appreciation among Thais. Art education here is also integrated with other subjects with more recognition of the importance of the Thai language. The students can develop their artistic skills as well as be able to apply art to their every life.[25]

New styles of extracurricular activities are encouraged. A particularly notable one has been the recent art exhibition at "Ban Karuna", a male juvenile remand centre close to the University. 40 art students and 60 out of 945 inmates participated in this program. The students can utilise their knowledge and skills for guiding the detainees in the various kinds of art they are interested in, on one day projects without interfering with the prisoners' imagination. It was a small and low-cost project but received very positive feedback from both sides. The project was sponsored by private organisations.[26]

Two academic artists here, Wirun Tangcharoen and Amnat Yensabai, have distinguished themselves in more academic ways. Both of them write art criticism for the weekly Matichon magazine.[27] Similarly to Pishnu in the Silpakorn Camp, their articles are simple, informative, up-to-date and attempt to be objective. Although some people do not agree that their writings are objective, gradually they are becoming more well known. They have also written a number of textbooks and popular art texts. So their economic bases are quite similar to some of the academic artists in the Silpakorn Camp. Amnat has an additional form of supplementary income, a radio program broadcast which he produces from his home, focusing on contemporary issues. Amnat also continues to produce his artworks from his home, although to date he has yet to sell a piece.[28]

C.) INDEPENDENT ARTISTS

The majority of independent artists encounter financial instability and many of them have had to sacrifice artistic development and production of artworks and compromise their professional integrity for survival. However this is not all independent artists, some of them can maintain artistic integrity and continue artistic production, and survive relatively comfortably, particularly those artists from well-to-do families.

One of the most famous is Chakrabhand Posayakrit. His family is financially well established and has fully supported his interests and education. He is a career artist, who has been able to sell his work continuously since he began his career until the present time. He uses the available budget of the customers as an important criteria in production of commissioned works.[29] Like most Thai artists, he requires no official contracts, but customers can expect high quality artwork for their available budget. However it is generally well known that the cost of his art production is higher than most others, often the highest. A single art work can be upwards of "millions of baht".[30] Although he does not create his artwork with the intention of making commercial or expensive art for sale, his status as

[24] Interview with Channarong Pornrungroj in January 2000.
[25] Interview with Wirun Tangcharoen and Amnat Yensabai in June 2000.
[26] Interview with Amnat Yensabai in June 2000.
[27] Interview with Wirun Tangcharoen and Amnat Yensabai in June 2000.
[28] Interview with Amnat Yensabai in June 2000.
[29] Phone interview with Chakrabhand Posayakrit in February 2000.
[30] Op.cit.

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an artist is such that his art is recognised as top quality and will sell easily. Prices are discriminately allocated and normally not negotiable[31]Most of his customers are the upper and noble classes, and the wealthy. His fame and security as a recognised artists is such that there are many people who use his artworks as investments or speculatory purchases. His work is also occasionally auctioned for charity and in the past has always ended up drawing many millions of baht. The July 2000 Christies auction saw a piece of his work gaining the highest bid, 5.5 million baht, while its estimated pre-auction price was 3,800,000 to 4,800,000 baht. (Appendix 3). This is one of many like occasions. In addition, he also earned extra income from non-academic writing for some Thai magazines, and from his well known pocket books.[32] Occasionally he does some work for charity purposes as well as being guest speaker or guest judge in some exhibitions. His economic base is particularly solid and stable with average minimum earnings of more than 100,000 baht per month.[33] Even so he still lives a simple and quiet lifestyle.

Chalermchai Kositpipat is different. He has had to struggle for a living and to study since he was young. He is well known as an informal, outspoken, aggressive artist who enjoys swearing and has a popular sense of humour. Chalermchai is viewed as a self promoting artist. His artistic style is neo-traditional Thai and with an interest in Buddhism and he has used this art style to pave his way to becoming a prominent contemporary artist. His earliest art works in a Thai monastery in London he claims yielded nothing to him and his friends in monetary return,[34] but it can be considered as their stepping stone. Their experiences in London led to a better social and financial position very soon after returning to Thailand. Fortunately for him, he was one of the artists selected to serve the monarchy in the Mahajanaka Project. The social prestige and renown accompanying this enabled him to become well known amongst Thais and a corresponding increase in the price of his work. Estimates are that most of his works are now worth anything up to or beyond a million baht.[35] Apinan Poshyananda (1992), a Chulalongkorn professor and famous art critic and international curator, has said that Chalermchai's work averages between baht 100,000 to baht 300,000. (Apinan, 1992, p. 198). This is consistent with the July 2000 Christies's auction, where one of his works was quoted at 100,000-150,000 baht, with bidding reaching 282,000 baht and the other one was quoted at 50,000-80,000 baht, with bidding reaching 94,000 baht. (Appendix 3).

Recently, Chalermchai cooperated with the "daw lan duang" TV program, Channel 3, to produce a small piece of artwork for a charity auction. It sold for around 120,000 baht. At the present time, his economic bases are viewed as solid and stable, and he says himself that he has earned "enough".[36] He is now, as a guest speaker, utilising his unique knowledge and experience to encourage art appreciation among primary and secondary students in various provincial and rural schools. He is also a volunteer in Channarong's "Art for All" program. He has sponsored the rebuilding of the Buddhist Hall of a monastery in his home town and in doing so invented unique types of artwork for decorating the Hall using the local craftsmen as labourers. The funds for this rebuilding are being raised through the sale of two books written about the life, experiences and art of Chalermchai. Chalermchai is similar to the Silpakorn artists, as he will also not accept commissioned works if the style, size or nature of the art is predetermined.[37]

Another three independent artists have biographical records available to study, Thaiwijit Puangkasemsomboon, Kamin Lertchaiprasert and Vasan Sitthikhet, and among these Kamin appears to have the most stable economic foundation. He is able to draw support from his family business and so continue to produce his artworks without worrying too much about financial considerations.

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[31] Op.cit.
32 Phone interview with Chakrabhan Posayakrit in February 2000.
[33] Op.cit.
[34] Interview with Chalermchai Kositpipat and Panya Vijintanasarn in December 1999 and January 2000.
[35] Various sources.
[36] Interview with Chalermchai Kositpipat in December 1999.
[37] Interview with Chalermchai Kositpipat in December 1999.

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His art works are often difficult to sell, as he produces large sets of works which require a lot of space for exhibition. This means his art sells only occasionally, but is purchased by both Thai and international institutions such as the Australian National Gallery of Art and Bangkok University.[38] Kamin also teaches at Chiangmai University as a casual staff member. Minnie O'Shea, one of the Australian students who enrolled in a combined degree at the Institute of Art and Faculty of Asian Studies, ANU, studied contemporary art with him and gave very positive feedback on his style of teaching.

> *His way of teaching emphasises the process of making art, and the experience that the artist has - from the start point of the idea to the finished work. He encourages students to explore and analyse their own ideas and way of working - and how these change and develop in the process of art-making. He teaches that the ideas and processes behind an artwork are also important - not just the finished product.*
>
> *He measures the success of student's work in many ways - not only by how it looks. Some of the ways of measuring success include the process and experience of making it, what effect it has on the viewer, whether the effect on the viewer is the effect the student wanted, and whether the work leads to a new point of view or new understanding of the world.*

He has also received invitations for guest lecturing at Bangkok University, but has expressed a preference to continue as a casual instructor rather that become a permanent art teacher. (See also Appendix 3)

Another independent artist, Thaiwijit Puangkasemsomboon found that he did not enjoy teaching at all and so gave it up. Now he concentrates on his art work, using low cost materials and recycled objects, and earns extra income by designing and producing furniture worth around 40,000 baht for his friends.[39] Although he does not earn significant income through his art, the extra income from furniture production, combines with other sidelines, provides a reasonably steady source of finance. His wife is also employed in the private sector which is an increased source of security and his wide social connections means he is able to find financial assistance through friends when necessary.[40]

Vasan Sitthikhet is quite different. He is a confrontational and radical artist whose work both attracts wide audiences and can create serious difficulties for him, and for galleries exhibiting his work. His artworks always reflect what he sees as contemporary problems, and encourage the audiences to think or be more concerned about those problems. The latest one, *"mii arai nai hua raw"* (What's In Our Head ?), created problems for the conservative supervision staff of Chulalongkorn Art Gallery since his art presentation encouraged the audiences to think more about the administration of the Chuan government. The work in question was an installation featuring fifty human figures with the faces of prominent government figures painted on the heads, in dirt. The materials used were cheap, and the fifty figures were strung up, with nooses around their necks. After the installation had finished being exhibited, the work was taken out the front of Government House and large groups of people gathered. Any passing or interested member of the public was invited to join in, and a twenty four hour vigil was kept. People were encouraged to play with the figures, and they were finally burnt. This art installation was a clear example of the role that art can, when the artists so desires it, play a significant role as a form of social commentary. In this instance the issue raised was ineffective administration of the country by the Chuan Leekpai government. This installation was initially banned but Apinan Poshyananda later convinced the administrative officials to approve it. Since the media publicised the conflict, the exhibition of Vasan became widely known and attracted many visitors. (Appendix 4)

The art work of Vasan is not uniformly appreciated in Thailand, with some being unsure if the proper role for art is such a confrontational one. The younger generations tend to enjoy and support his artwork far more than the elder generations. His slightly abstract renderings of figures and strong political statements are also more in line with some foreign contemporary art, and not surprisingly he

[38] Interview with Kamin Lertchaiprasert in January 2000.
[39] Interview with Thaiwijit Puangkasemsomboon in January 2000.
[40] Op.cit.

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is more popular overseas, with around 30% of his artworks sold to foreign customers.[41] As much of his art is not produced for commercial purposes or sale, he also produces ceramics for income, and was a construction painter for a number of years in Germany to support himself.[42] He is unusual among the artists interviewed for another reason also, he is the only artist who uses a domestic art gallery, the owner of which he is close to,[43] to trade his works, preferring not to be involved directly himself and accepting the agent fee charged. [44] He enjoys a simple lifestyle, and strikes one as very down to earth.

In general, the economic foundation of the artists interviewed here, and thus the majority of established and recognised artists in Bangkok, are secure. The average income of all can be assumed to be above the adjusted poverty line, though by varying degrees. The estimated minimum monthly income for these artists appears to be around 30,000 - 40,000 baht, although when combined with the salary of their spouses. The minimum costs for an artist's family living and producing artworks in Bangkok were estimated to be at least 40,000 baht per month.[45] Given two incomes, few dependents and a simple lifestyle, these established artists range from comfortable, through to wealthy.

V. FACTORS RELATED TO THE ECONOMIC BASES OF THAI CONTEMPORARY ARTISTS

V.1. INCOME DISTRIBUTION AND POVERTY INCIDENCE

Historical Background

Economic development has been seen as the primary means by which to reduce poverty and improve the quality of life for all Thai people. Since the early 1960s economic development has been a continuous and changing process within Thailand. Accelerated growth has been the focus of all Economic and Social Development Plans since 1961, and continuing at the present time with the implementation of the Eighth Plan (1997-2001). Bangkok Metropolitan Region (BMR) is considered the centre of national development and will continue to play this key role, although there is some movement towards the recommendation of the Metropolitan Regional Planning Study (Dixon, 1999), a decentralisation of the development process to the outer regions.

The mission sent by the World Bank to Thailand in 1958 had an enormous impact on the economic and social development planning that was to emerge in Thailand. An import-substitution policy was recommended for industrialisation and adopted in early 1960s when Field Marsh Sarit Thanarat was the Prime Minister. The role of the government was altered from direct participation in industries to indirect, by supporting the private sector through provision of infrastructure. At the same time various investment incentives were provided and tariff protection was adopted to promote domestic manufacturing industries. The government refrained from establishing new state enterprises or supporting them to reduce the influence of Chinese capital as in the Phibunsongkram period.(Ikemoto, 1991, p. 5) Since then, there has been and continues to be a relatively low level of government intervention and Sino-Thai interests in the private sector have dominated the non-agricultural sector development process. Development within the agricultural sector development has received little economic or other support from the government or the private sector, despite the fact that more than 50% of the population are employed in this sector. As a result of this, the agricultural sector has both attained benefits from, and participated in the economic development of the nation to a far smaller extent than the urban and industrial sectors.

The promotion of agricultural and manufacturing exports together with the provision of export incentives adopted in early 1970s continued to generate rapid GDP growth, but the income gap

[41] Interview with Hongjorn Saneh-ngamcharoen in January 2000.
[42] Interview with Vasan Sitthikhet in January 2000.
[43] Interview with Hongjorn Saneh-ngamcharoen.
[44] Interview with Vasan Sitthikhet in January 2000.
[45] Interview with many artists.

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between Bangkok and the other regions continued to widen. The agricultural sector was still under developed and was more affected by impacts from external factors. Growth and income in the agricultural sector was more vulnerable and this sector has had to bear a greater incidence of poverty than the manufacturing sector. Fortunately, after the 1973 Revolution up until 1976, Thailand was ruled by democratic and more welfare-oriented government which was concerned about the welfare of Thais in rural areas. There were several measures implemented to improve rural development and welfare, including capital transfer payments from the central government. In addition the value of agricultural and commodity exports had increased and the first oil shock in 1973 did not affect the agricultural sector, resulting in an increase in agricultural income. However, the private sector saw the student uprising in 1973 as an event of political instability, and private investment in 1973-1976 decreased accordingly. Due to these reasons, overall income disparities between agricultural and non-agricultural sectors became narrower.

1978 was another transition period because the role of government in the development process changed. The government began to utilise public funds as a mean to intervene in and support the state enterprises, resulting in government budget deficits. The second oil shock in 1979 and lower commodity prices brought about trade deficits. This severely affected the Thai economy and the government sector, and both public and private debts increased. The national budget deficits and level of public debt was the greatest concern of the Prem government. Tightening of government expenditures was applied which affected capital transfer payments from the central government to rural areas. In addition to unfavourable commodity prices, the Thai economy in both the agricultural and non-agricultural sectors was affected, but the effect was most severe on the former sector. Undoubtedly, during this period, the regional and sectoral income disparities worsened.

The global adjustment of the Thai economy after the Plaza Agreement of 1985 brought about the recovery of the Thai economy in 1986. The growth of exports and foreign direct investments were some important factors leading to a double digit growth rate in 1988 and higher per capita income, and income inequalities decreased accordingly. The change from a battle field strategy into a trading field strategy by Prime Minister Chatichai Chunhawan was implemented during 1988 and 1990. The foundation of political stability laid in the Prem government was an important additional factor in the record growth rates of this period.

In the early 1990s the economy of Thailand was in a positive condition due mainly to trade liberalisation. The policy of financial liberalisation initiated in 1993 provided for greatly increased mobility of capital, particularly through the Bangkok International Bank Facilities (BIBF) and the stock market of Thailand. This policy led to rapid increases in levels of foreign debt, mainly in the private sector. Easily obtained credit the financial sector together with lax and obsolete laws governing credit facilities led to unproductive loans and excessive borrowing in the private sector, particularly to fund land and real estate development in Bangkok and the Bangkok Metropolitan Region. The government sector overspent in investment in infrastructure and over subsidised some public enterprises relying on foreign loans. Both public and private debts increased. Influences external from Thailand played increasingly large roles in the Thai economy enabled through the free trade and financial liberalisation policies of the government. These policies have the potential to generate economic development and growth, as they have done, but they also have the potential to contribute to economic crisis in the country, as they did in 1997.

It is clear that the import-substitution focused strategy of the 1960s has generated rapid economic growth in the country. The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) grew at consistently high rates, per capita income and rates of savings generally increased. Gross Capital Formation also rose. These statistics are undeniable, and impressive. At the same time the manner of economic and social development followed generated enormous poverty, and a huge disparity of income distribution in Thailand. The distribution of income within Thailand has been an issue of continual concern to both Thai development planners and the World Bank since the end of the 1960s, when the impacts of economic development planning began to be seen. Lack of available data at that time,

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however, lead to studies into income distribution being initiated in the early 1970s, by both Thai and foreign economists.

Income Distribution and Poverty Incidence : Pre-1997 Crisis

Two main indicators are generally used to study income distribution and the spread of the burden of poverty, these being the Gini Coefficient and the 'poverty line'. The higher the Gini Coefficient, the greater the inequality in relative distribution of income. The 'poverty line' is determined by World Bank criteria, used as a cut off line to reflect the proportion of the population whose incomes are insufficient for a normal life, who are below the poverty line. This proportion is referred to as the 'poverty incidence'.

Yukio Ikemoto had presented the review of Gini Coefficient of past studies on income distribution in Thailand during 1962-1986 for comparison. (Table 12)

Table 12 Review of Gini Coefficient of Past Studies

Source	**1962**	**1969**	**1970**	**1971**	**1975**	**1981**	**1986**
Oshima							
Whole Kingdom	0.5						
Kerdpibule							
Rural Areas	0.436		0.443				
Urban Areas	0.448		0.366				
Chantaworn							
Whole Kingdom	0.414	0.466					
Rural Areas	0.361	0.379					
Urban Areas	0.405	0.434					
Meesook							
Whole Kingdom		0.429					
Rural Areas		0.381					
Urban Areas		0.429					
Wattanavitukul							
Whole Kingdom	0.414	0.429		0.499			
Rural Areas	0.361	0.381		0.466			
Urban Areas	0.405	0.429		0.433			
Krongkaew							
Whole Kingdom	0.414	0.429			0.451	0.473	
Rural Areas	0.361	0.381			0.395	0.437	
Urban Areas	0.405	0.429			0.435	0.447	
Hutaserani and Jitsuchon							
Whole Kingdom					0.426	0.453	0.500
Ikemoto and Limskul and Author's Study							
Whole Kingdom	0.413	0.426			0.417	0.441	0.471
Rural Areas		0.384			0.392	0.413	0.439
Urban Areas		0.439			0.403	0.428	0.466

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Source: Ikemoto, Yukio. (1991). *Income distribution in Thailand: Its changes, causes, and structure.* Tokyo: Institute of Developing Economies. p. 11.

Among the various studies done regarding income distribution and the incidence of poverty in Thailand, the studies and findings of Ms Oey Meesook are almost always mentioned. Oey Meesook is an economist working with and for the World Bank, who studied poverty and income inequalities in Thailand in the early 1970's. From her early studies we can see that the incidence of poverty in Thailand decreased during 1962/63 and 1975/76.

Table 34 Poverty Incidence between 1962/63 and 1975/76

	1962/63 (a)	1975/76 (a)	1968/9 (b)	1975/6 (b)
Whole Kingdom	57.0	33.0	39.0	31.0
Urban Area	38.0	22.0	16.0	14.0
Rural Area	61.0	37.0	43.0	35.0

Note: The sanitary districts in 1975/76 (a) were classified as urban, but in 1975/76 (b) were included in rural areas.
Source: Oey Astra Meesook. (1979). *Income, consumption and poverty in Thailand, 1962/63 to 1975/76* (World Bank staff working paper No. 364). Washington, DC: World Bank, cited in Suganya Hutaserani and Somchai Jitsuchon. (1988). *Thailand's Income Distribution and Poverty Profile and Their Current Situations* (1988 TDRI Year-End Conference) Bangkok: Thailand Development Research Institute. p. 15.

Medhi Krongkaew (1993, p. 142) refers to the studies done by Meesook, and cites four important findings as follows:

" from the early 1960's to the mid 1970's, households throughout Thailand experienced a continuous increase in their real incomes, resulting in a steady decline in the incidence of poverty; average household income disparities between rural and urban areas narrowed over this period; the improvement in the status of households in rural areas came as a result of increased average farm commodity prices and the switch to new crops with higher returns; rural households earned a greater proportion of their household incomes from non-farm activities"

Suganya Hutaserani and Somchai Jitsuchon (1988) studied the distribution of income within Thailand after 1975 and the changing characteristics of the poor. They found that inequality in distribution of income increased significantly between 1975/76 and 1985/86. (Table 35)

Table 35 Income Share by Quintile Group of Population (% of Total Income)

Quintile	1975/76	1980/81	1985/86
1st	49.26	51.47	55.63
highest top 10%	33.40	35.44	39.15
second top 10%	15.86	16.04	16.48
2nd	20.96	20.64	19.86
3rd	14.00	13.38	12.09
4th	9.73	9.10	7.87
5th	6.05	5.41	4.55
second bottom 10%	3.62	3.28	2.75
lowest bottom 10%	2.43	2.13	1.80
Total Share	100.00	100.00	100.00
Gini Coefficient	0.426	0.453	0.500

Source: Suganya Hutaserani and Somchai Jitsuchon. (1988, December). *Thailand's income distribution and poverty profile and their current situations* (p. 17). Paper presented in the 1988 TDRI Year-End Conference on Income Distribution and Long Term Development, December 1988.

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Most of the increases in real per capita income during this period were found in the top quintile of the population. By 1985 this group were receiving 50% of the income in the nation. Restricting the group further to the top 10% of the population makes the division in real income starker. In 1975, when Suganya and Somchai began their study, the wealthiest 10% of the population received 33.4% of the income, up to 35.44% by 1980 and by the end of the study in 1985/86 39.15% of the income earned was received by this ten percent. Correspondingly, the lower four quintiles received lowering percentages of the net income of the nation, reflected in the Gini Coefficients of the three periods, from 0.426 to 0.453 to 0.500 by 1985.

In terms of per capita income, the top quintile earned the greatest net amount, and had the highest growth rates of per capita income. (Table 36). By contrast, the lowest two quintiles actually had negative growth rates during this period, -0.6 and -1.1 respectively in 1975-80 and 1980-85. If occupation of the head of the household is taken into consideration, we can see that professional, technical workers and executives earned the highest incomes, and enjoyed the highest rates of per capita income growth. Specific to the salaries of executives, the income growth rates during this period were extraordinarily high, 17.8% annually between 1980-1985. On the other end of the scale, the agricultural sector saw negative growth of per capita income (-0.2) because of declining crop prices and a declining agricultural sector. The recession period of 1980 - 1985 saw the brunt of the burden resting on the agricultural sector, where negative impacts were far more apparent than in the non-agricultural sector. (Table 36)

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Table 36 Changes of Average Income Classified by Various Factors

Factors	Per Capita (baht/year)			Annual Growth		
	1975/76	1980/81	1985/86	1975-80	1980-85	1980-85
Quintile						
Quintile 1	10,308.0	22,944.0	27,864.0	17.4	4.0	10.5
Quintile 2	4,387.2	9,196.8	9,955.2	16.0	1.6	8.5
Quintile 3	2,934.0	5,962.8	6,057.6	15.2	0.3	7.5
Quintile 4	2,035.2	4,054.8	3,940.8	14.8	-0.6	6.8
Quintile 5	1,267.2	2,412.0	2,280.0	13.7	-1.1	6.0
Sector Productio						
Inactive	5,474.4	13,056.0	14,484.0	19.0	2.1	10.2
Agriculture	2,962.8	6,032.4	5,768.4	15.3	-0.9	6.9
Nonagriculture	6,156.0	13,848.0	15,744.0	17.6	2.6	9.8
Community Type						
Village	3,252.0	6,873.6	7,036.8	16.1	0.5	8.0
Sanitary District	5,373.6	10,094.4	11,444.4	13.4	2.5	7.9
Municipal Area	7.908.0	18,468.0	23,472.0	18.5	4.9	11.5
Area and Sector						
Inactive	5,474.4	13,056.0	14,484.0	19.0	2.1	10.2
Rural Agri	2,937.6	5,994.2	5,684.4	15.3	-1.1	6.8
Rural Non-agri	5,149.2	10,586.0	11,422.0	15.5	1.5	8.3
Urban Agri	5,794.8	11,918.8	15,222.1	15.5	5.0	10.1
Urban Non-agri	7.971.6	18,518.0	23,111.7	18.4	4.5	11.2
Occupation of Head						
Professional and Technician	5,702.4	20,472.0	29,532.0	29.1	7.6	17.9
Executives	9,933.6	15,180.0	34,380.0	8.9	17.8	13.2
Clerical Workers	7,752.0	18,840.0	25,152.0	19.4	5.9	12.5
Sales Workers	7,933.2	17,280.0	20,268.0	16.8	3.2	9.8
Services Workers	6,692.4	14,112.0	18,720.0	16.1	5.8	10.8
Agriculturists	3,062.4	6,195.6	6,141.6	15.1	-0.2	7.2
Labourers	5,481.6	10,818.0	12,156.0	14.6	2.4	8.3
Inactive	3,474.0	9,850.8	10,546.8	23.2	1.4	11.7
Region						
North	3,634.8	8,270.4	8,926.8	17.9	1.5	9.4
Northeast	2,983.2	5,847.6	5,859.6	14.4	0.0	7.0
Central	5,116.8	9,993.6	11,161.2	14.3	2.2	8.1
South	4,004.4	8,754.0	9,406.8	16.9	1.4	8.9
Bkk. City Core	8,152.8	19,920.0	25,404.0	19.6	5.0	12.0
Bkk. Suburb	7,148.4	16,920.0	22,404.0	18.8	5.8	12.1
Bkk Fringe	5,274.0	11,239.2	14,988.0	16.3	5.9	11.0
Poor Status						
Non-Poor	5,343.6	10,956.0	13,284.0	15.4	3.9	9.5
Poor	1,488.0	2,685.6	2,810.4	12.5	0.9	6.6
Whole Kingdom	4,186.0	8,916.0	10,022.0	16.3	2.4	9.1

Source: Suganya Hutaserani and Somchai Jitsuchon. (1988, December). *Thailand's income distribution and poverty profile and their current situations* (p. 19). Paper presented in the 1988 TDRI Year-End Conference on Income Distribution and Long Term Development, December 1988.

Comparisons between the various regions of Thailand in Table 36 clearly show that the BMR sustained high growth rates for household income, close to 20% annually, during the boom 1975 - 1980 years. These households continued to grow during the recession years to follow, although at a

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Table 37 Poverty Incidence by Region and Occupation of Household Head

Region	Head's Occupation	1975/76	1980/81	1985/86
North		33.18	21.50	25.54
	1.Professional & Technician	28.92	0.00	0.27
	2.Executive	20.88	0.00	0.00
	3.Clerical Workers	0.00	0.00	0.00
	4.Sales Workers	15.23	3.12	8.58
	5.Service Workers	4.92	1.46	9.28
	6.Agriculturists	38.13	25.49	30.51
	7.Labourers	19.30	13.61	18.25
Northeast		44.92	35.93	48.17
	1.Professional & Technician	30.45	1.99	1.73
	2.Executive	32.02	23.02	1.73
	3.Clerical Workers	17.44	0.73	2.76
	4.Sales Workers	11.57	17.58	25.39
	5.Service Workers	8.83	10.12	10.30
	6.Agriculturists	51.33	40.34	51.90
	7.Labourers	24.34	28.55	44.61
Central		12.99	13.55	15.63
	1.Professional & Technician	7.85	0.95	0.00
	2.Executive	2.35	2.62	0.00
	3.Clerical Workers	0.00	3.23	2.22
	4.Sales Workers	3.79	3.21	6.82
	5.Service Workers	0.49	3.54	3.97
	6.Agriculturists	14.74	16.98	20.86
	7.Labourers	13.15	9.63	11.33
South		30.71	20.37	27.17
	1.Professional & Technician	27.93	0.00	0.00
	2.Executive	0.00	0.00	0.00
	3.Clerical Workers	4.20	0.00	0.00
	4.Sales Workers	13.87	11.73	3.24
	5.Service Workers	10.40	7.48	1.31
	6.Agriculturists	37.17	23.88	34.23
	7.Labourers	18.81	18.65	21.55
Greater Bangkok		7.75	3.89	3.54
	1.Professional & Technician	5.69	0.00	0.00
	2.Executive	0.00	0.00	0.00
	3.Clerical Workers	4.48	1.78	0.00
	4.Sales Workers	7.59	4.36	2.13
	5.Service Workers	1.62	4.02	1.50
	6.Agriculturists	14.51	11.15	12.04
	7.Labourers	7.27	3.13	3.40
Whole Kingdom		30.02	23.04	29.51

Source: Suganya Hutaserani and Somchai Jitsuchon. (1988, December). *Thailand's income distribution and poverty profile and their current situations* (p. 44). Paper presented in the 1988 TDRI Year-End Conference on Income Distribution and Long Term Development, December 1988.

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more modest rate of 6% annually. This compares with the northeastern region which enjoyed a growth rate of 14.4% per household income between 1975 - 1980 but during the recession years to follow recorded no growth whatsoever. The boom years of 1975 - 1980 did benefit the country as a whole, with average growth rates in total household income around 16%, however both the high growth years and the economic slump years to follow were characterised by disparate growth. These disparencies existed both between the BMR and the outer provinces and regions and between the agricultural sector and non-agricultural sector, resulting in an increase in disparity of wealth and income throughout the country. (Table 36)

With regard to the incidence of poverty, the percentage of people living in poverty in the kingdom decreased from 30.02% in 1975/80 down to 23.04% in 1980/81 followed by a rise back up to 29.51% by 1985/86. (Table 37). These economic slump years between 1980 and 1985 were caused by a combination of the second oil shock and large fluctuations in agricultural product prices. The highest prices received were in 1981, by 1986 they had reached their bottom level. The combination of these two factors lead to slower economic growth in that five year period that ever had been, since 1960. The significant reduction in farmer's incomes meant that a number of people existing just above the poverty line fell under it.

As shown in Table 37, the poorest section of the population in every region of Thailand were those involved in the agricultural sector, with the incidence of poverty as high as 50% in the northeastern region. Those living under the poverty line in the north and south were also large proportions of the regional populations, around 30% in both. Only the central region and the Bangkok Metropolitan Region recorded levels of poverty significantly lower that those cited above. The labourer group is the occupational group with the second highest incidence of poverty**,** although still significantly lower than the poverty incidence in the agricultural sector.

The large proportion of the Thai population that remained involved in and dependant on agriculture meant that fluctuations in agricultural incomes had significant effects of the incidence of poverty in Thailand as a whole. Table 38 confirms that approximately 80% of people living under the poverty level were involved in agriculture and an estimated 15% in non-agricultural occupations. Education levels also emerged as defining factors, with almost every household living under the poverty line having a household head with no more than elementary schooling.

Table 38 Characteristics of the Poor

	1975/76	1980/81	1985/86
Occupation of Head			
Professional & Technician	7.08	0.10	0.05
Executive	0.34	1.01	0.01
Clerical Workers	0.21	0.09	0.04
Sales Workers	2.45	2.07	1.80
Service Workers	0.44	0.80	0.49
Agriculturists	81.56	80.44	78.02
Labourers	5.13	7.45	8.35
Inactive	2.80	8.04	11.25
Sector of Production			
Inactive	1.85	2.82	3.53
Agriculture	82.96	82.52	80.95
Non-agriculture	15.19	14.66	15.52
Community Type			
Village	87.63	89.53	91.24
Sanitary District	6.50	5.62	5.60
Municipal Area	5.87	4.86	3.16
Sex of Head			
Male	89.01	88.00	86.40
Female	10.99	12.00	13.60
Age of Head			

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less than 20	0.04	0.30	0.24
20-29	7,35	11.06	9.50
30-39	26.84	28.32	27.36
40-49	33.67	31.64	24.78
50-59	17.90	16.13	20.81
60 and over	14.21	12.55	17.31
Education of Head			
No formal education		18.97	16.76
Elementary		79.82	80.82
Secondary		0.97	1.40
Vocational * Technician		0.05	0.09
Bachelor		0.00	0.19
Higher than bachelor		0.00	0.00
Unknown education		0.20	0.74
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**

Source: Suganya Hutaserani and Somchai Jitsuchon. (1988, December). *Thailand's income distribution and poverty profile and their current situations* (p. 45). Paper presented in the 1988 TDRI Year-End Conference on Income Distribution and Long Term Development, December 1988.

Table 39, 40 and 41 show the income distribution as shared across the quintile groups, and changes in this distribution pattern between 1962-63 and 1988. The Gini Coefficients and relative share of income presented in these tables clearly illustrate the worsening trend of income distribution in Thailand. The situation improved slightly in some periods, such as the 1968-69 year and in 1988, but the general trend continues to be that a huge proportion of income rests with the top 10% of the population.

Table 39 Income Share by Quintile Group, 1962-1963 to 1971-1973

Quintile	**1962-63**	**1968-69**	**1971-73**
1 (Lowest Income Group)	2.9	3.4 (4.5)	2.4 (2.5)
2	6.2	6.1 (5.5)	5.1 (6.4)
3	10.5	10.4 (12.5)	9.7 (10.4)
4	20.9	19.2 (20.5)	18.4 (19.0)
5 (Top Income Group)	59.5	60.9 (57.0)	64.4 (61.0)
Gini Coefficient (money income)	0.5627	0.5550 (0.545)	0.6051 (0.576)
Gini Coefficient (adjusted income)	0.4559 (0.414)	0.4822 (0.466)	0.5348 (0.499)

Note: Figures in parentheses are from Somluckrat, 1978; figures not in parentheses are from Medhi, 1979. (original quotation)
Source: Pranee Tinnakorn, "Industrialization and Welfare", in Medhi Krongkaew (ed), *Thailand's Industrialization and Consequences,* New York, St. Martin's Press, 1995: p. 222.

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Table 40 Income Shares by Quintile Group, 1975-76 to 1988

Quintile	1975-76	1981	1986	1988
1st (Lowest Income Group)	6.05	5.41	4.55	4.50
2nd	9.73	9.10	7.87	8.09
3rd	14.00	13.38	12.09	12.27
4th	20.96	20.64	19,86	20.26
5th (Top Income Group)	49.26	51.47	55.63	54.88
Gini Coefficient	0.426	0.453	0.500	0.479

Source: The 1975-6, 1981 and 1986 data are from Suganya and Somchai, 1988, the 1988 data are from Medhi, Pranee and Suphat, 1991, 1992. Cited by Pranee Tinnakorn, "Industrialization and Welfare", in Medhi Krongkaew (ed), *Thailand's Industrialization and Consequences,* New York, St. Martin's Press, 1995: p. 222.

Regional disparities in the distribution of income also exist. As displayed in the Gini Coefficients, the inequality of income is highest in the northern region, and lowest in the BMR. BMR also earns 32% of the income earned within the country, although only 14.6% of the country's population lives there. In contrast to this, the northeastern region with 34% of the population earns only 20.43% of the national income. The relative population and income levels were reasonably even between the northern region and BMR, but the Gini Coefficient of the north was far higher displaying a greater disparity of income in the northern provinces. The southern region of the country has the lowest population, but also saw the lowest level of income, at 11.43%. On a national level, the lowering of the Gini Coefficient by 0.479 showed a better income distribution in 1988 compared to 1986, after the Thai economic recovery period of 1987. (Table 40)

Table 41 Income Share and Gini Coefficients by Region, 1988

Region	Distribution of: Household	Population	Income	Gini Coefficient
Bangkok and Vicinity	16.20	14.58	31.99	0.385
North	21.69	19.73	17.79	0.453
North-east	30.68	34.27	20.43	0.410
Central	18.80	18.53	18.36	0.408
South	12.63	12.89	11.43	0.439
Whole Kingdom	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.479

Note: Bangkok and vicinity includes Pathum Thani, Nonthaburi and Samut Prakan.
Source: Table 2.6 in Medhi, Pranee and Suphat, 1991. Cited by Pranee Tinnakorn, "Industrialization and Welfare", in Medhi Krongkaew (ed), *Thailand's Industrialization and Consequences,* New York, St.Martin's Press, 1995: p. 222.

With regard to the incidence of poverty, many studies revealed that it is the agricultural sector that has the highest level of poverty. The fluctuations of the market price of agricultural products means that the incomes of people within the agricultural sector also fluctuate. In 1981, when the price of agricultural commodities was at its highest, higher incomes were achieved and the overall

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poverty incidence dropped. Sharp declines in the price of agricultural products in 1978, on the other hand, led to a sharp fall in agricultural incomes. Although a relatively small proportion of the overall income in Thailand in earned within the agricultural sector, the sector remains important in the determination of the incidence of poverty in the country at large. (Suganya Hutaserani and Somchai Jitsuchon, 1988)

Table 42 is shown the calculated 'poverty lines' and the incidence of poverty from 1975-76 through until 1988. The poverty line for rural and urban areas increased almost threefold. In urban areas it increased from 2,961 baht to 6,203 baht for a single persons annual income. Rural areas saw an increase from 1,981 baht up to 4,076 baht per person, per year.

In 1988, only 3.5% of the population in the BMR was considered to be living under the poverty line. In the central region, the actual incidence of poverty did not vary much between 1975 and 1988, the region remaining second only after BMR with a low level of poverty, standing at 12.9% by 1988. The northeastern region has long been recognised as the poorest in Thailand, a fact reflected in these tables. The northern and southern regions were similar to each other in patterns and levels of poverty. The municipal areas in each province and region averaged 6.1% of the population living below the poverty line.

For the entire kingdom, the incidence of poverty in 1975-76 was calculated at 30% of the population, dropping to 23% by 1981. The recession hitting Thailand in 1981 and continuing through until 1986 saw the incidence of poverty increase back up to 30%. Rapid recovery saw this percentage drop sharply to 21.2% by 1988.

Table 42: Poverty line and Poverty Incidence, 1975-6 to 1988

	1975-1976	1981	1986	1988
Poverty Lines (baht per person per year):				
Urban	2961	5151	5834	6203
Rural	1981	3454	3823	4076
Poverty Incidence (%)				
By Community Type				
All Municipal Areas	12.5	7.5	5.9	6.1
All Sanitary District Areas	14.8	13.5	18.6	12.2
All Villages	36.2	27.3	35.8	26.3
By Region:				
North	33.2	21.5	25.5	19.9
North-east	44.9	35.9	48.2	34.6
Central	13.0	13.6	15.6	12.9
South	30.7	20.4	27.2	19.4
Bangkok and Vicinity	7.8	3.9	3.5	3.5
Whole Kingdom	30.0	23.0	29.5	21.2

Note: In both of the studies cited below, poverty incidence was calculated by applying the rural poverty lines to sanitary district areas.

Sources: The data for 1975-6, 1981 and 1986 are from Suganya and Somchai, 1988, and those for 1988 are from Medhi, Pranee and Suphat, 1991. Cited by Pranee Tinnakorn, "Industrialization and Welfare", in Medhi Krongkaew (ed), *Thailand's Industrialization and Consequences,* New York, St Martin's Press, 1995: p. 222.

However, the level of poverty reported in these tables is now acknowledged to be an underestimation, as it is based on the 1976 calculation of what constituted 'basic needs' with the only adjustment from this time being for yearly inflation. The poverty incidence recorded is significantly different when the criteria used are those recommended by Medhi Krongkaew, Pranee Tinakorn and Suphat Suphachalasai in their research report, "Priority Issues and Policy Measures to Alleviate Rural Poverty: The Case of Thailand" (1991), the 'adjusted poverty line'. These adjusted poverty line indices take into account the changes in population structure, nutritional requirements and consumption patterns that occurred between 1975-76 and 1988. These adjusted poverty lines

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resulted in startlingly different conclusions from the earlier ones, with the incidence of poverty more than doubling from the rates reported in the unadjusted poverty line data. The incidence of poverty in the entire kingdom jumped to 48.8% (Pranee, 1995, p. 225). Using these adjusted measurements, economic development in Thailand has, over the course of the last thirty or more years, resulted in huge income disparities both between regions and between classes. The richest 20% continue to gain by far the highest percentage of income, and almost 50% of the kingdom live in poverty.

Income Distribution and Poverty Incidence: Post-1997 Crisis

In 1998 the National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB) recommended that an adaptation of the 'poverty line' criteria be adopted, developed by Kakwani and Medhi Krongkaew in the Development Evaluation Division of the Thai Cabinet. Kakwani and Krongkaew are widely recognised both domestically and internationally for their expertise in the study of patterns of income distribution. The new criteria that they had developed were adopted and implemented, intended to address the serious weaknesses noted in the World Bank calculations of poverty level that had been used since the 1970's. The adaptations included measures such as using the nutritional norms of the Ministry of Public Health to determine calorie requirements for people of differing ages and genders. The composition of 'food baskets', or the different patterns of regional consumption was taken into consideration. The price and quantities of 321 different consumer items was recorded and compared, including 125 items of food, to determine the relative differences in cost of living throughout the different regions and areas. 'Non-food basket' prices were also computed, to enable a fuller picture of the relative differences in cost of living, across municipal and regional areas. The new criteria on which the poverty level is calculated is a result of sharing information across government ministries and is recognised as the most accurate measurement of the poverty threshold at the current time.

The poverty threshold in terms of the minimum income of baht per month for people of differing ages and genders is published in the poverty line manual by the NESDB. This manual is able to be up-dated monthly if necessary, enabling an accurate calculation of the true incidence of poverty. Table 43 displays the corrected levels of poverty and patterns of income distribution under this adapted measurement method.

Table 43 Average Poverty Line for the Whole Kingdom

	Unit: baht/month/person	Unit: baht/year/person*
	Poverty Line	**Poverty Line**
1988	473	5,676
1990	522	6,264
1992	600	7,200
1994	636	7,632
1996	737	8,944
1998	878	10,536
1999	886	10,632

Source: *Indicators of Well-being and Policy Analysis*,*3* (1), 2; *4* (1), 2. * Compiled by author.

This shows that the level at which a 'basic needs' existence could be fulfilled rose twofold in ten years. In 1988, 473 baht per person, per month was sufficient to meet basic needs (averaged

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throughout the kingdom) while in 1999, 886 baht was needed. This represents a net increase on annual income from 5,676 baht to 10,632 baht per person. Using these new calculations of the level at which poverty begins, we can examine the standard of living of Thai people prior to and post 1997 crisis by using the following three measurements:

Per capita real income
Per capita welfare
Crisis Index

Considering the per capita real income generally first (Table 44), real income levels almost doubled between 1988 and 1999, despite the interruption of the 1997 economic crisis. Continuously rising from 1988, average real income reached 3,830 baht in 1996 from the initial level of 1,997 in 1988. The 1997 economic crisis caused a drop in real income, down to 3,753 baht per person, per month in 1998. A similar pattern can be seen in the per capita welfare index, an increase from 212 baht per month to 386 baht per month, before a drop to 370 in 1998, a drop of 4.2%. It is clear that the rapid growth of income and standard of living in Thailand was disrupted by the 1997 economic crisis. Without the intervention of the crisis, the both the per capita real income and per capita welfare would have presumably continued to grow at pre-crisis rates. The net effect of the crisis on Thai people was not simply a net drop in income but rather the net drop, in addition to the loss of predicted growth.

Table 44: Average Standard of Living: Whole Kingdom

Unit: baht/month

Period	**Per Capita Real Income**	**Per Capita Welfare (%)**
1988	1,997	212
1990	2,449	254
1992	2,911	295
1994	3,407	344
1996	3,830	386
1998	3,753	370
Percentage Change		
1988 to 1990	22.6	19.9
1990 to 1992	18.9	16.2
1992 to 1994	17.0	16.5
1994 to 1996	12.4	12.2
1996 to 1998	-2.0	-4.2
Crisis Index	-6.2	-7.9
Expected Value	4,000	401

Source: *Indicators of Well-being and Policy Analysis,3* (1), 3.

Reviewing the results of the last thirty years, as reflected by the various means by which economic wellbeing is measured, it is clear that the numbers of poor has decreased rapidly in the ten years from 1988 to 1998. Using the adapted criteria for the calculation of the incidence of poverty in Thailand, the net numbers of people living under the poverty line dropped from 17.9 million to 7.9 million, a drop from 32% of the population to just 12.9%. The crisis of 1997 pushed more that a million into poverty, as the estimation, pre-crisis, of poverty levels put around 6.4 million people under the line. This figure of 6.4 million in poverty then increased during and after the crisis to 7.9 million, 1.5 million extra. If using the crisis index, the economic crisis increased not only the net number of poor by 22.3%, but also increased the poverty gap ration, and the severity of the poverty index. Not only did general poverty increase, but the numbers of people classified as 'ultra poor'

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increased. Without the crisis, it is estimated that the number of 'ultra-poor' in the country would have been 3.4 million people, a figure increased by the crisis by 0.9 million, resulting in there currently being in Thailand 4.3 million people living in 'ultra-poverty'. The crisis index divides the classification of 'poverty' into a further three bands, the lowest of which is 'ultra-poor' as mentioned, marginal poor showing an increase of 17.7% and the near non-poor showing an increase of 5.8%. (Table 46)

Table 45: Incidence of Poverty

Period	Percentage of Poor	Poverty Gap Ratio	Severity of Poverty Index	Number of Poor in Million
1988	32.6	10.4	4.6	17.9
1990	27.2	8	3.3	15.3
1992	23.2	6.8	2.8	13.5
1994	16.3	4.3	1.7	9.7
1996	11.4	2.8	1.1	6.8
1998	12.9	3.2	1.2	7.9
Percentage change				
1988 to 1990	-16.6	-23.1	-28.3	-14.5
1990 to 1992	-14.7	-15.0	-15.2	-11.8
1992 to 1994	-29.6	-37.0	-39.9	-28.5
1994 to 1996	-30.2	-34.7	-34.6	-29.6
1996 to 1998	12.9	14.1	7.9	15.8
Crisis Index	19.7	22.5	16.5	22.3
Expected Value	10.8	2.6	1.0	6.4

Source: *Indicators of Well-being and Policy Analysis,3* (1), 4.

Table 46: Ultra Poor, Marginal Poor and Near Non-poor: Number of poor in million.

Period	Ultra Poor	Marginal Poor	Near Non-Poor
1988	12.0	5.9	5.0
1990	9.5	5.7	4.8
1992	8.2	5.2	4.9
1994	5.5	4.1	3.9
1996	3.7	3.2	3.7
1998	4.3	3.6	3.8
	Percentage Change		
1988-1990	-20.2	-2.8	-3.7
1990-1992	-13.8	-8.9	0.9
1992-1994	-33.1	-20.9	-19.7
1994-1996	-33.4	-23.6	-5.9
1996-1998	16.6	13.5	3.9
Crisis Index	24.4	17.7	5.8
Expected Value	3.4	3.1	3.6

Note: **Ultra Poor** represents group of people earning income below 80 percent of the poverty line.
Marginal Poor represents those earning income between 80-100 percent of the poverty line.
Near Non Poor represents those earning income between 100-120 percent of the poverty line.

Source: *Indicators of Well-being and Policy Analysis,3* (1), 5.

In regard to the relative distribution of income during this last decade, 1988 - 1998, the inequalities continued to be apparent. (Table 46) However, between 1992 and 1996 the relative

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distribution improved according to declining Gini Coefficients, from 49.9 in 1992 to 48.6 in 1994 and 47.7 in 1996.

Table 46 Inequality of Per Capita Welfare in Thailand

Period	Gini Index	Quintile 1	Quintile 2	Quintile 3	Quintile 4	Quintile 5
1988	48.1	5.2	9.0	13.4	21.1	51.2
1990	48.1	4.9	8.4	12.7	19.9	54.1
1992	49.9	4.5	7.9	12.2	19.8	55.6
1994	48.6	4.6	8.3	12.7	20.3	54.1
1996	47.7	4.8	8.5	12.9	20.5	53.3
1998	48.1	4.8	8.4	12.7	20.2	53.9
Percentage Change in Inequality and Quintile Shares						
1988 to 1990	0.0	-5.7	-6.4	-5.9	-5.8	5.7
1990 to 1992	3.7	-8.1	-5.7	-3.8	-0.8	2.8
1992 to 1994	-2.6	2.0	4.4	4.7	2.6	-2.8
1994 to 1996	-1.8	3.3	2.1	1.4	1.2	-1.3
1996 to 1998	0.8	-0.0	-0.5	-1.6	-1.7	1.1
Crisis Index	0.8	0.5	-0.2	-1.4	-1.5	0.8
Expected Value	47.7	4.7	8.4	12.9	20.5	53.5

Source: *Indicators of Well-being and Policy Analysis*,*3* (1), 5.

The crisis saw a worsening of the income distribution levels as the poor segments of the population absorbed the bulk of the crisis, the Gini Coefficient rising to 48.1 by 1998. Although average income distribution appears to have evened out over the course of the last ten years, even after taking the crisis into account, the richest quintile is now earning over 50% of the income in the country. After the crisis the percentage of income earned by the wealthiest actually increased again, from 53.3% to 53.9%.

The implementation of economic and social development plans since 1961 up until 1998 has yielded benefits for the population living in Bangkok and the surrounding metropolitan areas. (Table 47) By the above calculations, by 1998 a mere 0.6% of the population of Bangkok were living in poverty. The net numbers of people living in poverty in all regions has decreased sharply over the course of the last decade, even in the northeastern region which has always recorded the highest levels of poverty, there was a recorded drop from 48.4% in 1988 to 23.2% in 1998. The 1997 crisis has had a far more severe impact on the southern and central regions than the northern and northeastern, with net increases in poverty in the southern and central regions of over thirty percent. A smaller increase of 25.5% was recorded in the northeastern region and *no impact at all* in BMR.

Table 47 Percentage of Poor by Region

Period	Central	Northern	Northeast	Southern	Bangkok & Vicinity
1988	26.6	32.0	48.4	32.5	6.1
1990	22.3	23.2	43.1	27.6	3.5
1992	13.3	22.6	39.9	19.7	1.9
1994	9.2	13.2	28.6	17.3	0.9
1996	6.3	11.2	19.4	11.5	0.6
1998	7.7	9.0	23.2	14.8	**0.6**
Percentage Change					
1988 to 1990	-16.2	-27.4	-10.9	-15.2	-42.8

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1990 to 1992	-40.4	-2.6	-7.5	-28.6	-44.4
1992 to 1994	-30.4	-41.8	-28.3	-12.3	-54.7
1994 to 1996	-31.7	-14.8	-32.0	-33.4	-27.3
1996 to 1998	-22.4	-19.7	19.4	28.7	-12.7
Crisis Index	32.2	-15.1	25.5	36.3	-2.4
Expected Value	5.8	10.6	18.5	10.9	**0.6**

Source: *Indicators of Well-being and Policy Analysis*,*3* (1), 7.

The research and study of Kakwani (1998) into the net effect of the crisis on the standard of living in Thailand reveals some very interesting trends. Despite the fact that the financial crisis began in the Bangkok Metropolitan Region, in the financial sector, its impact has been far more severe in up-country areas. The impacts are felt by small firms, small employers, and by migrant workers who, losing short-term construction work, returned home in the aftermath of the crisis. The impact of the crisis is harshest away from the BMR, and harshest in lower educational groups among construction and other manual positions. Professionals and technical workers have suffered far less.

The crisis led to a decline in income in all areas of life, but importantly, a far greater decline in lower socio-economic groups. Real income dropped 7.7% in the first quarter of 1998 and a further 12.5% in the third quarter for the administrative and executive staff who had the highest pre-crisis average incomes. (Kakwani, 1998, Topic 10.3). The agricultural sector remains as the sector with the least real income per capita.

The various tables and statistics displayed below present the distribution of not only income, but also the relative consumption levels of Thai households.

Table 48: Average Monthly Income and Expenditure of Household

Year	**Average Household Size**	**Average Monthly Income of Household** (baht)	**Percent of Change per Year**	**Average Monthly Expenditure of Household** (baht)	**Percent of Change per Year**
1975-76	5.5	1,928	-	2,004	-
1981	4.5	3.378	11.87	3,374	10.98
1986	4.3	3,631	1.45	3,783	2.31
1988	4.0	4,106	6.34	4,161	4.88
1990	4.1	5,625	17.04	5,437	14.31
1992	3.9	7,062	12.05	6,529	9.58
1994	3.8	8,262	8.16	7,567	7.66
1996	3.7	10,779	14.22	9,190	10.20
1998	3.7	12,492	7.65	10,389	6.32
1999	3.7	12,729	1.90	10,238	-1.45

* Data collection period was from June-September 1999

Source: Thailand. National Statistical Office. *Household Socio-economic Survey*. Bangkok: National Statistical Office, various issues.

Table 49: Percentage of Average Monthly Income of Household by Type of Income

Type of Income	**1975-1976**	**1981**	**1986**	**1988**	**1990**	**1992**	**1994**	**1996**	**1998**	**1999**
Total Income	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Current Income	98.9	98.5	99.0	98.7	97.2	98.5	98.9	98.5	98.2	98.5
Money Income	72.9	70.7	73.2	73.9	76.0	77.4	79.6	80.5	79.7	80.2
Income in Kind	26.0	27.8	25.8	24.8	21.2	21.1	19.3	18.0	18.5	18.3
Other Money Receipts[1]	1.1	1.5	1.0	1.3	2.8	1.5	1.1	1.5	1.8	1.5

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1 Such as insurance proceeds, lottery winning and other windfall receipts.

* Data collection period from June-September 1999.

Source: Thailand. National Statistical Office. *The 1975-1976, 1981, 1986, 1988, 1990, 1992, 1994, 1996, 1998 and 1999 Household Socio-economic Survey*. Bangkok: National Statistical Office.

Table 50: Percentage of Average Monthly Income of Household by Source of Income

Source of Income	1975-1976	1981	1986	1988	1990	1992	1994	1996	1998	1999
(Value: baht)	1,928	3,378	3,631	4,106	5,625	7,062	8,262	10,779	12,492	12,729
Total Income	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Wages & Salaries	28.3	26.7	33.7	34.4	36.3	39.0	41.2	39.9	40.2	41.1
Profits, Non-farm	20.6	17.1	17.6	15.7	17.3	18.5	19.1	19.9	18.5	19.2
Profits from Farming	19.3	20.8	15.4	15.9	15.7	12.6	11.1	11.9	11.2	9.4
Property Income	0.8	0.9	0.9	0.9	1.1	1.5	1.1	1.6	1.9	1.9
Current Transfers	3.9	5.2	5.6	7.0	5.6	5.8	7.1	7.2	7.9	8.6
Income in Kind	26.0	27.8	25.8	24.8	21.2	21.1	19.3	18.0	18.5	18.3
Other Money Receipts[1]	1.1	1.5	1.0	1.3	2.8	1.5	1.1	1.5	1.8	1.5

1 Such as insurance proceeds, lottery winning and other windfall receipts.

* Data collection period from June-September 1999.

Source: Thailand. National Statistical Office. *The 1975-1976, 1981, 1986, 1988, 1990, 1992, 1994, 1996, 1998 and 1999 Household Socio-economic Survey*. Bangkok: National Statistical Office.

Table 51: Percentage of Average Monthly Expenditure of Household by Type of Expenditure

Expenditure Type	1975-1976	1981	1986	1988	1990	1992	1994	1996	1998	1999
Food[1]	46.1	44.1	38.9	36.5	36.2	34.8	33.7	32.2	35.1	33.3
Non-Food	53.9	55.9	61.1	63.5	63.8	65.2	66.3	67.8	64.9	66.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Consumption	96.0	93.4	92.1	91.4	90.0	90.2	89.7	87.8	86.3	87.0
Non-Consumption[2]	4.0	6.6	7.9	8.6	9.1	9.8	10.3	12.2	13.7	13.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

1 Excluded alcoholic beverages and tobacco products

2 Such as taxes, gifts and contributions, insurance premiums, lottery tickets and other gamblings, interest, etc.

* Data collection period from June-September 1999.

Source: Thailand. National Statistical Office. *The 1975-1976, 1981, 1986, 1988, 1990, 1992, 1994, 1996, 1998 and 1999 Household Socio-economic Survey*. Bangkok: National Statistical Office.

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Table 52: Average Monthly Income of Civil Servants' Family by Type of Income and Group of Position Level in 1999

Type of Income	Total		Level 1-2		Level 3-5		Level 6-8	
	(baht)	%	(baht)	%	(baht)	%	(baht)	%
Total	23,696	100	9,056	100	18,861	100	35,126	100
Salaries, Wages, Pension	18,653	78.7	7,039	77.7	14,698	77.9	27,933	79.5
Allowance for Work Position	252	1.1	3	-	34	0.2	689	2.0
Meeting Allowance/Overtime Premium	196	0.8	305	3.4	206	1.1	158	0.4
Housing Allowance	589	2.5	96	1.1	442	2.3	945	2.7
Medical Expense Assistance	175	0.7	31	0.3	145	0.8	255	0.7
Bonus, Tips	168	0.7	52	0.6	174	0.9	178	0.5
Hardship Allowance or Other Benefits	137	0.6	140	1.5	127	0.7	156	0.4
Own Account Profit	1,740	7.3	601	6.6	1,548	8.2	2,301	6.6
Rent Received from Renting out Assets	324	1.4	39	0.4	218	1.2	566	1.6
Contribution from Other Persons	413	1.7	427	4.7	411	2.2	414	1.2
Others[1]	834	3.5	234	2.6	666	3.5	1,249	3.6
Income from Civil Servants themselves	15,313	64.6	6,650	73.4	12,148	64.4	22,616	64.4
Income from Their Spouses	8,383	35.4	2,406	26.6	6,713	35.6	12,510	35.6

1 Interest, money gifts, lottery winning etc.

Source: Thailand. National Statistical Office. *Report of the Civil Servants' Living Condition Survey 1999*. Bangkok: National Statistical Office.

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Table 53: Average Monthly Expenditures per Family by Group of Expenditures and Group of Position Level in 1999

Group of Expenditures	Total		Level 1-2		Level 3-5		Level 6-8	
	(baht)	%	(baht)	%	(baht)	%	(baht)	%
Total	18,554	100.0	8,721	100.0	15,690	100.0	25,548	100.0
Housing	1913	10.3	1,.004	11.5	1,593	10.2	2,658	10.4
Food and Beverages	5,412	29.2	2,907	33.3	4,814	30.7	6,959	27.2
Drugs and Medical Care	588	3.2	257	2.9	504	3.2	801	3.1
Education	1,681	9.1	625	7.2	1,289	8.2	2,583	10.1
Transportation Expense	2,126	11.5	847	9.7	1,781	11.4	2,985	11.7
Recreation and Reading	754	4.1	320	3.7	592	3.8	1,124	4.4
Purchase of Vehicles, Furnishing and Household Equipment	1,993	10.7	922	10.6	1,769	11.3	2,597	10.2
Contribution and Transfer Payment	1,272	6.9	723	8.3	994	6.3	1,873	7.3
Others[1]	2,816	15.2	1,115	12.8	2,353	15.0	3,968	15.5
Capital Formation Expenditures	3,386	100.0	750	100.0	2,668	100.0	5,172	100.0
Hire Purchase and House/ and mortgage	2,590	74.5	439	58.5	2,033	76.2	3,997	77.3
Saving-Life Insurance Premiums	250	7.4	87	11.6	202	7.6	366	7.1
Provided Funds	546	16.1	224	29.9	433	16.2	809	15.6

1 Personal supplies and services, contribution, tax, interest, insurance premiums and miscellaneous.

Source: Thailand. National Statistical Office. *Report of the Civil Servants' Living Condition Survey 1999*. Bangkok: National Statistical Office.

Table 54 Percentage of Civil Servants Having Debt and Average Amount of Debt by Group of Position Level: 1991-1999

Group of Position Level	Percent of Civil Servants Having Debt					Average Amount of Debt (baht/family)				
	1991	1993	1995	1997	1999	**1991**	**1993**	**1995**	**1997**	**1999**
Total	65.0	70.2	70.2	75.9	77.5	**127,853**	**171.967**	**225,844**	**263,994**	**358,064**
Level 1-2	55.8	60.1	62.5	68.2	64.6	**54,058**	**72,570**	**104,919**	**127,781**	**102,023**
Level 3-5	69.4	73.6	72.3	77.6	78.8	**134,619**	**175,415**	**231,375**	**265,133**	**293,076**
Level 6-8	63.9	67.1	71.0	75.5	77.7	**278,169**	**300,468**	**363,299**	**359,089**	**517,045**

Source: Thailand. National Statistical Office. *Report of the Civil Servants' Living Condition Survey 1999*. Bangkok: National Statistical Office.

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We can see that despite average household size from 1975 through to 1998 being smaller (Table 48), the average monthly current income of those households was mainly from money income (Table 49) in the form of wages and salary (70 %) and a further 20 % coming from income in kind. (Table 50). Wage and salaries, together with pensions were the main source of monetary income for the average household. Both the average monthly income and monthly expenditures of the household sector can be seen to vary in correlation with the prevailing economic conditions. During the economic boom of 1988-1990, the growth rate of average monthly incomes increased almost threefold, from 6.34% in 1988 to 17.04% in 1990; while the average monthly expenditures also increased, from 4.88% to 14.31%. In contrast to this, after the 1997 economic crisis the average monthly income and expenditure still increased but at the slower rates. The average monthly expenditure, slightly dropped in 1999. (Table 48) These expenditures are mainly for daily consumption (Table 51), particularly uses such as food, housing and transportation. It is interesting to see that those with higher fixed incomes, such as civil servants, also have high levels of debt (Tables 53 and 54). In regards to the level of personal savings per capita in Thailand from 1970 through to 1998, there has been a certain amount of growth in the levels of savings. However, when compared to the high increase in the cost of artwork seen earlier, this increased level of savings per capita is insufficient to produce a group of art customers. As stated, of particular importance for Thai artists is the startlingly low levels of personal savings per capita seen across the board, throughout both the household sector in general and the higher income groups such as civil servants. Artwork is considered to be a luxury item, purchased with excess funds or with savings. However, as the tables below clearly show, accumulation of savings within households and families is rare. The portion of the population with sufficient ready cash to patronise the arts is therefore not a broad cross section of the community, but rather predominately corporate businesses and some sections of the royalty and higher noble classes.

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Table 55: Personal Income and Personal Savings, 1970-1999 (millions of baht)

Year	Personal Income	Disposable Personal Income	Personal Savings	Personal Income per capita (baht)	Disposable Personal Income per capita (baht)	Personal Outlay per capita (baht)	Personal saving per capita (baht)
1970	118,190	116,648	12,947	3,250	3,207	2,851	356
1971	122,563	120,817	15,409	3,282	3,285	2,822	413
1972	135,193	133,260	15,080	3,526	3,476	3,082	394
1973	178,826	176,689	26,937	4,545	4,491	3,806	685
1974	223,080	220,562	29,598	5,527	5,465	4,732	733
1975	242,455	238,621	26,094	5,858	5,765	5,135	630
1976	276,104	272,265	32,859	6,499	6,409	5,635	774
1977	319,652	314,934	40,925	7,338	7,229	6,290	939
1978	385,756	379,403	61,479	8,643	8,501	7,124	1,377
1979	435,265	427,739	60,253	9,528	9,364	8,045	1,319
1980	521,559	512,998	75,256	11,164	10,981	9,370	1,611
1981	590,975	580,449	79,235	12,385	12,164	10,504	1,660
1982	667,050	653,477	113,011	13,695	13,416	11,096	2,320
1983	718,667	702,164	96,102	14,466	14,134	12,199	1,934
1984	762,887	743,270	105,974	15,066	14,678	12,586	2,093
1985	814,518	792,092	124,809	15,791	15,357	12,937	2,420
1986	861,503	839,471	134,729	16,406	15,987	13,421	2,566
1987	975,104	952,403	161,224	18,251	17,826	14,809	3,018
1988	1,138,181	1,109,459	211,138	20,051	20,422	16,536	3887
1989	1,348,180	1,315,000	267,435	24,417	23,816	18,973	4,844
1990	1,517,685	1,470,730	213,168	27,180	26,339	22,521	3,818
1991	1,721,794	1,664,057	255,434	30,434	29,414	24,899	4,515
1992	1,918,474	1,858,323	267.160	33,485	32,435	27,772	4,663
1993	2,117,135	2,048,526	270,411	36,496	35,313	30,652	4,661
1994	2,364,674	2,282,247	263,344	40,275	38,871	34,386	4,485
1995	2,725,173	2,619,850	326,996	45,878	44,104	38,600	5,505
1996	2,981,575	2,851,799	285,476	49,690	47,528	42,770	4,758
1997	3,118,005	2,981,128	297,409	51,451	49,192	44,284	4,908
1998	3,181,270	3,036,706	460,283	51,981	49,619	42,098	7,521
1999p	3,166,671	3,047,385	400,850	51,236	49,306	42,820	6,486

Source: Thailand. National Economic and Social Development Board. *National Income of Thailand 1951-1996 and 1999 editions*. Bangkok: National Economic and Social Development Board.

Table: 56 Savings of Corporations, 1970-1999 (millions of baht)

Year	Savings of Private Corporations	Savings of Public Corporations and Government Enterprises	Savings of Cooperatives	Total
1970	1939	1,205	27	3,171
1971	1,716	1,220	34	2,970
1972	2,577	1,544	40	4,161
1973	5,307	2,169	61	7,537
1974	6,651	2,558	45	9,254
1975	6,360	1,701	44	8,105
1976	8,402	1,471	63	9,936
1977	8,679	2,261	89	11,029
1978	10,504	3,008	123	13,635
1979	13,375	2,545	167	16,087
1980	13,268	901	188	14,357
1981	14,521	2,003	203	16,727
1982	13,088	2,731	229	16,048

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1983	16,612	7,393	181	24,186
1984	16,494	11,583	223	28,300
1985	15,282	14,455	313	30,050
1986	17,622	15,420	358	33,400
1987	31,417	18,530	398	50,345
1988	43,794	25,328	468	69,590
1989	61,298	33,730	572	95,600
1990	91,666	41,915	691	134,272
1991	101,062	42,931	963	144,956
1992	137,393	45,544	1,110	184,047
1993	168,643	51,427	1,336	221,406
1994	245,414	59,221	1,666	306,301
1995	255,372	65,193	2,231	322,796
1996	249,569	63,463	2,636	315,668
1997	134,311	88,071	3,445	225,827
1998	107,347	-21,087	3,785	90,045
1999p	78,821	30,161	3,861	112,843

Source: Thailand. National Economic and Social Development Board. *National Income of Thailand 1951-1996 and 1999 editions*. Bangkok: National Economic and Social Development Board.

Many studies conducted, resulting in the information displayed above, resulted in almost as many means by which to measure poverty incidence and income distribution as there were studies. What the studies revealed was that the pace and manner of development in Thailand was generating disparities of wealth and large income inequalities, most notably between the Bangkok Metropolitan Region and other regions of Thailand. The burden of poverty is spread unevenly among the regions.

The economic crisis has had a far less severe impact on the economy of Bangkok and Bangkok vicinity, where the majority of contemporary Thai artists live and work, than in the provinces. The richest 20%, or the top quintile, of the population still gain the highest share of income as they have done through more that thirty years of the conscious implementation of economic and social development strategies in Thailand. This top quintile has also felt the effects of the 1997 economic crisis, but far less so than others in Thailand. Their financial status remains stable and well-established. The construction industry, and therefore the real estate industry, has felt serious impacts, however. This has led to a decrease in building and thus, perhaps, a decrease in demand for decoration of office premises. However, the corporate and banking sector, the monarchy and the upper class will continue to be the major purchasers of Thai art as they continue to be the group with enough financial resources to be both customers and patrons of the arts. Thai artists can not rely on the majority of Thai people as the bulk of the Thai population continues to be concentrated

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in the agricultural sector, the most unstable and economically shaky of the production sectors in the Thai economy. As long as the pattern of income distribution in Thailand continues to generate disparities as stark as the ones currently in place, Thai artists must continue to rely on the wealthy top 20% for customers. (Tables 56 and 57) This leads to the majority of Thai artists choosing to live in Bangkok, for the security of their economic foundation, and to achieve success and prosperity.

Table 56: GINI and Quintile Share of Income 1988-1999

Year	GINI	Quintile 1	Quintile 2	Quintile 3	Quintile 4	Quintile 5
1988	48.5	4.6	8.1	12.5	20.7	54.2
1990	52.4	4.2	7.3	11.5	19.2	57.8
1992	53.6	3.9	7.0	11.1	19.0	59.0
1994	52.7	4.0	7.2	11.6	19.6	57.7
1996	51.5	4.2	7.5	11.8	19.9	556.7
1998	51.1	4.2	7.6	11.9	19.8	56.5
1999	53.3	3.8	7.1	11.3	19.3	58.5

Source: *Indicators of Well-being and Policy Analysis*,*3* (1), 6.

Table 57: Current Income Share of Households by Quintile Group of Household and the Gini Coefficient

Quintile Group	1990	1992	1994	1996	1998	1999*
1	5.9	5.4	5.6	5.7	5.9	5.3
(10%)	(2.4)	(2.2)	(2.3)	(2.3)	(2.4)	(2.1)
(10%)	(3.5)	(3.2)	(3.3)	(3.4)	(3.5)	(3.2)
2	9.3	8.9	9.1	9.2	9.6	8.9
3	13.2	13.1	13.6	13.5	13.7	13.3
4	21.2	20.7	21.3	21.5	21.0	20.9
5	50.4	51.9	50.4	50.1	49.8	51.6
(10%)	(16.0)	(16.1)	(16.0)	(15.4)	(16.0)	(16.0)
(10%)	(34.4)	(35.8)	(34.4)	(34.7)	(33.8)	(35.6)
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Gini Coefficient	0.429	0.445	0.431	0.429	0.421	0.444
Per Capita Current Income (baht/Month)	1,330	1,785	2,166	2,890	3,283	3,389

Note: Data collection period from June-September 1999.
Source: Thailand. National Statistical Office. *The 1975-1976, 1981, 1986, 1988, 1990, 1992, 1994, 1996, 1998 and 1999 Household Socio-economic Survey*. Bangkok: National Statistical Office.

Table 58: Average Per Capita Income by Quintiles (baht/person/month)

	1998	1999
The bottom 20%	726	679
The second 20%	1,315	1,258
The third 20%	2,047	2,012
The fourth 20%	3,410	3,394
The top 20%	9,741	10,190
National Average	**3,448**	**3,508**

Source: *Indicators of Well-being and Policy Analysis, 4*(1), 6.

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B.) CUSTOMERS

The economic foundation of Thai contemporary artists rests on the economic foundation of other related sectors of the artistic network shown in Table 2. As mentioned above, the monarchy and the corporate and banking sector have been the most prominent consumers and patrons of the arts throughout last two decades and it seems likely this will continue to be the case. It is worthwhile, therefore, to consider the main sources of income available to these customer groups, and the changes in their economic stability or status. These are changes that have direct impact on the art market in Thailand and thus the artist population.

In addition to these two major groups of 'consumers' of art within Thailand, the role of art galleries as intermediaries in art trade, and as consumers of art themselves should be considered, as should the emergence of a relatively new group of artists who straddle the division, being both producers of art, and consumers. This new group of Thai artists is a relatively new phenomenon and consists of members of the corporate and banking sector, and members of the wealthy upper classes, who have become 'amateur artists'.

a. The Monarch.

Successive Thai monarchs and their family members accumulated wealth for many centuries, predominantly through monopoly of foreign trade and taxation. These have been historically important state activities and state revenue also provided considerable revenue for the king and his treasury.(Hewison, 1989, 48)

Sources of income available to the Monarchy altered after a provision in the Bowring Treaty signed in 1855 and other Treaties followed in the same vein precluded any form of royal monopoly. Despite this, the monarchy was, and continues to be able to accumulate wealth from various domestic sources. Particularly during the reigns of King Rama V and VI, the monarchy became increasingly involved in business administration directly, by becoming significant investors in various business enterprises, aiding individual Chinese businessmen and also providing personal incentives for domestic enterprise. (Hewison, 1989, p. 33-50). Currently, the financial base of Thai monarchy is predominantly managed by the Crown Property Bureau (CPB), a personal mutual fund for the royal family concerned with a variety of enterprises and businesses.

> *"The Bureau was established in 1937 to ensure that the Thai royal family could be financially independent of the state. It also helped keep the family's assets out of reach of Thai politicians and the military. Part of the bureau's strategy is to keep a low profile. A consequence of this is that obtaining information on its holdings is difficult, and there are almost no reliable published accounts of what it owns and why."* (Backman, 1999, p. 249)

Backman has also studied the royal businesses of the King Bhumibol Adulyadej, the current King of Thailand, and referred to the wealth of the Thai monarchy, citing *Forbes* statistics.

> *"Forbes magazine estimated King Bhumibol's private wealth to be US$1.8 billion in 1997, but by 1998, he had been bumped off the list, presumably on accounted of the effects of Asia's economic crisis."*
> (The global power elite,' Forbes, July 28, 1997; July 6, 1998. Cited in Backman, 1999, p. 249).

Regardless the 1997 economic crisis, Backman (1999) was convinced that the king's private wealth was under-estimated due to the following reasons:

> *" Crisis or no crisis, the king's private wealth seems to have been wildly under-estimated. Real estate investments and massive holdings of Thai blue-chip stocks have underwritten much of the Thai royal family's private riches. The true figure of the family's personal wealth is likely to be closer to US$8 billion (split roughly between Thai blue chips and Bangkok real estate,...). The king and the immediate members of his family directly hold shares in several Thai listed companies. Dhana Siam Finance and Securities PLC boasts the king and his daughters, Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn and Princess Chulabhorn, on its share registry, and Thai Insurance PLC can claim the king as a significant direct shareholder. But the great bulk of the family's private wealth is managed by the Crown Property Bureau."* (Backman, 1999, p. 249)

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During the reign of King Rama IV the rights of the monarchy to land and resources was significantly changed, "the monarchy should no longer have an absolute right to all land. Except for those lands set aside for royal duties, he declared, the king should pay a 'fair market price for land"'. (Hewison, 1989, p. 42). However, at the present time, the CPB and hence the royal family, is not only the largest landowner in terms of area, but also own significant amounts of valuable commercial property in Bangkok. It has been said that "*King Bhumibol most probably holds prime Bangkok land that has a long- term market value of approximately US$5 billion.*" (Backman, 1999, p. 251). These properties annually generate huge amounts of rental income for the family. In addition to commercial rental properties in Bangkok, the monarchy, through the CPB, also hold enormous amount of agricultural land in most of the provinces.

It is clear that the financial base of the king and royal family, through the CPB, is largely in land and real estate development in Bangkok. Additional wealth is also generated from investment, joint venture businesses and owning hotels in many overseas countries.

The 1997 economic crisis had severe affects on the market value of stocks in the Stock Market of Thailand, affecting many corporations and large numbers of the big investment projects under the supervision of the CPB. The net value of the monarchy's properties was certainly detrimentally affected by the crisis, as the following estimation of the extent of the affect illustrates:

> *"In the beginning of 1997, the equity held in blue-chip Thai stocks had a then market value of at least US$4.002 billion. With the US$77.6 million in Thai stocks held directly by the king and his immediate family, the immediate royal family's total investments in the Thai stock market stood at a minimum of US$4.079 billion and possibly much more. Asia's economic crisis saw the Stock Exchange of Thailand's market index decline by around 60% in the 12 months to March 1998, which would have seen the family's holding of Thai blue chips decline in value to about US$1.6 billion, but it has since bounced back."* (Backman, 1999, p. 250)

In 1997 the Thai baht collapsed, so the US dollars debts in baht term of Siam Cement exploded. In early 1998, it was reported that Siam Cement had US$1.19 billion loss which was considered as "..its first loss in almost a century of operating and the largest loss ever made by a listed Thai firm" (Backman, 1999, p. 253);

> *"Dhana Siam Finance and Securities, in which the bureau and members of the royal family directly hold equity, was forced to issue new shares in order to double its capital base to cover dramatic increases in bad debts; and the bureau also announced it would cancel or drop investment projects worth a total of US$3.2 billion in response to the crisis".*(Backman, 1999, p. 253).

Despite these effects, it is certain that the Thai monarchy remain an extremely wealthy institution. Due in part to this accumulation of wealth, and in part to their personal interest in art, the present King and the royal family are likely to continue to be significant consumers and patrons of Thai art both personally, and indirectly through the CPB. Additionally, the companies referenced above, in which the monarchy hold direct equity, like the Siam Commercial Bank and Siam Cement, can still be viewed as indirect ways in which the king and the royal family are able to patron the arts through commission work, sponsorships for art exhibition and sponsored art contests. The hotels fully or partially owned by the CPB, both domestically in Thailand and internationally, can be used as places for the promotion of Thai arts. As prominent contributors to, and shareholders in real estate development in Bangkok, the King and royal family members can indirectly generate demand for artworks used in the decoration of modern offices buildings, which are then leased through the bureau property's arm. A secure financial base in the monarchy can contribute to the security of Thai artists, both through direct patronage and indirectly supporting Thai art in general. Artists are also able to support the monarchy, and have done so on many occasions, through direct projects under the monarch such as the Mahajanaka Project, and indirectly through maintaining reverence and respect and participating in auspicious occasions, reflecting the glory of the institution of the monarchy.

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b. The Corporate and Banking Sector

The pace and style of economic development in Thailand has generated large amounts of wealth for business in general, and particularly notably, the banking sector. The wealth is concentrated among a limited number of Sino-Thai families who own commercial banks, other forms of financial intermediaries and family businesses directly funded by their own banks. Most wealthy businessmen and bankers have built and maintained personal connections with bureaucrats and politicians for long time. (Krirkkiat, 1981; Akira, 1989; Hewison, 1989; and Ockey, 1992).

> *"...In Thailand, every single major private bank is dominated by a single shareholder, and each of these has significant other non-bank interests. Particular banks are rarely referred to simply as a bank, but more usually as their bank. The country's biggest bank is Bangkok Bank, controlled by the Thai-Chinese Sophonpanich family. The family's core business is banks, but it also has important stakes in other major companies such as Bangkok Expressway, the publicly listed company that is building major toll-roads through Bangkok; City Realty, a property arm; and important rice-trading interests. Bangkok Bank itself has significant interests in companies that operate in non-financial sectors. There are more than 30 companies in which it has a precise 10% stake and which operate in anything from textiles to food trading to chemicals.*
>
> *One of the more spectacular bank failures in Thailand in recent years was the collapse of the Bangkok Bank of Commerce. Its demise provides a textbook example of all that is wrong with Thailand's banking system. The two senior managers at the bank, Kirkkiat Jalichandra and Rakesh Saxena, lent about a third of the bank's total loan portfolio to themselves. They also lent to senior politicians, embezzled the bank's funds, and fabricated its accounts. When the bank was on the verge of collapse with around US$3 billion in bad debts, rather than allow it to close, Thailand's central bank spent large sums of public money to attempt to bail it out. The rewards for imprudence can be high in Thailand, so it should be of surprise to no-one that there is a lot of it. Of course, Asia's economic crisis of 1997-1998 delivered a shock to Thailand, but old habits are hard to break."*

(Michael Backman, *Asian Eclipse: Exposing the Dark Side of Business in Asia,* 1999, p. 83.)

It has been customary for large scale business and financial enterprises, including commercial banks, to have influential military, police, senior public servants or politicians as "passive" members in their Board committees. This was intended to gain prestige for the enterprises, a sharing of financial benefits, and protection for the firms. The banking sector has been particularly vulnerable to this, and is widely regarded as being a source of "petty cash" for many politicians. In this way, the banking sector could indirectly influence the formulation and implementation of some policies. Since the connection between business and the political system is generally perceived and accepted, this is also a channel for some bankers and wealthy businessmen to become politicians. In the past these 'business politicians' have then directly formulated and implemented policies favourable to their own businesses and networks. Many continue to act as sources of "petty cash" for various members of some political parties. This is the form and structure of the corporate and business sector in Thailand, one of the largest sources of custom for artists also.

Corporations and businesses in Thailand have a clear understanding of the importance of the image that they portray, success is seen to be displayed as well as achieved. It is here that the connection between businesses and the arts is most clear. Artists are commissioned, hired and paid to decorate business premises as a source of prestige for the business, and a significant source of income for the artists.

The air-conditioned modern and western style of buildings and offices are considered as fundamental to the image of the banks and large-scale enterprises. They also provide space for artistic decorations considered a sign of prestige, both inside and outside the buildings. The art decorations may be selected either by the owners or the senior executives, or by the decorators and architects to be suitable for individual preferences, budgets and surroundings. The amount and style of art purchased by these big corporations also depends on the educational and artistic background and preferences of the owners and senior executives.

Art is also selected to be compatible with the working environment, able to maintain its value and appearance and not contentious. A certain style of art. If they have education or experience overseas where art appreciation is widely accepted and respected, they are more likely inherit the

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attitude and continue to be art consumers and/or patrons. The owners and senior executives of the Bangkok Bank, Thai Farmers Bank, and Siam Commercial Bank are notable among these.

The banking sector have had favourable financial status from the manner and pace of economic development. In the past, the banking sector in Thailand had a family business structure and was relatively secure due to the over protective policies of the Bank of Thailand. There was low risk and bankruptcy was almost impossible. The exchange rates were also less variable due to the implementation of conservative monetary policies by the Central Bank. The administrators of the banks had freedom to allocate banking funds to their own businesses, relatives, friends, influential persons, personal investments and also for perhaps excessive art consumption and patronage. Therefore in the past many commission works were produced to serve them. The banks become important art collectors and an important source of sponsorship. They also organised art exhibitions and contests on special occasions, mostly dealing either with the three key important institutions of Thailand: nation, religion and monarchy or with contemporary social problems like deforestation, pollution, aids. Patronage of the arts in this way was considered a way in which to contribute something back to the society and creating a new image, instead of being viewed as "leeches that suck blood from the society" as a prominent Thai economist, Rangsan Thanapornpan, has named them. The solid economic and social foundations of the banking sector have in the past contributed to the economic security of contemporary Thai artists.

The public in general tends to think that the 1997 crisis must have seriously affect the banking sector since the crisis started from that sector. The studies of Kakwani revealed this to be untrue. (Kakwani, 1998). The banking sector continues to have a favourable financial status. There were undeniable affect though, and the crisis in 1997 has led to the restructuring of large enterprises throughout the financial sector, including banks. Instead of remaining structured as family businesses, they have become more liberalised and globalised, with less protection from the Bank of Thailand. The financial liberalisation will generate more flexible capital movements and exchange rates, with looser laws and regulations. There will be more competition and risk than before the crisis. Some of the banks have became multinational, so they will require good corporate governance, transparency and accountability. From the present time, the banking sector must be more cautious in allocation funds. This restructuring of the banking sector has the potential to affect their expenditures for art consumption and patronage and thus the economic security of Thai artists.

c. Art Galleries

There is growing recognition among contemporary Thai artists of the important role of art galleries as intermediaries and traders in art. However, as mentioned earlier, both public and private the art galleries do not have standardised and modern administrative procedures. From the artists' perspective, galleries are not yet recognised as qualified agencies in Thai artistic network, although this is changing slowly.

One of the most well-established and successful galleries is the Sombat Permpoon Gallery in Bangkok. The role played by this gallery, and the owner and informal curator, Sombat Permpoon, is a good example of the potential future role of art galleries in Thailand. Even though she does not have a background of formal art education, she has over twenty years experience in supervising and managing the family gallery and has been extraordinarily successful. Most of the artworks on display in the gallery start from prices of "many ten thousands of baht" up to "many millions". There are not many pieces of artwork at her gallery worth "thousands", and the market focus of the gallery are well-to-do people or corporations, both domestic and international. She prefers to buy the artworks directly from the artists and prefers not to bargain. She acknowledges the value of the artist's imagination, time, effort and creative thinking. This acceptance of the mutual roles of artists and galleries is important to the economic security of both artists and art galleries. To certain extent, the artists are able to state their price, but along with this, artists need to accept and quote "possible" prices and leave some rooms for art galleries to make profit for the survival of both sides.

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Speculation on artworks in Thailand requires significant capital and flexibility as some artworks can take time to sell. If the art dealers/speculators misjudge an artwork, then they must to bear the costs for a long time, particular when the interest rate is high. Sombat raised this as a concern of gallery owners who, as a business administrators, must have profit for survival. Fortunately she has proved to have the excellent artistic and commercial instinct in selecting the right pieces of artworks from the right artists to ensure continued profit. In more than 20 years of managing an art gallery, she never yet selected a piece of artwork with no value in the market. The selection criteria she uses is based on the quality of artwork, the name of the artist and an estimation of the potential mark up in price. Some artists also regularly send artworks to her, artists with whom she has worked for some time, and her gallery has become their trading network. These pieces of art work she receives in this way are worth at least many tens of thousands of baht and represent the trust links that are possible to build between galleries and artists.

Sombat Permpoon is not simply involved in the purchase of art, however. Every piece of art displayed at the gallery is presented in the appropriate frame and displayed to best advantage. The right pieces are presented at the right places in right order and with proper lighting. The natural temperature is set for preserving the quality of artwork. Sombat acts as a saleswoman, informal curator, art promoter and art distributor and dealer, presenting or proposing pieces of artworks appropriate to the preference and budget of the customer. The 1997 economic crisis definitely affected her business, but as she is able to use the gallery and artworks as collateral for obtaining credit she was able to weather the crisis. Sombat also has other family businesses which help to support the gallery. She has also established her own private art gallery with works for her personal appreciation.

From Sombat's point of view the greatest barriers to successful running of art galleries in Thailand, and a closer relationship with artists, are the artists preferences for direct sale, personal contact and the occasional dishonesty of artists. Operating a successful gallery for more than 20 years is not easy work and Sombat spoke of the many difficulties she has encountered in the past, but she managed to survive. Survival of an art gallery, and hers in particular, rests partly on the many factors mentioned above. However also important has been her personality, strong determination, teamwork together with the moral support and also occasional financial support from her family.

One area of skill which is essential in the running of a successful art gallery is art appreciation. Sombat has demonstrated exceptional art appreciation and art administration. She is also very social and open-minded. She always gains knowledge and inside information of art prices and art markets from her friends. One other aspect of Sombat's management technique is worth mentioning, the efforts that she focuses on building rapport with her customers. She not only updates her general knowledge about art through reading materials and other sources, she also regards psychological books as among her favourites. Therefore when she meets the customers, she can choose the right topics for discussion. It is a good way for creating friendly relationship with the potential customers, building a rapport that will result in friends and personal connections, even if the customer does not purchase any artwork. Through this channel, Sombat can get some information from them which she can utilise for running her art gallery and her supplementary businesses. In the long run she would like to establish the international standard art gallery like in many developed countries.

This is an excellent example of successful art gallery within a specifically Thai art environment. Art appreciation alone is not enough. Art administration must be considered as well. Many artists including Chatchai Puipia tried to open their own art galleries but he, as others, finally failed. One reason may be the lacks of market-oriented mind and lack of experience and skill in art administration. However there is good potential in the near future as some universities, such as Burapha already realise the importance of art administration in a society that favours consumerism and materialism like Thailand. Not only is art administration now included in the curriculum, but art history and other art-based subjects are becoming compulsory courses for the art faculty. In these ways, we can hope that through the education system, the near future will see an increase in art

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appreciation among Thais - generating benefits for the country as a whole whether they are artists or not.

d. Amateur artists

There is an interesting emerging trend in Thailand now, the growth of male and female amateur artists. These artists are typically from well-to-do, well-established and *nouveau riche* families, and have high levels of education. Many of them have been, or are successful business people and need not worry about making a living. They are able to spend time and money learning art directly from prominent artists, or through courses organised by some private art galleries Some prominent academic and professional artists are able to earn significant amounts in this way, as these wealthy patrons can afford high fees. Not all of the emerging amateur artists study in this way though, many are self-taught. Surprisingly there are many wealthy people, including businessmen, who just found out their hidden talents. Art production for this group of artists is purely for enjoyment and there is less concern with 'paying the expenses'. The art produced in this way is mainly for self-appreciation and their own collections, although some is sold or auctions and exhibitions are organised for charity purposes. They form an enclosed market, as the art produced is either for private consumption or for close acquaintances. It has become a form of creating image and prestige among the upper classes. It is interesting to know that some businessman like Rangsan Torsuwan, a former architect, can utilise art as a spiritual settlement when he faces the problems of business crisis.

The growth of amateur artists may also affect the economic stability of professional or career artists because these amateur artists themselves are both art producers as well as art consumers. With their favourable financial status they can develop and lead some trends of art consumption among wealthy people, which more or less will affect the art production and economic bases of professional artists.

C.) SOCIETY

The Thai art world is significantly influenced by many facets of the society in which it operates. The illegal economy, a large part of the Thai economy, has a perhaps unexpected influence on the economic situation of Thai artists, as explored below. The circumstances facing society in general, levels of political stability and the manner and means of enforcement of laws and regulations, especially concerned directly with art, are also significant influences that must be considered. Wider changes in social perception that have accompanied the economic crisis of 1997 are important. The rise in attitudes of consumerism and materialistic tendencies, and the continuing though lessening role of superstition in Thai daily life, are important influences not only on the art market, and also the style and genre of art produced.

a. The Illegal economy

The pace and manner of economic development has also resulted in the growth of the illegal economy in Thailand. 'Illegal' can be referred to by other names, such as "underground economy, black market, shadow economy, informal economy or parallel economy" (Thomas 1992; Roemer and Jones 1991; Harding and Jenkins 1989 cited in Pasuk et al., 1998: 5), all basically referring to economic activity not included in GDP statistics. According to Pasuk, the illegal economy can theoretically be divided into five major categories namely:
(Pasuk et al. 1998: 6)

1. Activities which are illegal such as drug trafficking, smuggling, illicit logging, trading of conserved species of plants and animals, trafficking in humans, and prostitution and gambling where they are banned by law.
2. Tax evasion.
3. Income from corruption both in the government and the private sectors.

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4. Informal sector activities such as vending, self-employment, casual work, and household industries which are not captured in the official statistics and are often not covered by taxation.

5. Household work carried out by family members but not included in the value-added of the economy, such as the care of the sick and aged, and many household chores which are important to the well-being of household members.

For the purposes of this analysis it is the first three categories of the parallel economy with which we are concerned, those directly and consciously contravening the law, as they result in substantial profits which then require 'laundering'.

The close connection between political life and these three forms of illegal economic activity has been commented on in "Guns, Girls, Gambling, Ganja: Thailand's Illegal Economy and Public Policy", where Pasuk et al reports that

> *"Many politicians and public servants are implicated in the illegal economy. They dispense protection, mediate access, and often become directly involved as investors and managers..."*

(Pasuk Phongpaichit et al, 1998, p. 5)

From their studies as shown in Table 13, they also found out that the six major activities of Thai illegal economy, drug trafficking, trading in contraband arms, diesel oil smuggling, prostitution in Thailand, trafficking in people, and illegal gambling generated 286-457 thousand million baht of value-added per annum in the period 1993-1995 or equivalent to 8-13 per cent of GNP. (Pasuk et al. 1998, pp. 7-8).

Table 57 The Estimated Size of the Illegal Economy in Thailand, 1993-1995 Value-added (billion baht / year)

Drug trafficking	28 - 33
Trading in contraband arms	6 - 31
Diesel oil smuggling	9
Prostitution in Thailand	100
Trafficking in people	5 - 7
Illegal gambling	138 - 277
- underground lottery	(81-98)
- football gambling	(12-16)
- casinos	(45-163)
Total	286 - 457

Note: Thailand's GNP between 1993-1995 averaged 3.6 million baht a year.
Source: Pasuk Phongpaichit et.al. (1998). *Guns, girls, gambling, ganja* : *Thailand's illegal Economy and Public Policy*. Chiang Mai, Thailand: Silkworm Books, p. 8.

Even though the growth of illegal economy is not included in GDP statistics, it does have significant impact on the growth of the Thai economy. Through the process of cash laundering, income generated through illegal activities, or "dirty money" can be cleaned by being channelled into certain legal activities. Activities popular for this sort of money laundering are investments in the banking system, stock market, real estate, other forms of investment in the entertainment industry and other businesses, general consumption expenditures and purchase of artworks and patronage of the arts. The number of people interested in purchasing art works, patronising the arts in various forms, the number of art commissioners, collectors, sponsors and art galleries exploded between 1988 until 1997. This is in line with the economic development of Thailand as a whole, but may also have a connection with the corresponding growth of the illegal economy. The average prices of high quality, well-known Thai artwork are relatively high compared to comparable artwork in other countries. It is clear that the target market, and those able to purchase these art works, are the upper classes and the wealthy. This holds true regardless of the source of income. It is possible that the

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purchase of expensive art works, which are guaranteed to retain their value over a period of time, could in the future be one means of 'cleaning' income from illegal activities.

The establishment a Thai branch of the Christies Auction Company International, officially first opening its doors on 28 April 1999, open the opportunity for international standardised art auctions in Thailand. A number of wealthy people, and some corporations and companies who collected, invested in or speculated with art works during the 'bubble economy' are able to, through auction houses, like Christies, convert their investments into cash to support their businesses when facing severe financial difficulties, as was done in the Financial Restructuring Authority Auction in 1998. The quoted prices of each piece of artwork including the administration fee were quite high, restricting the customers and participants in the auction to the wealthy or very wealthy. Sotheby's Auctions International provides some credit services for their customers who do not have high amounts of ready money by using the auctioned artwork as collateral. The Christies Auction Company does not provide this kind of service, instead all bidders are required to pay a lump sum amount of money after the auction**.** If any successful bidder does not collect the artwork and pay the total costs within one year, Christies can sue to regain damages, as they did in a famous case in 1992.

This system of lump sum payments means that it is possible for 'dirty money' from illegal activities to be channelled into art purchases, then regained through sale of those art works at a later date. These auctions, and other forms of speculation on art work, allow speculation and profits can be made if clever purchases are made. This is especially true during periods where interest rates are depressed, a possible reason for the great success of the art auctions organised by Christies in 1997-1999 and in 2000. However it has been reported that there was some price manipulation in these auctions, particularly the latest one, in July 2000. The auction prices for art works in the Christies auctions do form good guidelines for Thai artists in quoting prices for their own works, but the allegations of price manipulation mean that the prices should be taken with some caution.

b. Political Stability

In the past, Thailand has been through many periods of political unrest, although it has always remained the favoured residence for the majority of Thais. After the latest Constitution of Thailand was proclaimed in 1997, continued political stability and an effective democratic system can be assumed. Conflicts still occur in Thailand, as in all countries, but the Thai people, in small groups and through larger pressure groups such as NGOs are increasingly relying on democratic means to solve conflicts between different segments of society. Freedom of expression, a fundamental pre-condition for a flourishing art world, is also assured by the new constitution.

As the levels of art produced for the commercial market increase in a stable political system with assured freedom of expression, competition among artists is likely to increase. Greater emphasis will be placed on distinguishing art works, on personal styles. The development of uniquely Thai art genres, and the development of upcoming artists within Thailand is far more likely given the stability of present day Thai politics. Political stability and political freedom are likely to promote the role of art in Thailand, as artists chose to remain in Thailand and develop their art there.

Political stability has the added benefit of increasing confidence within the private sector, one of the most important groups of art consumers, and important patrons of Thai contemporary art. Political stability results, if all else is equal, in increased levels of domestic investment and employment, a situation that can only generate higher demand for artworks, and thus more secure, and higher incomes for artists.

c. Education

Thai people in general are lack of art appreciation and creative thinking, due in part to the inefficiency of the education system in Thailand. Students are considered passive learners and are encouraged to memorise their lessons, not to think for themselves. The focus on the teacher as the repository of knowledge, teaches the children to obey and never to question or argue. (Mulder, 1997: Ch.1-4 and Conclusions). In regards to art education, students learn to copy objects assigned by the

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teacher. The grades attained rest entirely on copying skills, not originality. Only occasionally are the students allowed to use their own imagination. Many of the art teachers are not trained in teaching art, or are partially trained, but inappropriate for the levels of education and different development stages of the students. It is common also for there to be shortages of materials and insufficient facilities, especially in rural schools. Even worse is the lack of support and understanding of the importance of art from senior administrators.

However there are many teachers who recognise themselves the importance and value of art seeking their own ways to encourage students. One of these teachers is Sangkom Thongmee, at Loei province who encourages the students to use local materials or any material they would like, encouraging creativity while not increasing the expense of art lessons for the schools. Sangkom uses his own monthly salary to purchase these local materials for his students use.

There are some teachers who encourage students to work in natural surroundings outside the classrooms and create from their own imagination. In these cases, the role of the teacher becomes one of mentor, supervisor and commentator - not dictator as before. As mentioned earlier, many university instructors and artists arrange special training courses for both interested art teachers and students. Occasionally students join in art exhibitions and contests, both in Thailand and overseas, and some students have managed to win large prizes.

Mulder also expressed some very interesting points on the elementary level of education:

" Elementary school teaches how to be a good subject, 'a child the nation desires". This means that it suppresses initiative, self-responsibility, and individual maturation. I fear that 'Botan' [a novelist] is right: it stunts personal growth. The stress is on rote learning, drilled in through repetition; on discipline, and thus obedience; on cramming, not on understanding. I think such teaching kill curiosity and initiative. .... Expanding the years of compulsory education from six to nine does, in itself, not solve any problem, as long as elementary is so wasteful of the talents of its students." (Mulder, Niels *Thai Images: The Culture of the Public World*. Chiang Mai, Thailand, Silworm Books, 1997: pp. 336-337)

In the new Constitution, reform of the education system is recommended, and the reforms are expected to encourage creative thinking and imagination. The teacher-focus of the current system will be replaced by a student-centred system in the future, where students will be encouraged to be more active, to express their opinions, and to value the opinions of others. The reforms will also place an increased important on Thai language and culture, to promote pride in being Thai and pride in using the proper Thai language. The reforms are intended to create an education system that teaches the principles of democracy, and teaches creative thinking and problem solving throughout all subject. This foundation of creative thinking and confidence can be considered the root of successful art production and creation. It is also a necessary pre-condition for the appreciation, enjoyment and critique of contemporary art.

So in the future Thai people in general will be able to appreciate art, without necessarily being artists themselves. It is hoped that art patronage will increase, as the value of art is recognised, patronage both directly and indirectly. For example, it is hoped that politicians will have vision and both formulate and implement policies that benefit artists and other segments of the Thai artistic network. The development strategies recommended by Thai economists in the Eighth Economic and Social Development Plan emphasises the development of human resources and science and technology. This is an area of development that will be greatly aided by an increased recognition of the importance of creative and innovative thinking, one of the aims of the new education system. It is hoped that through creative education, and art appreciation, a softness can be encouraged in the hearts of businessmen and others exploiting both natural and human resources. However these are hopes, and it is yet too early to expect these things from the new education system because many programs were delayed due to the impact of the 1997 economic crisis. Nevertheless we can see that if the new education system yields benefits as we expect, or hope, then benefits will be gained by artists and other segments of the art network in Thailand, perhaps leading to a better and more sustainable economic foundation for the future. This is linked closely with the policy of self-reliance

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promoted by His Majesty the King, by developing ourselves in this way, by encouraging creativity and imagination, we can develop our own human resources as well as technology and science appropriate to Thailand.

d. Laws and Regulations concerning the Arts

The laws and regulations concerning the sale and production of art remain unclear and ambiguous. Loopholes remain by which Thai artists are able to avoid taxation. This can be both intentionally or unintentionally, usually through the direct sales and personally commissioned works between artists and customers. In these instances, there is no concrete evidence such as receipts or contracts to prove the real value or cost of the transactions. Large corporations may have some contracts of this type also, but it is more common for both sides to reveal the approximate monetary value of commissioned works to the public. Artists in general, and other sections within the Thai art world, tend to understate their income in order to pay less income tax. Certainly private sales result in the government incurring some leakages in taxation of art sales each year.

From the artists' point of view, there are few incentives to pay tax, as they consider the government to be an ineffective or non-existent patron of the arts. They feel the government does not recognise the importance and the role of art in Thai society. Even though the Prime Minister himself claims to be an artist, as Chuan Leekpai does, it does not seem to help to improve the state of art. The national government budget allocated for support of the arts is relatively low. Artists continue to lack both space and professional curators for the organisation of standardised art exhibitions. In the government's view, any normal senior public servant can be a curator. Knowledge or special training are not considered to be necessary criteria. Thai artists in general, are scornful of the performances and abilities of curators at government art galleries. The location and atmosphere does not attract either local or foreign visitors, despite the fact that the entrance fees are cheap and discriminatory, usually around 10 baht for local and 30 baht for foreign visitors. In 25 years over one third of the visitors were school and university students, followed by the public at 25.32% of the total. Foreign visitors and official visitors were around even at just below 20% each and a small number of monks and novices (only 523 of the total of 300, 624 visitors). When we consider that the largest percentage, school and university students, visit the gallery on school expeditions, these statistics display a lack of art appreciation within Thai society.

Table 58: Number of Visitors at The National Art Gallery, Thailand, September - December 1998

Month	Public	Foreign	Monk-Novice	Students & Uni. Students	Official Visitor	Total
September 98	1,250	500	12	1,286	899	3,947
October 98	343	239	13	671	713	2,069
November 98	589	384	9	678	856	2,516
December 98	303	437	7	1,152	1,136	3,125
Total	2,575	1,650	41	3,787	3,604	11,657

Source: 25 Year Ho Silp Chao Fah. *1999 Annual Report.*

Table 59: Number of Visitors at The National Art Gallery, Thailand (Ho Silpa) January-August 1999

Month	Public	Foreign	Monk-Novice	Student &Uni. Student	Official Visitor	Total
January 99	448	479	7	1,450	1,153	3,537
February 99	376	574	6	435	880	2,271
March 99	1,014	617	10	854	1,363	3,858
April 99	364	380	13	1,230	1,759	3,746
May	403	329	17	1,164	1,337	3,250
June 99	726	297	9	642	1,321	2,995
July	676	456	4	1,112	1,896	4,144
August	959	582	9	1,256	1,529	4,357

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Total	**4,966**	**3,704**	**75**	**8,143**	**11,238**	**28,153**

Source: 25 Year Ho Silp Chao Fah. *1999 Annual Report.*

Table 60 Number of Visitors at The National Art Gallery, Thailand September - December 1998

Month	Public	Foreign	Monk-Novice	Student &Uni. Student	Official Visitor	Total
September 98	1,250	500	12	1,286	899	3,947
October 98	43	239	13	671	713	2,069
November 98	589	384	9	678	856	2,516
December 98	303	437	7	1,152	1,136	3,125
Total	**2,575**	**1,650**	**41**	**3,787**	**3,604**	**11,657**

Source: 25 Year Ho Silp Chao Fah. *1999 Annual Report.*

Table 62: Number of Visitors at The National Art Gallery (Ho Silkpa), Thailand, January-August 1999

Month	Public	Foreign	Monk-Novice	Student & Uni. Student	Official Visitor	Total
January 99	448	479	7	1,450	1,153	3,537
February 99	376	574	6	435	880	2,271
March 99	1,014	617	10	854	1,363	3,858
April 99	364	380	13	1,230	1,759	3,746
May	403	329	17	1,164	1,337	3,250
June 99	726	297	9	642	1,321	2,995
July 99	676	456	4	1,112	1,896	4,144
August 99	959	582	9	1,256	1,529	4,357
Total	**4,966**	**3,704**	**75**	**8,143**	**11,238**	**28,153**

Source: 25 Year Ho Silp Chao Fah. *1999 Annual Report.*

Table63: Number of Visitors at The National Art Gallery, Thailand., (Silp Bhirasri Memorial) September - December 1998

Month	Public	Foreign	Monk-Novice	Student & Uni. Student	Official Visitor	Total
September 98	342	59	3	305	28	737
October 98	257	32	3	265	7	561
November 98	216	35	-	217	32	500
December 98	142	16	-	120	8	286
Total	**957**	**142**	**6**	**907**	**75**	**2,084**

Source: 25 Year Ho Silp Chao Fah. *1999 Annual Report.*

Month	Public	Foreign	Monk-Novice	Student & Uni. Student	Official Visitor	Total
January 1999	194	33	-	189	7	423
February 1999	167	30	3	152	17	369
March 1999	159	70	-	122	21	372
April 99 1999	122	14	-	169	7	316
May 99 1999	95	11	-	66	4	176
June 1999	121	16	-	114	6	251
July 1999	96	13	-	119	30	258
August 1999	92	26	2	72	110	302
Total	1,046	213	5	1,003	202	2,467

Source: 25 Year Ho Silp Chao Fah. *1999 Annual Report.*

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Table 64: Number of Visitors at the National Art Gallery of Thailand, Cumulative 1979-1999

Year	Public	Foreigner	Monk-Novice	Student & University Student	Official Visitor	Total
1979	6,113	500	-	6,320	-	12,933
1980	5,831	485	5	13,084	-	19,450
1981	4,760	647	-	16,246	-	21,653
1982	6,276	1,166	5	11,476	-	19,023
1983	4,458	915	9	7,016	-	12,398
N.A.					6	251
1988	1,782	1,433	-	2.380	75	5,670
1989	8,406	4,085	-	4,890	17	17,398
1990	4,250	8,406	-	4,207	27	16,920
1991	3,516	9,674	-	4,341	114	17,645
1992	3,018	7,010	-	3,390	80	13,505
N.A.						
1995	6,651	4,119	143	6,655	15,723	33,291
1996	5,938	4,750	108	4,562	10,948	26,296
1997	5,105	4,279	108	6,996	10,914	27,411
1998	5,044	4,106	70	9,280	10,405	28,905
1999 (Jan-Aug)	4,966	3,704	75	8,143	11,238	28,126
Total	76,104	55,269	523	109,026	59,541	300,624

Source: 25 Year Ho Silp Chao Fah. *1999 Annual Report.*

The pattern of donations from art patrons between 1990 and 1999 from both corporate and individual, and both domestic and international donors, to the National Art Gallery are also interesting. During the economic boom, donations were regular and the Thai Farmers' Bank was one of the most regular and highest donors. This was particularly true just before the crisis in 1995 when the bank donated over one hundred thousand baht to the Gallery. Established artists were also significant donors, especially Ithipol Tangchalok in 1992, with over one hundred thousand baht donated. However after the crisis, the number of donations dropped to a total monetary value of only 36,600 baht. By 1999 only two donors remained, the Kong Thun Nam Jai, a yearly donor with 1998 being the only exception, and a new donor, the Phillip Morris Thailand Ltd. Phillip Morris donated the largest amount ever given to the Gallery, over five hundred thousand baht, a fact that has caused some anger among the established Thai artists interviewed for this study. They view the donation as an attempt to target a new customer group, teenagers, while presenting a clean and generous image, the image of a company supporting society at large.

There are a number of other interesting observations able to be made about the pattern of donations to support the arts. The year with the highest total donations before the crisis was 1992, a year famous for the May tragedy. In this year, it was the established artists in Thai society who donated large amounts of money to the Gallery, totalling 163,620 baht. Ithipol Tangchalok, as mentioned, was the highest donor, but Sermsuk Thianthavorn and Charnvit Kuncaethong also donated significant amounts. It was perhaps the political tragedy that prompted these unusually high donations from members of civil society, and an increased number of exhibitions and art work presentations from established artists. This is in contrast to the post-crisis donors who were majorly corporate sponsors, in both 1998 and 1999.

Many artists are also sceptical of the quality and performance of private art galleries. There is a view of gallery owners as being inefficient dealers, or intermediaries in art sales, underpricing art work and overcharging administration. Some artists consider the gallery practise of low quotes before sale and significant mark-up at point of sale to be detrimental to the status of the artist.

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Private art galleries and dealers also tend to understate their incomes in order to pay less taxation. In addition the laws and regulations do not state clearly the situation regarding taxation on the sale of artworks and artist's income. Due to weaknesses and loopholes such as these, direct sales with no financial record are generally the preferred means by which artists, and to a lesser extent, art galleries, avoid taxation. Short term economic gains are clearly increased by this, however in the long-run they may detrimentally affect the artists both economically and artistically as direct sales and personal contacts means that the responsibility and organisation is completely the artists, perhaps leaving less time for the production and development of their own art work.

The ambiguity of copyright laws concerning both the images and actual body of art works sold causes some misunderstandings. It is not clear what rights an artist retains over the use of their work, once it is sold. A well known example of this was the case between of a dispute between the painter Preecha Thaothong and TISCO over copyright after sale of the work. This case remains, as yet, unsolved. (Henderson, 1998, p. 166)

It should also be noted that many Thai painters prefer to use materials from Italy and France as the quality is higher and the art works tend to last longer. Only occasionally will they use local materials. However foreign products are expensive due to high import taxes and there is no subsidy from the government. Art students and artists have to bear their own costs, which is seen by many as a barrier for them. Some poorer artists and beginning art students may gain more short-run profit by using low quality materials but overcharging their artworks for ill-informed buyers. In the long run factors such as this can only be detrimental to the artists long-term financial and artistic success.

In the course of this study it was noticed that an unusually high proportion of Thai artists have contracted cancer, when compared to the rest of the population. The causes of this are unknown, it may be the behaviour usually associated with the artists life, drinking, smoking or stress. There is another possibility though, forwarded by the artists, that the content of some art materials have a dangerous chemical mixture. There are no laws and regulations to control the chemicals in art materials, and no source of government advice on the appropriate way to use those materials. Illness severely affects artists, as an inefficient social welfare system in Thailand means that artists must cover all the costs of their medical treatment, and not being able to work, or produce art, means that they cease to have income. Some of the interviewed artists mentioned the additional medical costs, either for themselves or for their families, that they must pay additional to other living expenses. Some artists have been able to receive help in this area from His Majesty the King.

e. Social Attitudes

Towards Consumerism and Materialism

Both the conceptual direction and the practical implementation of the successive Economic and Social Development Plans of Thailand have generated consumerism and materialism among Thais, far more than spiritual development. The studies of Suntaree Komin clearly reflect the new wave of social attitudes which is the outcome of rapid economic development in Thailand.

> *"...There has been a growing emphasis on self-indulgence, which has led to the exploitation of whatever resources are available to achieve material success. It has also led to the discarding of religious and spiritual belief, to a higher incidence of drug abuses, alcoholism and crime, and to a host of spiritual and psychological problems....environmental pollution and the man-made, chemically induced health hazards associated with industrialisation"*
>
> (Suntaree, 1997, pp. 251-252)

Komin's studies also reflected a clear difference in the world-views and social attitudes of urban and rural Thais, which she interprets as a by-product of the implementation of policies focusing on industrialisation. These attitudes will affect the characteristics of urban and rural Thais in the future.

> *"...That of rural Thais was characterised by 'other-oriented' mutually helpful community values and a characteristically profound religious faith and spiritual life, with inner harmony and contentedness. In contrast urban Thais were found to be self-oriented and concerned with personal happiness, material comforts, pleasure and social recognition, with a drastic reduction in religious values..."*
>
> (Suntaree, 1997, p. 257)

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However, the trends towards increased consumerism and materialism have also yielded benefits for the economic stability of contemporary Thai artists. As artworks are used to increase or demonstrate social standing and are treated like economic objects, sales have increased. Both implicit and explicit competition between buyers has emerged, art is purchased without knowledge or real appreciation, seemingly to prove that one has the wealth and ability to do so. Commercial artists may mass produce certain artworks or pictures to satisfy the demand, without due consideration of the quality of the art. Artists filling this market niche, may not be established or well-known yet, and being a commercial artist in this way can greater improve their levels of economic stability. The trend towards consumerism and materialism has been of great economic benefit to Thai artists in this way, allowing increased income for struggling artists. However this is not as clear as it may seem, as trends of consumerism and materialism are emerging in the art world as much as else where in society, and an increased income is of little use if living expenses increase at a greater rate. In this way, the increased incomes of artists from the economic boom may not always result in more sustainability for individual artists, and a fall in demand for their works, as was seen after the 1997 crisis, may result in many debt-ridden artists struggling to continue to work. The fall in demand for art was said, by the artists, to have fallen up to fifty percent from pre-crisis days.

Despite the focus given above to trends of consumerism and materialism, many artists remain who love and value art outside of any economic considerations. These artists, who expressly reject the trend of consumerism, are usually well-established artists, and they speak of the value of their time, effort, invention and imagination in their art. These artists will check the attitude of the customers, or buyers, before agreeing to sell. Provided the buyers genuinely appreciate the artwork and are collecting them for their own appreciation or for public display and enjoyment in museums, national art galleries, private art galleries, education institutes, then this group of artists will sell the artworks to them at a reasonable price or even give them away for free. By contrast, many of these same artists will refuse to sell their art if they believe that the customer does not genuinely appreciate the art, but is buying it for speculation purposes. In this way, some artists can also be considered art consumers, as they will wait until the "right customer" comes, otherwise preferring to keep them for occasional solo or group exhibitions or for their personal enjoyment.

Some artists view their artworks as "treasures of the land and people" and prefer domestic customers to foreign customers, to ensure that their art will be in Thailand for the enjoyment of the next generations. Some artists, like Chalermchai, have stated that their art work is only for Thai customers, as it belongs to the land, if there are no Thai buyers, he says, he would prefer to keep it within the country.* A number of artists have developed this idea of responsibility to the nation, and plan to leave their artwork, after their death, to the nation. Concerning this group of established and conscientious artists, the trends toward consumerism and materialism do not yield significant benefits to them economically, but they are proud of their commitment to what they regard as their professional ethics and integrity, and this will be on long-term benefit to them.

Spiritualism

There is a mixture of religious beliefs in Thailand. Although the state, and the majority of Thai people identify themselves as Buddhists, everyday life continues to revolve around, or incorporate superstitions. There is a preference for relying on supernatural powers, fate or luck for success, more than on oneself. The continuing strength of superstitious beliefs could imply a lack of self-confidence, and indeed a lack of belief in ones self. This may be reflected in the Thai tendency to distrust the government.

Changing social attitudes and trends towards consumerism and materialism, as by products of modernisation and the implementation of various social and economic plans, have resulted in new attitudes toward Buddhism and 'spiritualism' or superstitions. Suntaree and Sanit conducted studies of these changes during the rapid economic and social development and change in Thailand. What their studies revealed is very interesting:

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"...while rural Thais continue to place religion at the top of their priorities, for Bangkok people the importance of religion has dropped a significant level. "
(Suntaree and Sanit, 1979; Suntaree, 1990a and 1990b; cited in Suntaree, 1997, p. 257)

"...Religious leaders have tried to translate important traditional religious elements into modern terms in an attempt to make established religions more relevant, but religion has instead become more private and individualised. There has been a proliferation of new sects and cults, which could reflect the growing spirits of neophilia or novelty, or it could also be reflecting the growing psychological needs of modern people living in societies oriented towards materialism and consumerism .... Materialism is sweeping through Buddhism in the form of luxurious monasteries and materialistic behaviour. Therefore Buddhism is viewed by many as a mere tradition. For many others, Buddhism has been reduced to a psychological refuge...Without doubt, industrialisation and materialism have brought spiritual emptiness to the people."

(Suntaree, 1997, pp. 257-258)

In Sulak Sivarak's view *" the inability to make Buddhist teachings socially relevant accounts for the decline in its influence in the face of the current tidal wave of consumerism and materialism"* (Sulak Sivarak, *Bangkok Post*, 16 March 1989, cited in Suntaree, 1997, p. 258). Jackson conducted similar studies, with similar results. (Jackson, 1996, pp. 245-320).

Continued belief and spiritualism has, on the other hand, yielded benefits to those artists involved in making sacred religious or worship images. Some sculptors are able to earn extra income from producing amulets and small-scale sacred objects. Some sculptors can gain significant income from commissioned works, creating large-scale popular sacred objects and figures. In general three prominent themes emerge from the superstitions still followed, and from the sacred objects the artists produce, namely wealth, prosperity, and safety. All three themes are deemed to be the realm of 'luck' in which the spirits hold influence, and the importance of these three themes above others reflects contemporary values in Thai society. The form in which the beliefs emerge appears to be unlimited, and the worship objects themselves may change, but the three main themes remain constant. At times these trends were consciously created and maintained, as in the Rama V cult and worship of Kuan Yin. (Jackson, 1996, pp. 245-320).

Some artists also claim that their personal belief in spirits contributes to the art their produce. A prominent and well-established female artist, Lawan Daorai, has said that she received the aid from spirit mediums to produce portraits of past Thai Kings. (*Sinlapa Watthanatham*, January, 1991, pp. 154-157).

These trends in social attitudes and beliefs, spiritualism, consumerism and materialism, can, from the artist's points of view, be of economic benefit to them. Artists have also, however, used their art as a means of social commentary about these very social trends. There is an increasing tendency in Thailand to use art to comment on contemporary issues as well as the dangers of superstition, over consumption and materialism. Many corporations, banks and other organisations have chosen to emphasise these themes in their sponsorship of art exhibitions and contests. This forms another way in which social changes can be of economic benefit to artists, when they are considered the right media in which to explore concerns about social changes.

VI. Conclusion

There are many interrelated factors that influence the economic foundations of contemporary artists in Thailand today. A more stable economic base for artists requires increased cooperation instead of competition among artists themselves. This cooperation can develop a more systematic and standardised relationship between art producers and their markets, with support from other agencies within the artistic network, and the potential result of a more equitable and ultimately sustainable market system. It would also require transparent and accessible information for the public regarding sale of art works, to reveal the true financial status of artists and artistic networks, without them having to fear excessive taxation. Generosity among and between artists is needed, in order to share knowledge and information about changes in the art market, and clear laws and

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regulations governing art transactions so each actor in the art network can be sure of the position they hold.

These have been improvements or developments necessary within the art world itself, but wider society could also be improved in its appreciation of and understanding of the art that contemporary artists produce. This is part of why the art section of the curricula, within the Thai education system, requires updating and re-thinking. The education system also needs to be improved in its teaching of artistic skills, with a greater emphasis on individual imagination and innovation.

Changes such as these would allow a greater level of regulation, systematic and standardised prices and administration fees could be set up to yield economic benefits to every agency within the artistic network, or art world. The regulation and systemisation of the Thai art world is progressing with the Thai government accepting the International Labour Organisation criteria for various occupations, ISCO-88, including those of 'sculptors, painters and related artists', code number 2452 (Appendix 10). Provided that Thai artists cooperate and work together with the government agencies concerned with support of the arts, the adoption of a standard like the ISCO-88 will allow easier collection, comparison and use of data about artists in the future. This cooperation can occur only if the artists in Thailand are willing to become more transparent and open about their economic status, and other details of the Thai art world. If the true data and information is available and accessible, the relationship between artists and the public, artists and the government, and artists and the international art world will be easier to promote and maintain.

In addition to the difficulties with transparency and accessibility of the Thai art world, there are additional challenges facing contemporary artists. In the aftermath of the 1997 economic crisis, HM the King proposed a policy of self-sufficiency or 'back-to-basics' for restoring the economic and spiritual wellbeing of the Thai people and nation. Mainstream Thai society, both in the public and private sectors, have responded positively to this proposal of HM the King's, and are attempting to implement the strategy in a number of ways. It is a challenge for the Thai artistic establishment, and for individual Thai artists, to see how they will participate in this. They need to convince the Thai people that contemporary art is a necessary good, an enjoyment for all people that individuals can purchase and enjoy without having to bear the extraordinary costs of Thai art currently.

It has been said that Thai people are losing faith and lack proper understanding of the principles of Buddhism and current artwork revolving around Buddhist themes, as much of traditional Thai art has done, is not achieving the popularity that might have been expected. Perhaps placing renewed emphasis on the importance of spiritual development and faith in Buddhism is a possible role for upcoming artists. The emphasis on spiritual development can be a counter-weight to the emergent trends of consumerism and materialism in Thailand.

Additional fears have been raised that the younger generations of Thai people do not value their language and culture as they should. This is one of the concerns that the new education system is intended to address. A strong pride in, and ability to communicate pride in language and culture is an important attribute for Thai artists. As 'ambassadors' for Thai culture globally, and as promoters of national sentiment within Thailand, it is essential for this pride to be realised.

Finally, there is a challenge facing Thai artists that can be found reflected in countries all over the world. Contemporary artists in Thailand, under the constrains of the market as all producers are, must find a way to produce and develop their artistic styles and works in a manner suitable for the market in which they operate. This is made more complex by the emerging trend of globalization and the challenge becomes, to find a way in which the art produced can retain its local validity and integrity, and still compete in a globalised market. Art is intended to promote peace and understanding, harmony between Thais and people throughout the world. The challenge facing Thai contemporary artists is to find a way to ensure this happens, to ensure that the value of art is recognised, and that art fulfills its potential role in society, as suggested and supported by the prominent Thai economist, Puey Ungphakorn.

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