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ONS 15 YEARS  
ZOE BUTT  
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ASIA  
ART  
ARCHIVE



☒☒ZOE☒BUTT☒☒PRACTISING  
FRIENDSHIP:☒RESPECTING  
TIME☒AS☒A☒CURATOR☒☒☒☒☒



Image: Saigon based members of the Sân Art Board — Phunam, Đinh Q Le, Tuan Andrew Nguyen, Matt Lucero, and Zoe Butt. Ho Chi Minh City, 2013. Photo: Nguyen Nhat Nam.



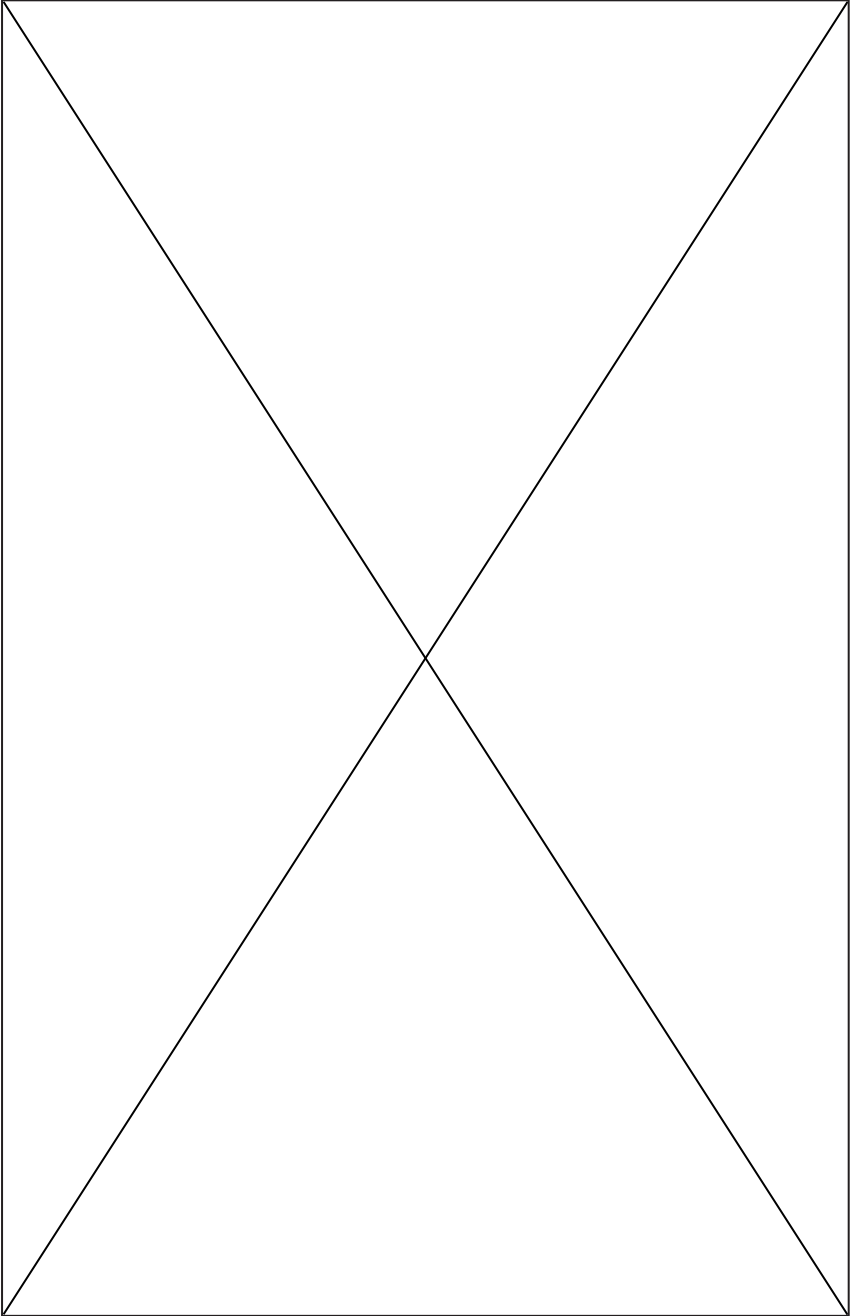


Zoe Butt formerly of Sàn Art in Ho Chi Minh City, and facilitator of AAA's 2011 Mobile Library programme in Vietnam, contributed a text to AAA's e-journal *Field Notes*. Butt looks at *Practising Friendship* as a platform that is integral to the longevity of particular kinds of arts infrastructures. Concentrating on those considered independent, 'alternative,' and archival in spirit, Butt also investigates a method of working strategically under conditions with political or cultural restrictions.

**Zoe Butt**

**Practising Friendship: Respecting Time as a Curator**

**November 2015**



# PRACTISING FRIENDSHIP: RESPECTING TIME AS A CURATOR

Every day I take a moment to quietly reaffirm my motivations for working in the arts, for I've got to be frank, I once nearly quit on my passion. Utterly. At a too-early point in my career, I had grown oh-so-tired of the way neoliberal systems of institutional approval were dictating how artistic innovation was allowed to take form and be interpreted—a stance touted to respect the inspiration of artists from far-flung locales with differing determinations of 'contemporaneity,' but sadly felt more like a colonisation of their productive processes. What sustained my practice within these particular glass-encased white cube bureaucracies of Museology was the critical intimacy cultivated in my curatorial department<sup>1</sup>—these were rare and special friendships of regional artistic knowledge. Indeed, Management was wary of our closeness.

Ever since, the presence of friendship in my field has been of key consideration in the work I have chosen to do. I value this space of intimacy as the most discerning base of knowledge in the arts. In my decision to exit the 'professionalised' landscape of government-supported arts infrastructure in Australia for the ideologically monitored, commercially hoodwinked terrain of China and Vietnam, I came to understand just how significant friendship is to sustaining the development of artistic languages and forms—how it can provide political autonomy with a powerful organised presence. Thus I have gleaned much about the purpose of art and its relevance from the social spaces of artists; indeed, these domestic environments of friendship crucially shape my work.





And what is this ‘work’? It’s the building of care towards independent houses of culture that are rooted in the formal and vernacular artistic languages of their localities today. They are immaterial and concrete, often small in size yet holding dreams as vast as the sky, whose charge of memory is grasped as living souls that count for a collective consciousness—a never-ending social network of differing pulse whose objects and ephemerality deserve constant re-categorisation. I’m talking particularly about houses of culture built by artists that dwell together in landscapes of psychological pain and political poverty; where to be visible and publicly interactive is to incur possible conflict; where the power in friendship is an alliance, a crucible of remembering and resilience; where the power in friendship becomes the means to politically challenge those who seek to define you.

My work is referred to as ‘curating,’ but to me it is about the dialogical intertextuality of engaging artists and their art to create encounters between aesthetics and politics<sup>2</sup>—it’s about facilitating time, performing time, imprinting time, and dare I say producing time. It is about caring for the way memory is locally visualised and responsibly provoked; it’s about interpreting, describing, and collecting the adhesive presence of time between memory and emotion, between form and its political legitimacy, between shadows opaque, liquid, and porous. Time that only those in friendship can truly critically understand. For it is within friendship that the *production* of Representation—the journey towards that final destination called an Artwork by an Artist—is able to remain nameless. I say nameless for it is in naming that we are coded, thus presumed spoken for. I say nameless for it is in friendship (that code, that bond, beyond Law) that the Face<sup>3</sup> of the artist, the author, is permitted the space to Be. It is within this space of friendship—the qualities of respect, trust, reliability, credibility, constancy, openness—that namelessness can look with unconditioned eyes on its surroundings, can learn of its interdependency on the facts and legends of its people (perhaps the Filipina would call it ‘kapwa’).<sup>4</sup> Allowing the idea to learn how to breathe, to figure its own relationship to the world, to beg friendship to make introduction to discursiveness sturdier, to come up with a name that reflects the dreams inherent to its conjuring,

to hope that its eventual interface does not enter the aesthetic regime with only one stride.

But this profession of mine is a deeply uneven one in definition and practice, and ultimately hinges on the geographies and social networks with which we live and devote. In this wondrous calamity of difference, I believe the context of art and culture must be facilitated, and I believe such facilitation requires physical and psychological space that is carefully weighted between local and global meaning. Some curators believe their key task is to contribute to a history of exhibitions; in an ecology of cultural lack, however, I believe my key task is to sustain critically thinking creative communities of friendship.

But let's revisit Time. If I click 'Yes' on a friendship request on Facebook, am I thus now a 'friend'? If I set up an art project in Saigon as a social enterprise engaging victims of human trafficking along the border region with China, yet I've never spent time with such a victim, do I truly believe in my work? If I curate an art exhibition in London of Syrian contemporary art with artists I don't even physically recognise, am I demonstrating care in knowing the depth of my naming their dreams into words has consequence, particularly considering the global depravity of their ongoing civil war? How important is the investment of shared experiential time to build interpersonal networks that responsibly define who we are and what we do as curators working transnationally in the 21st century? In speaking of this Occupation of mine—curating—I'd like it to invest more 'time' in understanding an artist and the conditions with which their art is given meaning, presence, and value in the sites that gave birth to its existence. With the current speed of the global systematisation of art, and its palate to collect and showcase the 'global' within museum and biennale platforms, I think it crucial that such systems care about the impact of its tourism on local communities struggling to sustain criticality with their own cultural knowledge. The attitude with which we produce, display, consume, and interpret contemporary art should be supportive of sustaining its diversity in production and meaning.



Image: group critique with local artists and participants of Session 5: Sàn Art Laboratory with Rudy Atjeh (Aceh) introducing his work on view at Sàn Art, November 2014, Ho Chi Minh City. Photo: Sàn Art.



And here I must return to friendship, for it is sadly not the acclaimed venue notches of an artist's curriculum vitae that a depth of exchange with artistic sites of production is practised—not the likes of MoMA or the Tate; not the Venice Biennale, or Art Basel. Their showcase-driven, marketable (and thus timetabled) arms hold the interface (the artwork) aloft from the context of its production as opposed to considering how to give those arms increased dimension, to give physical articulation to such context. It is rather within the smaller, grassroots, guerilla-like, 'alternative' collective spaces of action, at the local level, that arms and hands are found in provocative swat and caress, where time is of currency in encouraging patient constructive thinking.

If only these two planets of social capital could sit at a regular table and share a meal of time, perhaps then we could discuss the impact of shifting the situatedness of an 'exhibition'<sup>5</sup> or perhaps better implement a research strategy for collecting art by which knowledge networks from the local ecologies' major museums seek to acquire are integrated as friendships into departmental structures of museum life.<sup>6</sup> I must emphasise here again why I say 'friendships' (as opposed to 'professional appointments') for friendship demands a respect for time, a deference for the long-term in building social forms of knowledge, a respect for the role of honour in failure while searching for success. In contexts of suppressed psychological pain and political poverty particularly (think Syria with Doxbox; think Cuba with Immigrant International; think Congo with Studio Kabako; think Cambodia with SaSa Art Projects; think Vietnam with Sàn Art; think Sri Lanka with Sri Lanka Archive of Contemporary Art, Architecture, and Design and so many more...), it is the silken thread of friendship that sustains, gives purpose, and ultimately breeds a respect for knowledge and memory that is nurturing and under constant re-evaluation. The physical walls of these houses of culture are often crumbling, contested, mobile, virtual, or publicly inaccessible and thus trust is of urgency to ensure survival.

This is not to say that 'professional appointments' are void of such bonds, and I am sure I will find readers thinking I am overly idealistic with my romance of friendship in the context of art and its production/facilitation here, but what I am trying to say is that a

curatorial address book needs to remember the impact of context on human intelligence and its cultural underpinnings. Speed dating parachute meetings by visiting curators turn art into a factory of showcase with no depth, and I have witnessed first-hand just how many of these visits critique and leave young artists utterly gutted, confused, and helpless. We need to practice friendship across our transnational planets of differing understandings of time to give structures of social capital the chance to interlock.

‘Only primary friendship is stable (bebaios), for it implies decision and reflection: that which always takes time...’ Derrida says. ‘A decision worthy of the name—that is a critical and reflective decision—could not possibly be rapid or easy, as Aristotle then notes, and this remark must receive all the weight of its import.’<sup>7</sup> I wonder what Derrida would say if tasked to comment on the interpersonal networks of ‘guanxi,’ for it is in this system of social reciprocity and mutual benefit in China and Vietnam—an interpersonal network of friendship anchored in nurturing *long-term* exchange<sup>8</sup> that I have witnessed respect and knowledge expand, opportunities facilitated, and contacts of social currency gained. I am speaking particularly of my experiences in China and Vietnam, these countries that were violently thrown into a ‘globalising’ industrial competition, where local ‘culture’ has been systematised by paranoid political surveillance mechanisms who argue patriotism, nationalism, and profit as key determinants of approval. In such environs (and there are many other similar landscapes of cultural control—think the divisive and brutal religious doctrines that have mired Afghanistan, India, and Myanmar, for example), the infrastructure for the arts is incredibly lacking in funds, facilitation, and space, and it is thus the interpersonal networks of artistic friendships that enable and innovate this lack, who invoke historical consciousness embedded within artistic languages ‘...by courting, by creating...that *begging bowl* to which the gift is drawn.’<sup>9</sup>

Of course the instrumentalisation of such a ‘begging bowl’ can be dark, intelligibly limiting, and hauntingly violent (corruption in business; cronyism in politics), but that is where the agency of such networks has been foiled by ego, and where reciprocity has lost its mindfulness. Yes, I say ‘mindfulness’ as opposed to ‘utility,’ and



Image: a private evening with curators Stephanie Kwai and Reem Fadda (Guggenheim, NY); historian Geeta Kapur and artist Vivan Sundaram (India); historian Vu Duc Vuong; collectors Tran Thi Thanh Ha and Olivier Mourgue d'Algue; artists Tiffany Chung,



Phan Thao Nguyen, Ngo Huynh Van Anh, Tuan Andrew Nguyen, and Sàn Art staff curator, Zoe Butt and Tra Bich Nguyen (Vietnam). 29 September, 2014, Ho Chi Minh City. Photo: Stephanie Kwai.

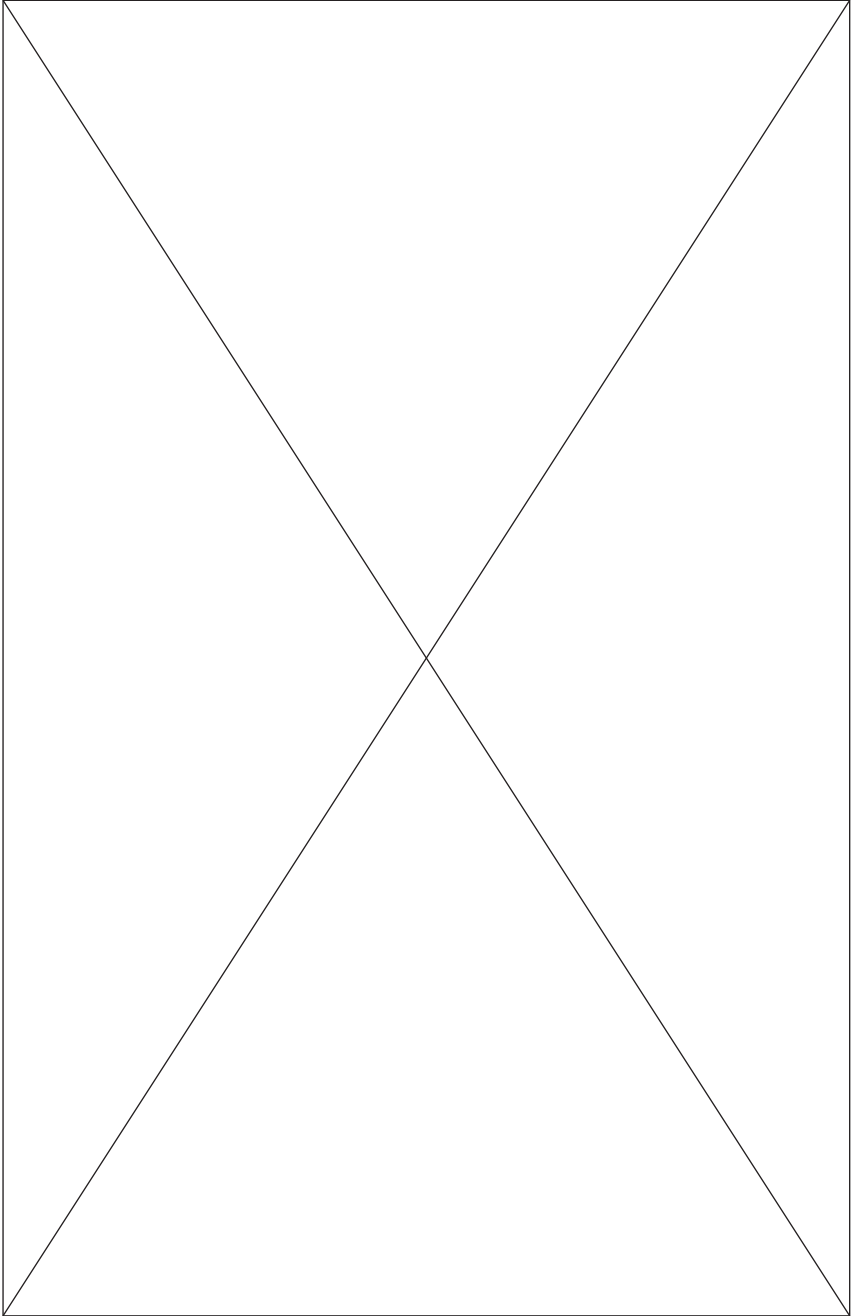
now perhaps we have Buddha sharing a cup of tea with Aristotle in this little duel, but I say 'mindfulness' for its Being 'present,' for its acknowledgment of interconnected cyclical dependencies and, thus, the interwoven urgency to be held responsible for its cause and effect. Friendships can be useful in practice—we take advantage of what the Other can provide—social introductions to beneficial people, sharing of skills, a sage for advice, but friendships are also virtuous bound beyond profit, beyond 'use.'

I may be impractical in my plea for time, for friendship, to be respected within the showcase and collection of art, but I think in the increasing entertainment frenzy of event management and a rationalised capitalistic system of cultural accountability, we must remember '[t]he mode of production of material life conditions the social, political, and intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness.'<sup>10</sup>

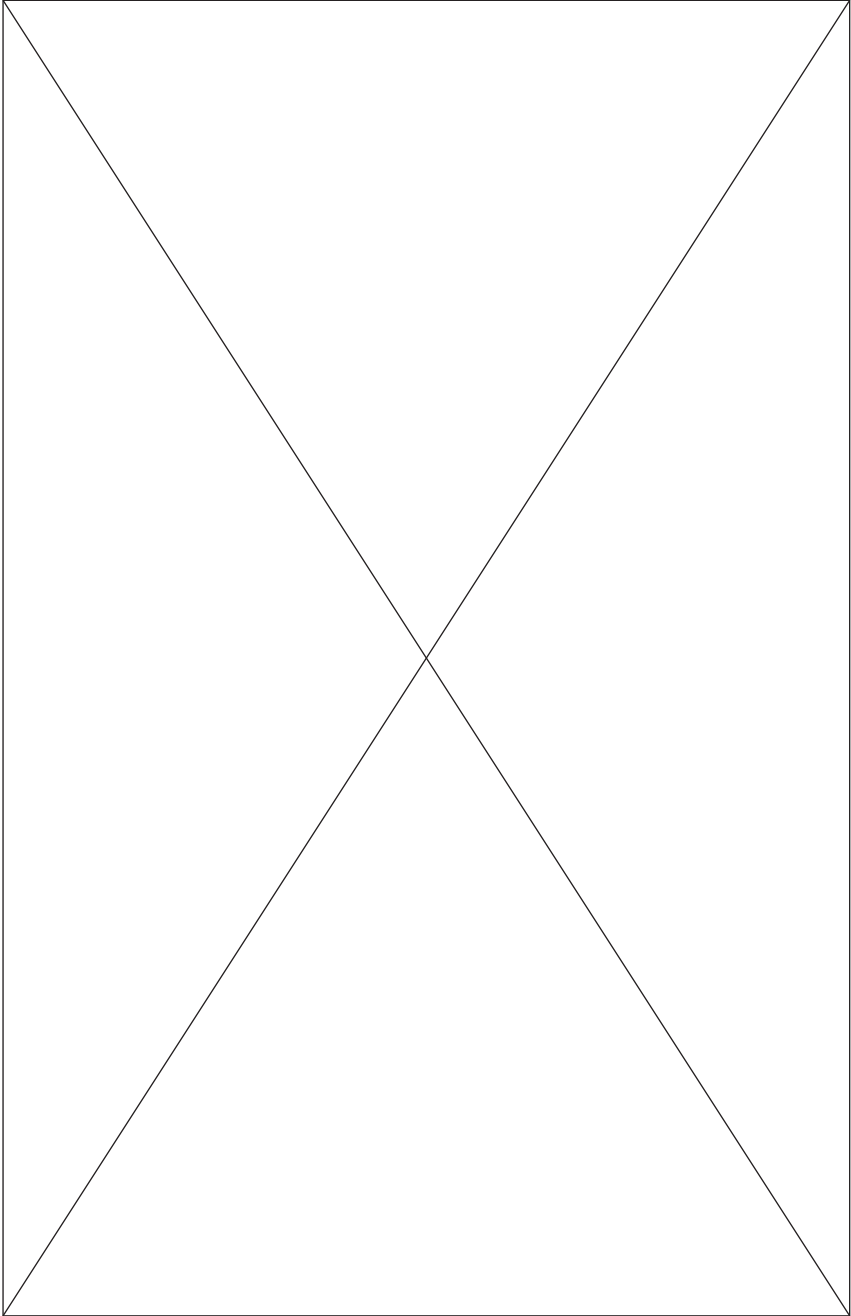
**Zoe Butt**

**Saigon, November 2015**

- 1 I refer to my time working for the Curatorial Department of Contemporary Asian and Pacific Art at Queensland Art Gallery, Brisbane, Australia from 2001 to 2007.
- 2 'Politics revolves around what is seen and what can be said about it, around who has the ability to see and the talent to speak, around the properties of spaces and the possibilities of time.' J. Rancière and G. Rockhill, *The Politics of Aesthetics: the Distribution of the Sensible* (London: Continuum, 2004), Loc 278, Kindle.
- 3 'Is relationship with Being produced only in representation, the natural locus of evidence? Does objectivity, whose harshness and universal power is revealed in war, provide the unique and primordial form in which Being, when it is distinguished from image, dream, and subjective abstraction, *imposes itself* on consciousness? Is the apprehension of an object equivalent to the very movement in which the bonds with truth are woven?' (p 24); 'A relation whose terms do not form a totality can hence be produced within the general economy of being only as proceeding from the I to the other, as a *face to face*, as delineating a distance in depth—that of conversation, of goodness, of Desire...' (p 39). Emmanuel Lévinas, *Totality and Infinity: An Essay on Exteriority* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1969).
- 4 'Kapwa' is an indigenous Filipino (Tagalog) term of psychology whose root is anchored in pre-Hispanic, precolonial thinking, a cultural ethnic attitude of 'the self in the other.' This is a relational attitude between generations where each individual acknowledges their relevance and responsibility to carry forward their ancestral collective significance, in particular respect to their local community and natural environment. <http://glossary.mg-lj.si/referential-fields/subjectivization/kapwa> (accessed 23 October 2015)
- 5 For example, to study the impact of Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev's dOCUMENTA (13) in her extending the exhibition presence to Kabul with her 'Kabul-Bamiyan: Seminars and Lectures' programme; to better understand the impact of such global surveys on the sites in which its thematics are inspired, to beg the question: 'How can such showcase platforms be continuous and long-term in their critical cultural exchange?'
- 6 The TATE Modern has curatorial adjunct appointments that allow these individuals to remain in the contexts they specialise, live, and work (José Roca is Estrellita B. Brodsky Adjunct Curator of Latin American Art); it also possesses an 'Asian Acquisitions Committee' of rotating expertise and social status within the region it claims to care. How can such models of curating and collecting be better discussed in impact and formation so as to improve its work and relevancy, in order for other institutions of enabling capacity to learn and innovate?
- 7 Jacques Derrida. *Politics of Friendship* (London and New York: Verso, 1997), 15.
- 8 Qi Xiaoying, 'Guanxi, Social Capital Theory and Beyond: Toward a Globalized Social Science,' *The British Journal of Sociology*, vol. 64, issue 2, 2013.
- 9 Lewis Hyde. *The Gift: Creativity and the Artist in the Modern World*, 25th ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1983), 186.
- 10 Karl Marx, A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1977), <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1859/critique-pol-economy/preface.htm>.



# RESPONSES



## Friendship as Life Support on the Road to 21st century Art

These days many of the professional spaces I inhabit, and the politics that shape them, appear as darkened labyrinths, far too daunting to navigate. Who else has walked these roads? Why does my flashlight keep disappearing? In this foggy journey, friendship has been everything: my torch, my support system, my out breath.

As the child of immigrants, it feels natural to seek translators, guides, and kindred spirits to navigate machineries of opaque institutions that one never imagined entering. On alien soil, it was a matter of survival to cultivate ties beyond geographic origin, our primary bonds no longer locked in place by the immutability of blood. And so I need our nuanced conversations and abiding trust to walk hand in hand in traversing art's hallowed grounds; those institutional and discursive spaces where so many of us were never intended to exist.

One of the tasks at hand is facing down representational annihilation in a country like the United States that still struggles to acknowledge visual languages and aesthetic histories animated by forces other than Euro-American art history. In these hierarchical art worlds, it's through friendship that we are able to enunciate ourselves into existence in the sidebars of everyday life, hear criticism with love, and amplify our voices to speak truth to canons, mechanisms of production and distribution, and representational regimes that constrain and exclude us.

‘Respecting the daily practice of friendship,’ to quote Zoe Butt’s own words, forms the architecture and beating heart of key positions I took on early in my creative practice, and continues to shape its trajectory today. Working with the South Asian Women’s Creative Collective, queer Asian street-based visual interventions, Index of the Disappeared with Mariam Ghani, and vital collaborations with Dhruvi Acharya, Sarita Khurana, Simone Leigh, and Christopher Myers were unequivocally borne from this practice. Years were devoted to tending spaces of reciprocity and care, a vital affective anchor for the intellectual, phenomenological, and psychic terrain I navigated as a young artist whose interests and subjectivity were rarely reflected in the art I studied or saw. We articulated ourselves into being and collectively emerged, developing a visual grammar and art historical lineage that illuminated what was previously invisible, illegible, and unseen—in museums, galleries, literatures, and lexicons—perhaps even within ourselves.

Like many 21st century cities, in New York, where my practice is currently based, people are badly addicted to being busy. We its inhabitants are all too susceptible to this disease. Once my scrappy childhood stomping grounds, it’s now a shark tank of ambition, demanding a punishing pace of work, measuring every moment according to vague and unexamined notions of productivity and success. Failure is too expensive, meandering explorations too inefficient. This harms both the art and ideas, which require time, and an absence of measuring sticks or one-way mirrors in order to thrive.

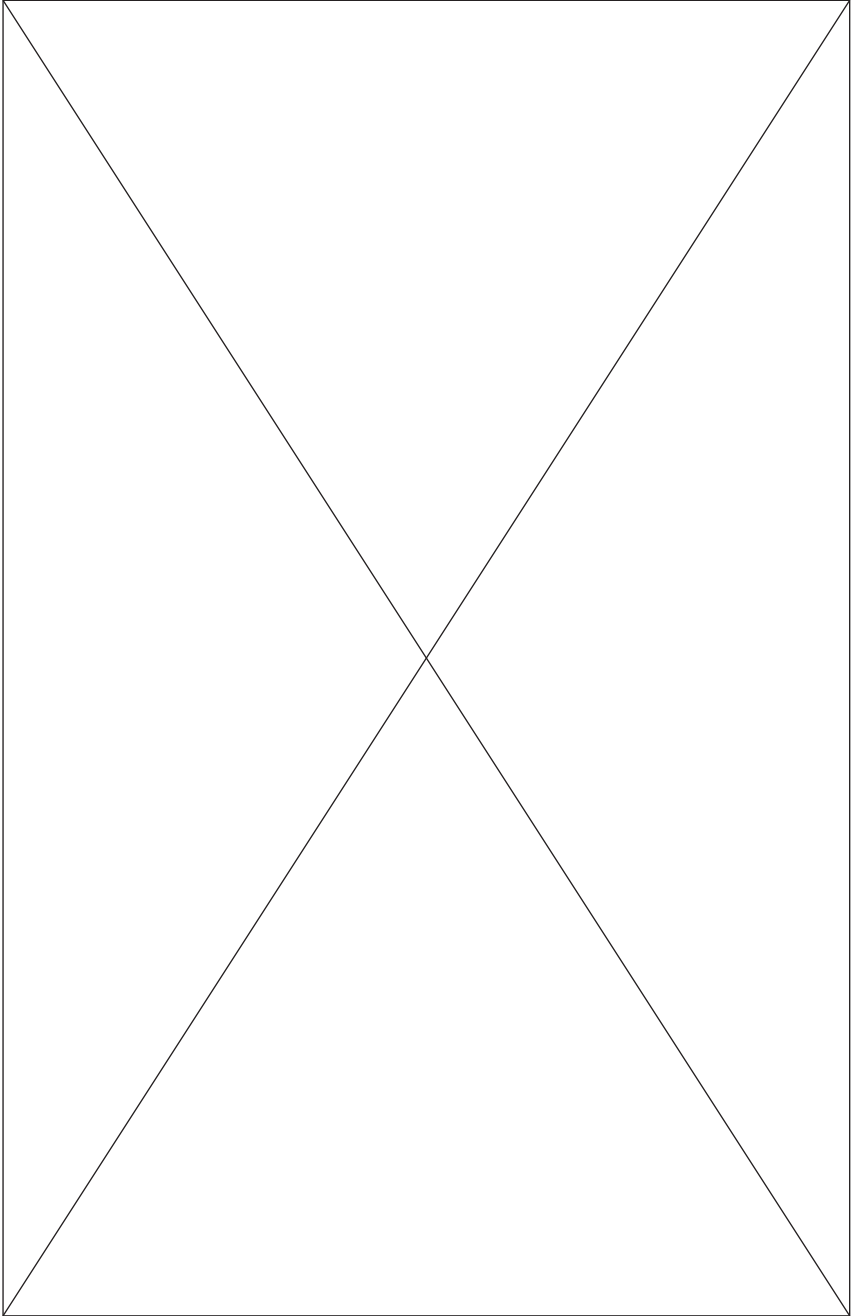
Alternatively, friendship gives me the armour, gentle push, permission to fail, and radical acceptance I need to claw my way out of this aggressive state of mind. Pushing beyond the transactional and strategic, the cheers rising up from the depths of friendship’s echo chambers reaffirm my values and enable radical shifts in thinking and making that I never imagined possible.

My friend Sadia Shirazi recently said, 'I want to be remembered for the things that can't be measured.' Her wish made me leap inside—a disobedient desire that rubs against the grain of monumental retrospectives, book prizes, biennale circuits, social media followers, or auction records that underpin contemporary notions of success and afterlife. When I find myself in a traffic jam of thoughts, a cacophonous insecurity of competing and received ideas, I start a conversation with you in my head, and the spinning slows. Thoughts exhale, and begin to unravel themselves. Eventually these ideas will manifest in ink, object, moving image, or more words between us. But for now it is in our connection that the seeds of my thoughts can begin to form themselves, long before they become whole.

Respondent: Chitra Ganesh, Visual Artist

Organisation: —

Website: [www.chitraganesh.com](http://www.chitraganesh.com)



## Old and Undead Friends

### 1.

Reading Zoe's text, I think of old friendships and lifelong love. Rags which are faded beyond rescue yet are incapable of tearing. Rags which have come to be moulded to specific bodies.

The high has gone, so have the illusions. There are battle scars and daily skirmishes and reduced tolerance for the self-absorption of loved ones. There is exhaustion but there is the full weight of the unconditional.

Is it youthful emergence or the knot and gnarl of old friendship that nurtures art and expression in places where authoritarian politics and impunity militate against the claim to freedom? What do they look like and what do they feel like, the texture of friendships capable of giving time and sustaining the potential to realise a promise? If it's the relationship that counts in southern localities, where people dream the impossible as they try to survive historic betrayals and infrastructural failings, how do these relationships keep on keeping on?

I would like to map a constellation of exhausted collectives and middle-aged networks. To collect stories about the grand arguments that have taken place in them—agonistic exchanges that test the communitarian facade to the core and create the duration for elevating discourse and propelling practice to previously unimaginable heights.

## 2.

Anocha Suwichakornpong's film *By the Time It Gets Dark* (2016) begins with an abandoned structure, a solitary shell of a white wooden house. It was once the house of K. Surangkhanang, one of the first female modern Thai fiction writers, who was disowned by her family for the transgression of marrying an impoverished writer, who wrote a novel about a woman from a respectable family who became disowned for the transgression of marrying an impoverished writer.

At the silent movies, a shot of a train hurtling around the bend sparks an idea for the opening scene of the protagonist's first novel. She goes where no male novelist dares to tread and writes a realist melodrama that is empathetic towards a prostitute.

*By the Time It Gets Dark* is a *mise en abyme* of a film about a mediocre female filmmaker who tries to make an average film about the October 1976 massacre from the materials around her, from the spectacles and surfaces of her society. Anocha commits the transgression of being a female intellectual independent filmmaker born in 1976 who makes a film about not being able to make a film about this unrepresentable event in Thailand's political history. For this, she will be judged for not living up to the burden of truth seeking and explication that members of the Thai intelligentsia of her generation are meant to carry.

But saying this does no more than add yet another mirror to the film's self-reflexive portrayal of its own limitation. Its transgression is legible. Its promise, however, which may or may not come to realisation, is held in keeping with the film's not quite legible gesture of connecting.

In the film, the pregnant female filmmaker brushes her fingers along the dusty wooden panelling, then ritualistically communes with the house holding a lit joss stick. What kind of a gesture is this?

K. Surangkhanang's house serves no plot purpose and signals no symbolic function. Not quite a relic and, thankfully, not a monument, it appears instead as a tenacious, undead matter.

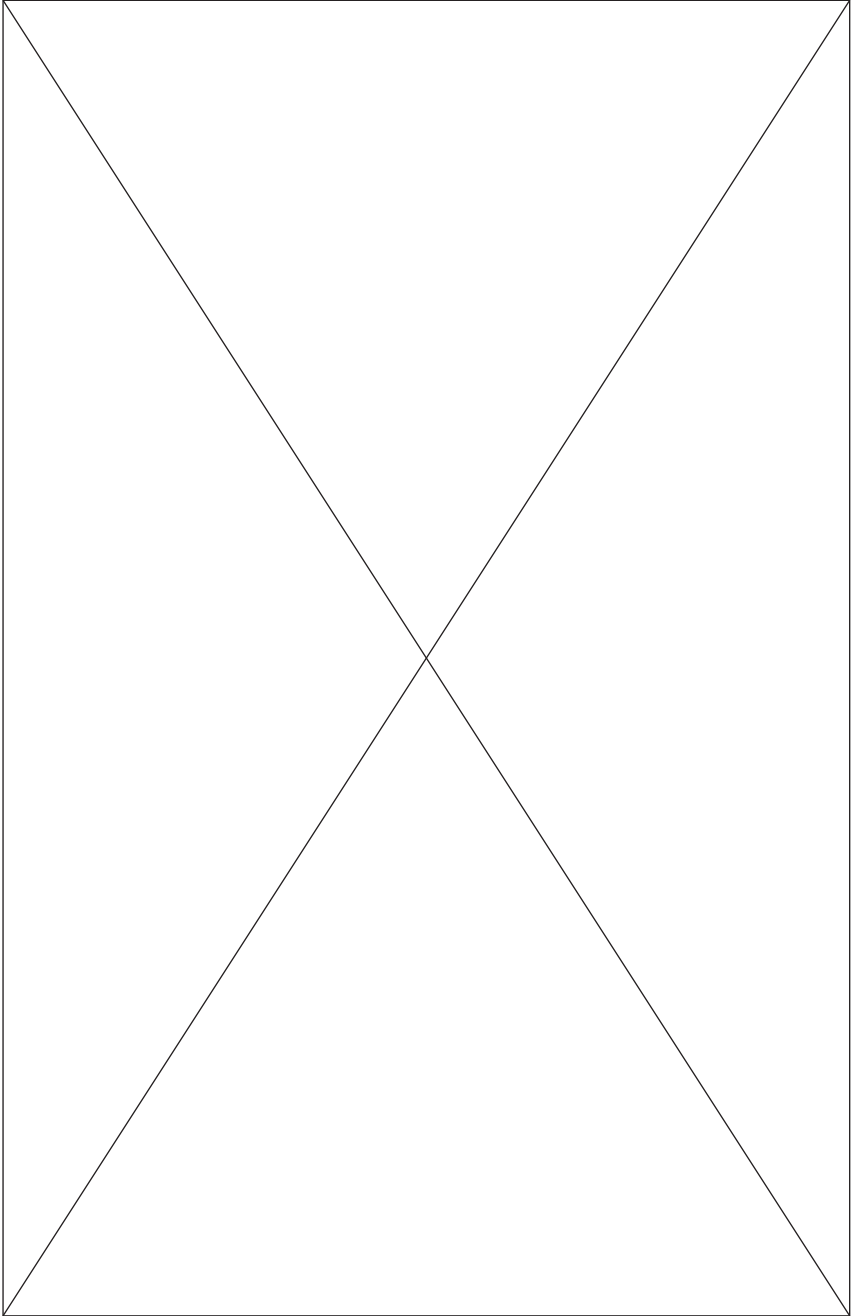
The arts in Thailand are not impoverished of untimely female creators. There is an accumulation of brilliant, solitary, isolated sparks. A conventional way to redress a historical wrong would be to build monuments and create myths of origins for some of these female creators as founders of schools, pioneers of genres and styles, or as tragically forgotten precursors. But why would a Thai feminist do that?

*By the Time It Gets Dark* begins the task of making a necessary constellation. Let's call it solidarity, the gesture of friendship across time that does not speak for, nor elevate, nor pity the women who have gone before.

Respondent: Dr. May Adadol Ingawanij

Organisation: Centre for Research and Education in Arts and Media (CREAM), University of Westminster

Website: [www.westminster.ac.uk](http://www.westminster.ac.uk)



## Curation and Minor Gestures

It has been said that a rupture can in fact create an unfolding of new truths.<sup>1</sup> Some curators build from this rupture, others react to it. In our case at Planting Rice, friendship was forged and built from a kind of rupture in Manila. Artists are constantly pushed to be a creative, productive, learning subject while calculating their participation with art as a commodity. As a curator, I knew I didn't want to add to this. Instead, I found kinship in Sidd Perez when we both realised what was needed was a minor gesture to neutralise the problem.

The problem was that infrastructures of support are often commodified—the economy of art production in Manila is (commercial) gallery based. The majority of the museums are privatised, and the bigger, well-kept collections are owned by the one per cent: families with empires who have the ability to acquire. The government has other issues like coping with natural disasters, corruption, political atrocities, law and order, and human rights to focus on. The art community was out of the equation, so all of the players in it just had each other. This entailed a different, gentler approach to break up the rising homogeneous trend of latching onto a rising Southeast Asian market. As curators, Sidd Perez and I wanted to point our community to a more nurturing facet.

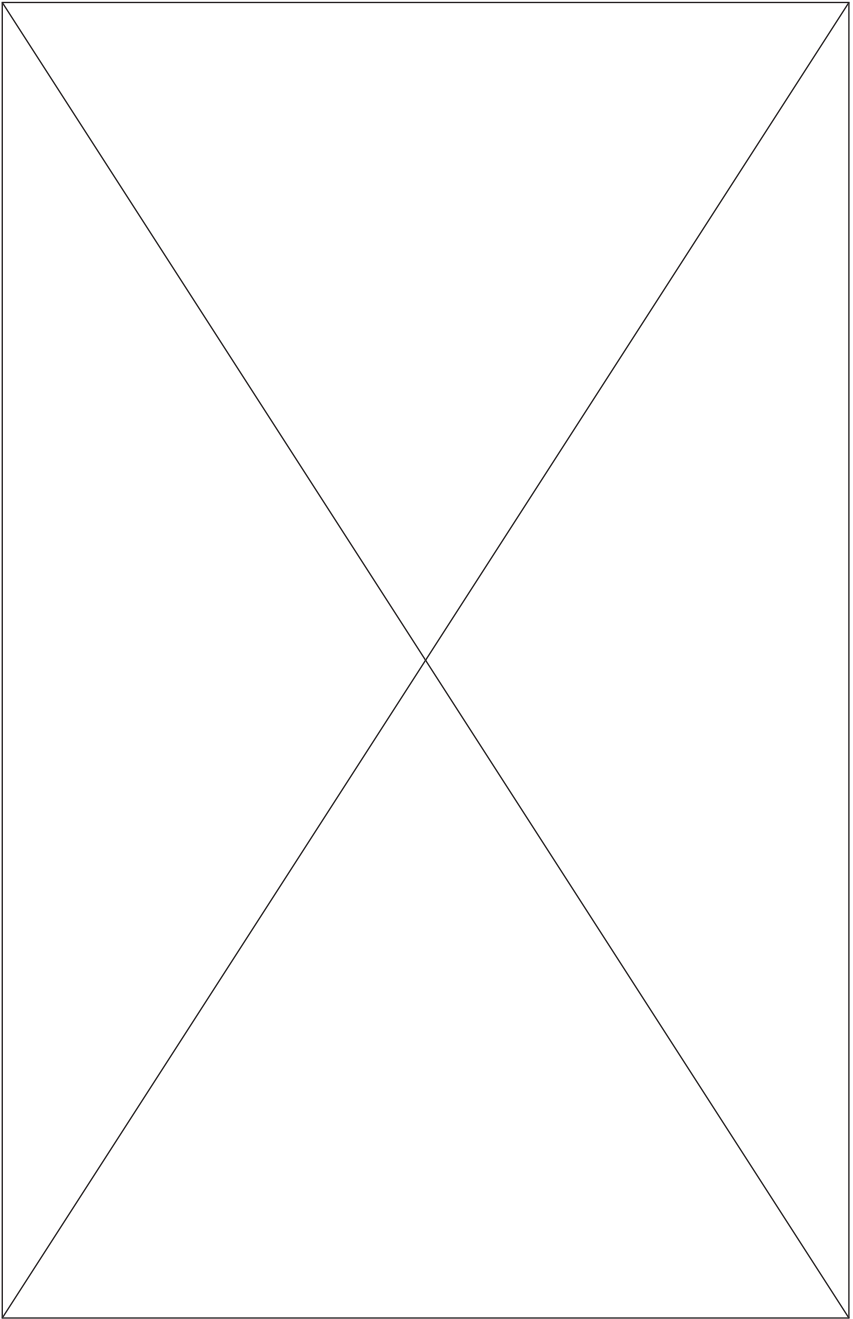
1 Alain Badiou's theory of the event talks about hidden parts of a dominant ideology that may erupt at any time.

Access to information, archives, education, support—something that we were thirsty for—and a responsive action on our part can generate and grow. Thus we named the platform ‘Planting Rice.’ We were not so much focused on production and creation, instead we wanted to observe and revisit the process of how it goes about. We often ask ourselves though, after a period of nurturing by planting the seeds of information to the community, when do we finally harvest our toil? We’re only human. Exhaustion comes into play, and once again, we all turn to each other for support. How do you deflate this sense of exhaustion?

To add to the problem, it always comes to a point within the art world that even pure motives like friendship and generosity can also be capitalised upon. The art world is so perverse, one minute you reflect on the relevance of one’s role in this massive machine, the next your proverbial ‘decline’ becomes all about being usurped by the ‘next newest’ thing, like the next newest thematic exhibition, or the next newest palatable theory. This is the reason why social practice and activism’s intended power disintegrates once put in an exhibition framework.

Deleuze talks about a ‘minor art practice’ which is a political function to disrupt a totalising regime—a minor practice that can ‘deterritorialize a major language.’ These small gestures of friendship, hospitality, generosity, revisitation or resistance—are needed at the moment. Once we are fully aware of how the system works and how it breaks, we find ways to walk through the cracks.

Respondent: Lian Ladia, Curator & Co-Founder  
Organisation: Planting Rice  
Website: [www.plantingrice.com](http://www.plantingrice.com)



**Practising Friendship:  
Respecting Time as a Curator**

Zoe Butt  
Nov 2015

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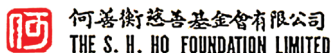
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Asia Art Archive marks its 15th year by extending *15 Invitations* to creative practitioners to look within and beyond the organisation as an archive, a collection of material, a digital platform, and a node in a wider collective network. *15 Invitations* take various sizes, forms, and creative directions—literary, polemic, political, sonic, physical, and digital—and function as a series of ‘drop pins’ to alternatively navigate where AAA originated and where it may be going. AAA’s e-journal *Field Notes* traces the 15 participants as they contribute notes and entries to document the process.

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Asia Art Archive is an independent non-profit organisation initiated in 2000 in response to the urgent need to document and make accessible the multiple recent histories of art in the region. With one of the most valuable collections of material on art freely available from its website and on-site library, AAA builds tools and communities to collectively expand knowledge through research, residency, and educational programmes.

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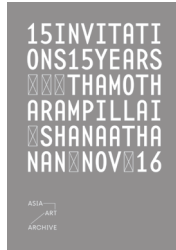
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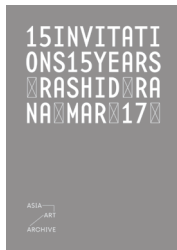
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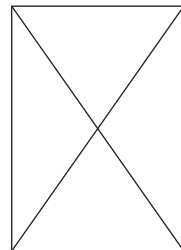
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the 1990s, the number of people in the UK who are employed in the public sector has increased from 10.5 million to 13.5 million, and the number of people in the public sector who are employed in health care has increased from 2.5 million to 3.5 million (Department of Health 2000).

There are a number of reasons for this increase in the number of people employed in the public sector. One of the main reasons is the increasing demand for health care services. The population of the UK is ageing, and there is a growing number of people with chronic conditions who require long-term care. This has led to an increase in the number of people employed in health care, particularly in the public sector.

Another reason for the increase in the number of people employed in the public sector is the increasing demand for social care services. The population of the UK is ageing, and there is a growing number of people who require social care services. This has led to an increase in the number of people employed in social care, particularly in the public sector.

A third reason for the increase in the number of people employed in the public sector is the increasing demand for education services. The population of the UK is growing, and there is a growing number of people who require education services. This has led to an increase in the number of people employed in education, particularly in the public sector.

There are a number of challenges facing the public sector in the UK. One of the main challenges is the increasing demand for services. The population of the UK is ageing, and there is a growing number of people who require health care and social care services. This has led to an increase in the number of people employed in the public sector, particularly in health care and social care.

Another challenge facing the public sector is the increasing demand for funding. The public sector is a large employer, and it requires a significant amount of funding to maintain its services. This has led to an increase in the number of people employed in the public sector, particularly in health care and social care.

A third challenge facing the public sector is the increasing demand for staff. The public sector is a large employer, and it requires a significant amount of staff to maintain its services. This has led to an increase in the number of people employed in the public sector, particularly in health care and social care.

There are a number of ways in which the public sector in the UK can address these challenges. One way is to increase the number of people employed in the public sector, particularly in health care and social care. This can be done by recruiting more people to the public sector and by providing training and development opportunities for existing staff.

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