Public Art in Milton Keynes Street Survey

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Executive Summary

Introduction and Background

MK wishes to secure its ethos of public art as a successful model to use in future growth and development plans, in particular a new Public Art Strategy which is currently under development. This research seeks, therefore, to give a better understanding of the audience for public art, people's perception and awareness of existing pieces and how they interpret what is seen. Furthermore, it reports on people's use of and aspiration for public art to help inform an ongoing process of consultation, review and appraisal.

Aims and Objectives

The key aim of this research is to gain an understanding of MK's audience engagement with its public art. It seeks to do this by: understanding who constitutes the general audience for public art in MK; gauge their level of awareness of public art in MK and understand their perceptions of the role of public art in MK.

Methodology and Sampling

To build an audience profile, a general attitudinal street survey was carried out. A total of 384 face-to-face interviews were conducted in central MK and three other city-wide locations, corresponding to some of the areas where future public art interventions are under consideration: CMK, growth area and regeneration area.

Findings and conclusions

People

The MK public seeks public art that comes from them (through local artists and local engagement), is about them and fulfils their aspirations and needs.

- The largest audience for public art comprises MK's residents and reflects the overall socio-demographic profile of its population:
 - Almost three quarters of this audiences compromises MK residents.
 - o Of these, almost half both work and live in MK.

• MK has a relatively youthful population:

17% are aged 15 to 24	 Young people are more likely to see the intrinsic value of public art.
21% are aged 25 to34.	 This age group is more likely to show signs of appreciating the instrumental value of public art,
21% are aged 35 to 44 18% are aged 45 to 54	• The middle age group moves towards a critique of institutional interference.
11% are aged 55-64 Only 7% are aged 65+	• The oldest group tends to eschew the self and appears to see how intrinsic, instrumental and institutional values can combine to benefit the wider community.

- There are high levels of awareness of public art among residents.
- Their perception of what constitutes public art is limited to figurative statues with less response to harder to recall abstract objects.
- However, their responses to pieces large in stature or reputation are strong.
- Netherfield residents demonstrated no awareness of public art in their community with the exception of the hospital.
- Non-residents visiting for other purposes comprise a larger audience for public art than non-residents working in MK, with non-residential workers comprising the smallest audience.
- Non-residents visiting MK for other purposes are relatively youthful.
- The non-residential audience are more critical of what public art is saying about MK.
- Non-residents awareness of public art is poor with 37% claiming never to have seen any.
- What non-residents see tends to be confined to their immediate proximity while travelling.
- Non-residents appear to have had less exposure to concepts of public art than residents and are likely to require extra assistance in appreciating it.
- Both residents and non-residents are more aware of large, powerful images.
- Young people have a higher level of awareness of public art than older people.

Place

There is a strong sense that future public art should not be centred on the commercial / business aspects of MK but have more to do with the achievements of its people.

- Residents generally have a positive view of the potential role public can play in MK, especially in sending out positive messages about the place.
- Non-residents place emphasis on the part public art plays in orienting them around the city.
- Public art has considerable potential to help develop a sense of place.
- The public feel public art should be an intrinsic part of local communities.
- It should provide spaces for people to be in and experienced, rather than to be looked at.
- Public art can ameliorate the utilitarian, commercially corporate uniformity of the place by adding colour, exoticism, stature, greenness and meaning to the place through providing well-designed places for people to be and to celebrate what people are.
- The public see MK as a good, clean, safe, growing place.

Identity and Culture

The public feel proud of MK and see public art as a vehicle to convey their sense of pride in their culture to a wide-spread audience outside of MK.

- However, there is a strong sense of cultural misappropriation of MK by historical media representation of MK as a place rather than a place where people are.
- There is a feeling of loss of personal identity for MK people who are currently defined by the place they live and not by their achievements. Residents see the value of public art as having the potential to redress this misconception.
- Public art should be community-based and be celebratory of people's achievements and values.
- The image that the public wish the city to portray is tied up with concepts of modern-ness, newness, youthfulness, vigour and diversity, therefore its art should reflect it in terms of significance, scale and futurism.
- Public art should define and reflect MK's identity, which is characterised by being unique, vibrant, progressive/forward-looking, welcoming and proud.
- Public art should define and reflect MK's culture as being diverse but equal, friendly, sophisticated, learned, community-based, artistic & creative, inspirational and celebratory of people's achievements in these values.

Introduction and Background

Milton Keynes has a successful track record for engaging the creativity of artists in the development of its city, and local identity, through public art.

Approaching its 40th year, and facing significant development and growth over the next 25 years, MK is estimated to double its size. At this pivotal time, therefore, it wishes to secure its ethos of public art¹ as a successful model to use in future growth and development plans.

A new Public Art Strategy is currently under development in response to a strategy review carried out by Working P'arts.

A situation analysis has already been carried out on public art processes, priorities, projects and development areas in Milton Keynes.

In order to evaluate future interventions, made as a result of the public art strategy, this report contains Phase I findings of a larger research process.

Phase I has been designed to be used within future benchmarking exercises and to help inform the public art strategy. That is, it seeks to give a better understanding of the audience for public art, people's perception and awareness of existing pieces, how they interpret what is seen. Furthermore, it reports on people's use of and aspiration for public art, which will help to inform an ongoing process of consultation, review and appraisal.

In its strategy review, Working P'arts highlighted, among other areas, the limited range of the existing collection of public art and a lack of awareness or understanding of it by the public, plus lack of support and opportunity for local artists.

¹ [To] consider public art an integral part of the design and development of [its] environment. [To] use the vision, creativity and skills of artists in public art projects to enliven spaces, inform and engage people in different ways with this distinctive new city, its established and new communities and its large open spaces. Public art projects add soul, energy and dynamism to [the] city making it a desirable and emotionally stimulating place to live, work and visit.

Phase II and Phase III will investigate how the public and local artists can better engage with both project development and interpretation of project outcomes in the future. Altogether the three phases of works will inform an audience development plan for MK public art.

The research also responds to work carried out for Milton Keynes Council, (2003) by Professor Doreen Massey and Dr Gillian Rose² in which they examine Milton Keynes' public art in the context of place, public and identity.

² Massey, Doreen & Rose, Gillian, *Personal Views: Public Art Research Project* The Open University July 2003 <u>http://www.artpointtrust.org.uk/projects/details.asp?projects_id=11</u>

2. Aims and Objectives

The overall key aim of the research is to gain an understanding of Milton Keynes' audience engagement with its public art in order to inform and respond to the Public Arts Strategy.

Specifically it seeks to do this in three ways; in Phase 1 by collecting baseline data for a practical benchmarking exercise, which is the subject of this report:

Phase 1.

- To understand who constitutes the general audience for public art in Milton Keynes.
- 2. Gauge their level of awareness of public art in Milton Keynes.
- **3.** Understand perceptions of the role of public art in Milton Keynes.

3. Methodology

To build an audience profile, to be used for benchmarking, a general attitudinal street survey was prepared, in consultation with the Senior Public Arts Officer, MK Council, for face-to-face street interviewing.

The survey³ contained basic questions regarding public perception and awareness of existing public art in MK, as well as demographic questions and postcode. The survey was also used to recruit participants for in-depth qualitative work in Phase III.

The face-to-face survey properly collected quantitative data which provided illuminating insights on levels of perception and attitudes to public art. However, it also contained open-ended questions: qualitative data. While very useful information has been collected, the opportunity to probe the respondents' meaning behind some of their comments is absent. Therefore, the level of interpretation, which has gone into the analysis, is above and beyond that normally expected from a street survey.⁴

Given the quality and utility of the information gathered, and the fact that this is the first time the public have been consulted on such a scale in MK, the open-ended questions have proved their worth.

The interviewers were issued with a public art guide⁵ to aid identification and coding of main pieces but in order to gauge genuine levels of awareness the interviewers were briefed to ask unprompted questions. That is, respondents' first answers were recorded, unaided by any prompt material.

No preconceived definition of public art was offered to the respondents so their responses are based purely on what they consider public art to be.

³ Appendix 7.1.

⁴ This is does not compromise the findings in any way but for future benchmarking exercises, it may be practical to incorporate some of the identified themes into a multiple choice or grid question.

⁵ Appendix 7.2.

The interviews were conducted in central Milton Keynes and in three other city-wide locations, corresponding to some of the areas where future public art interventions are under consideration:

Central MK Growth Area Regeneration Area

On 15 March, accompanied by the Senior Public Art Officer, several sites were assessed for suitability and risk. The following strategic locations were chosen as most likely to yield the target number of interviews and range of views required for this phase:

Place	Location	People
Central MK	Midsummer Place Shopping Centre	Residents, people working
	MK Station Foyer	in MK, non-residents.
	The Buzzy	Young people
	Xscape	Young people and non-
		residents
Growth Area	Oxley Park / Westcroft ⁶	Local residents
Regeneration	Netherfield	Local residents
Areas	Bletchley	Local residents

Pilots were conducted at Bletchley High Street and Midsummer Place Shopping Centre on Monday, 20 March. After site visit and consultation with the interviewer, minor adjustments were made to the survey. The main survey period then commenced on Thursday, 23 March and ended on Saturday, 1 April.

⁶ Interviews in this growth area were conducted by personnel from the office of Senior Public Art Officer, MK Council as it was deemed better value to deploy the professional interviewers in more densely populated areas. The MK Council team were briefed on the importance of objectivity in their interviewing technique.

4. Sampling

300 face-to-face street interviews were planned, to be conducted daily (5 hours per day) over a period of one week (including weekend) in central Milton Keynes and city- wide areas. In the event, the survey period was extended to nine days to ensure quota targets were adequately met, resulting in a total of 384 interviews.

Strategic locations for interviewers were arranged in consultation with the Senior Public Art Officer.

The judgement samples, decided after consultation with the Senior Public Art Officer, were based on location and those likely to most closely match MK's known population characteristics. The socio-demographic relevance test can be found in the following section which contains postcode profile analysis.

Quotas obtained from each site were as follows:

Bletchley High Street		12%	(45 interviews)
Midsummer Place Shopping Centre	•	29%	(111 interviews)
Netherfield		14%	(55 interviews)
MK Station Concourse		22%	(86 interviews)
The Buzzy (old bus station)		9%	(35 interviews)
Xscape		9%	(35 interviews)
Oxley Park / Westcroft		4%	(17 interviews)
	Total		384 interviews

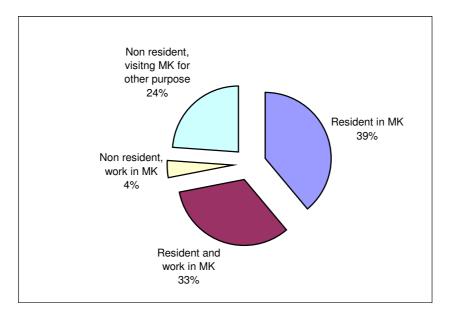
Survey schedule with dates and locations appear in the Appendix 7.3.

5. Findings

The findings are presented by two key categories: **residents** and **non-residents**. Deeper analysis breaks down the combined data by age range. In 5.1 (Who did we talk to?) basic data is presented which includes all respondents.

5.1 Who did we talk to?

Of the 384 interviews, half were with female respondents and half with male respondents. As the chart below shows, over a quarter of the respondents (28%) were non-residents visiting MK for work or other reasons. Approximately one third of the sample both live and work in MK; the remaining 39% are MK residents.



Further analysis by age range will conflate pairs of categories except 26-35 year olds; the weighting thus applied will compensate for their slight under-representation in the survey among the residents.

Therefore the categories will be:

- 16-25
- 26-35
- 36-55
- 56-65+

5.1.1 Non-residents

Age ranges of non-residents interviewed shows a relatively youthful visiting profile with the highest proportion of non-residents in the 19 to 45 age range:

Non- residents	16-18	19-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65	65+
N=	4	27	31	23	9	9	6
Street survey results	4%	25%	28%	21%	8%	8%	6%

The first dot map at Appendix 7.4 shows the wide distribution of this group in relation to MK.

5.1.2 Residents

Percentage age ranges of MK residents interviewed, compared to MK's population:⁷

Residents	16-18	19-25	26-35	36-45	46-55	56-65	65+
N=	30	37	43	49	44	34	37
Street survey results	11%	14%	16%	18%	16%	12%	14%
	15-19	20-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
Population statistics	9%	8%	21%	21%	18%	11%	7%

The comparison above shows a reasonable correlation (with slight variance in the 26-35 range) between the survey sample and MK's population statistics taken from ACORN Area Profile Report based on 2001 Census. Targets for young people were well achieved.

There are 89,926 households⁸ that fall within MK unitary authority boundaries and the survey respondents, who comprise residents within MK authority boundaries, numbered 242 people.

 ⁷ MRS guidelines for street interviewing require respondents to be aged 16 or over, hence the difference in age range categories between the street survey and ACORN data.
 ⁸ NB: This is a figure for households not population

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The ACORN profile of the survey respondents shows a good match against MK's ACORN profile at category level, with a slightly greater than average representation of 'Urban Prosperity'.

The sample reasonably reflects the profile of MK. Therefore the respondents' attitudes to public art are likely to be a reasonable reflection of the wider population. Furthermore the significantly low number of refusals to the survey, and the fact that respondents were generally very positive about discussing public art, reinforces the potential to form MK's audience for public art.

The main ACORN categories that MK populate are, in rank order:

- Comfortably Off
- Wealthy Achievers
- □ Hard Pressed
- Moderate Means
- Urban Prosperity

The survey sample of residents occupies these categories, compared to MK's unitary authority population thus:

	Survey	Survey Sample		oulation
	N=	%	Base	%
Comfortably Off	91	26.1	35,237	39.2
Wealthy Achievers	87	25.0	22,786	25.3
Hard Pressed	83	23.9	16,590	18.4
Moderate Means	64	18.4	13,224	14.7
Urban Prosperity	23	6.6	2,089	1.1
Unclassified	3			

N= survey base number Base= Number of MK households

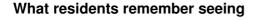
The second dot map (Appendix 7.5) shows the spread of respondents resident in MK with slightly higher concentrations in the more densely populated areas towards the south.

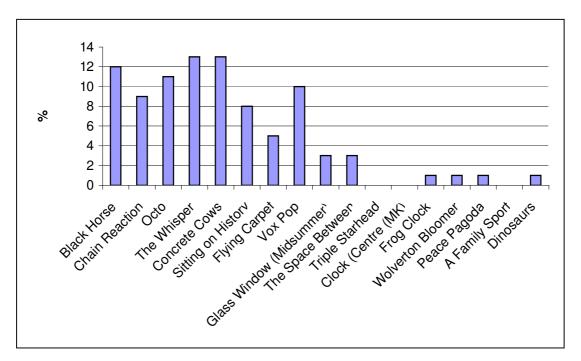
5.2 What public art do they remember?

5.2.1 Residents

As the chart below shows, MK **residents** most frequently remembered *The Whisper* and *Concrete Cows*, followed by the *Black Horse, Octo* and *Vox Pop*.

Apart from key pieces listed below, **residents** remembered an extensive list of public art describing pieces in some detail and linking them to specific locations⁹.





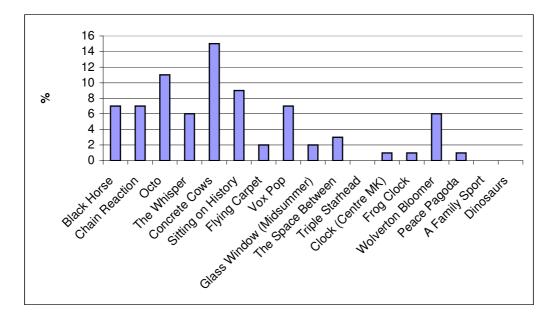
A favourite, in the list of others, appeared to be *Mighty Blow for Freedom*, variously and ambiguously described in terms such as 'man with mallet, steel worker, man with hammer near Lloyds Bank, man in armour pulling back an object.' ¹⁰

⁹ See Appendix 7.6.

¹⁰ Due to the ambiguity of these descriptions, *Mighty Blow for Freedom* does not feature in the chart above.

5.2.2 Non-residents

The chart below shows that *non-residents* most frequently remembered the *Concrete Cows* followed by *Octo* and *Flying Carpet*. A full list can be found in Appendix 7.7.



What non-residents remember seeing

It is worth noting that, as many non-residents were interviewed around Station Square, a higher percentage of them remembered seeing *Wolverton Bloomer* than MK residents. It also appears that non-residents' perceptions may be influenced by what they have heard about MK (i.e. *Concrete Cows*) as well as what they perceive in their immediate proximity.

Non-residents did not mention or describe *Triple Starhead, Dinosaurs* or *A Family Sport* at all.

Interviewers relied heavily on the coded list to identify pieces as there seemed little recognition, by non-residents, of what the pieces were called.

Apart from 'The Pagoda', other public art remembered by non-residents¹¹ was more ambiguously described:

The walks around the theatre district and Campbell Park -

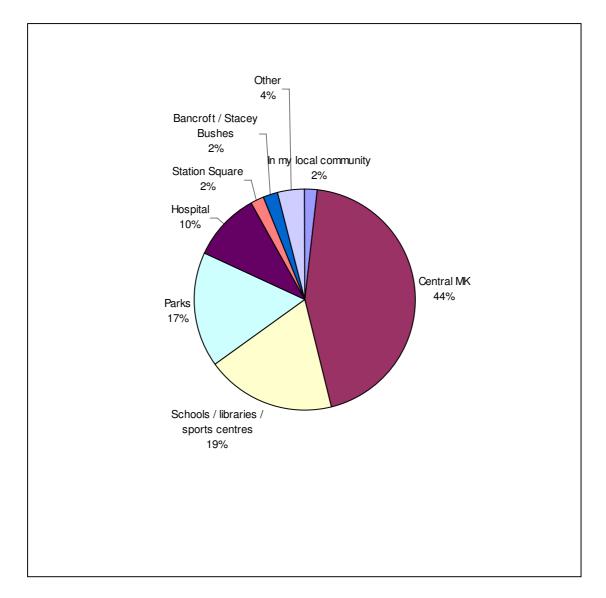
¹¹ See Appendix 7.7.

Crouched couple outside station – Windmill somewhere – Statues outside library – Piece of granite, two figures outside station – People like statues, lady driving weird bus – Three figures on a roundabout.

5.3 Where do they remember seeing it?

5.3.1 All respondents

Overall, the greatest proportion of public art is seen in Central MK, followed by other public places, such as schools, libraries, sports centres, etc:



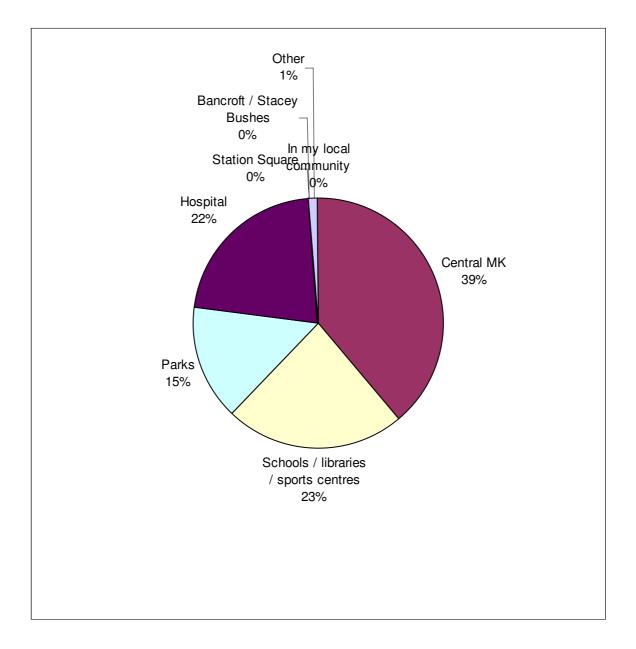
The 4% of the 'other' category refers to parks, ('Wolverton, Lakes, Willen'), public buildings (Monks Way Station), views from a train, roads, and Central MK ('Market Square, Hilton Hotel, by Exchange Building, Lloyds Court, Art shop John Lewis').

NB: This chart refers to *all* respondents therefore some of the 'others' will be repeated in later analysis breakdown.

5.3.2 Netherfield residents

Netherfield respondents, on the other hand, tend to see things differently with no apparent recall of public art existing in their local community or Station Square. Perhaps unsurprisingly given that the hospital is at Netherfield, there was a significant recognition of public art at the hospital:

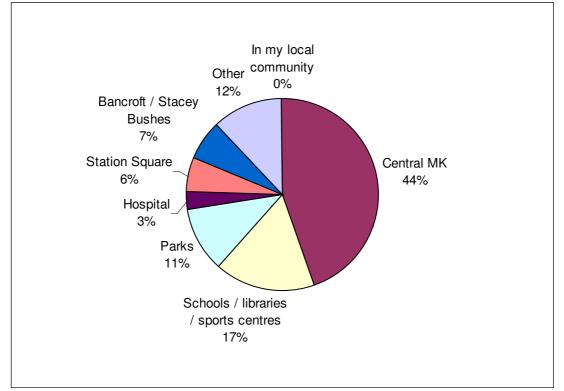
Where Netherfield residents see public art



The only 'other' mentions of where public art was seen were 'Tinkers' Bridge sculpture' and 'Dinosaur in Lake Estate.'

5.3.3. Non-residents

Non-residents' perception of where they see public art shifts significantly to Central MK:

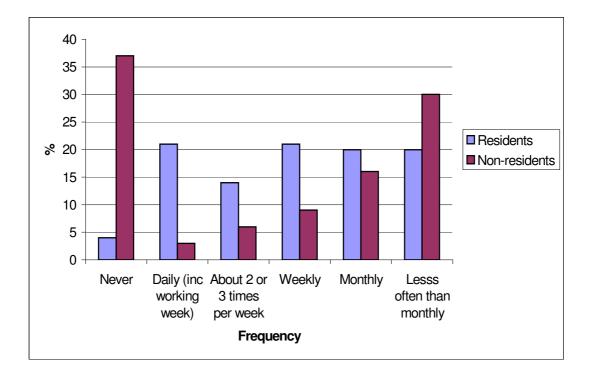


Where non-residents see public art

The 12% 'other' category includes public art seen 'from the train, public buildings (Monks Way Station), roads, Bletchley, CMK (at an art gallery, Market Square, Hilton Hotel, art shop John Lewis') and parks (Willen Lake near railway).

NB: Non-residents referred to 'the place where the cows are' rather than identify Bancroft / Stacey Bushes by name.

5.4 How often do they see it?



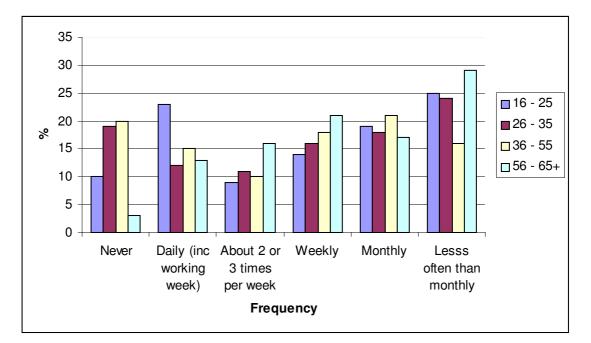
5.4.1 Comparison between residents and non-residents

The frequency spread for **residents** seeing public art is fairly even with the exception of the 4% of respondents who claim never to see it.

Compared to this, a high proportion of **non-residents** claim never to have seen any with a corresponding incremental decrease from 'less often than monthly' to 'daily'.

5.4.2 Comparison between age groups

Comparing frequency of sightings between age groups in the chart below shows that the highest proportion of respondents seeing public art 'less often than monthly' falls into the 56 - 65 + age group.



The 16 - 25 age group form a significantly higher proportion of those who see it daily.

5.5 How important do they think public art is?

The table below shows *all* responses. Reading the analysis based on all responses is clearer when viewed in conjunction with the radar chart on page 24.

What is significant in this data is the high proportion of *positive* responses to all questions, with the possible exceptions of public art being important for finding one's way around MK or its function as generating a sense of excitement about being in MK.

		Very important / important	Not sure	Not important / Not at all important
N= the base number of respondents to each ques category	tion	%	%	%
	N=	204	44	135
Finding your way around MK		53	11	35
Lielwing people feel ground of being in	N=	265	62	57
Helping people feel proud of being in MK		69	16	15
Decylding places to most in MI/ (or	N=	296	37	51
Providing places to meet in MK (eg parks and gardens)		77	10	13
Draviding algore for accessed		277	53	53
Providing places for peace and inspiration		72	14	13
Generating a sense of excitement	N=	187	90	106
about being in MK		49	23	28
Helping people learn more about art	N=	286	58	40
& design		74	15	11
Giving MK a positive image		319	32	33
		83	8	9
Creating well-designed spaces (or	N=	305	35	41
Creating well-designed spaces (eg seating and lighting)		80	9	11

Giving MK a positive image

Creating well-designed spaces

Giving MK a positive image attracted the highest proportion of important / very important responses (83%), followed by creating well-designed spaces (80%).

When asked what public art currently says about MK, respondents seemed keen to dismiss what they perceived as commonly held perceptions of MK:

It isn't all concrete cows and concrete blocks. That's the impression it gives. Cows are a joke – makes a mockery of MK. All they talk about are the cows – rest of the message is lost.

Generating a sense of excitement about being in MK

There was ambivalence surrounding the question which asked how important public art was for generating a sense of excitement about being in MK. However, examination of the literal responses to the question of what public art should say about MK, reveals that residents actually felt public art should be exciting:

It's a new city with vibrance, freshness & excitement. It's for the new generation

Finding their way around MK

Public art being important for finding one's way around MK attracted the highest proportion of *negative* responses (35%).

Filtering out residents' responses reveals that 61% of **non-residents** felt it was important or very important:

Too open, too widespread - need public art as landmark',

with 24% considering it not important or not at all important. Correspondingly, when the non-residents' responses were filtered out, half (50%) of the *residents* felt it was important and just under half (40%) felt it was not.

Providing places to meet in MK

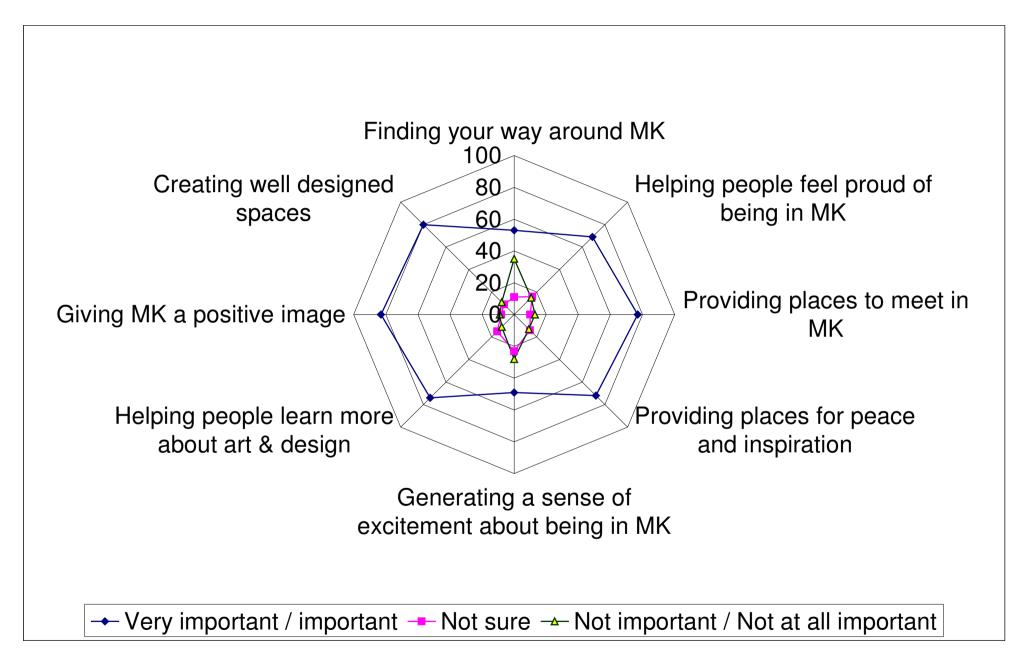
There was significant interest in public art providing places to meet in MK (77%). When this response in set in the context of some of the literal responses, it seems that there may be a prevailing view of MK as rather a dehumanised environment, consisting of concrete and steel:

It's a modern city, lifeless and soulless Its very clinical modern and expensive and not diverse enough Industrial based - not much to it. That's why its called the concrete city.

Providing places for peace and inspiration Helping people feel proud of being in MK

Providing places for peace and inspiration was elevated above helping people to feel proud of being in MK. Again, the language used in the literal responses reveal a level of confidence in respondents' sense of belonging to MK that is tempered by a vulnerability of how outsiders view them:

It says something about MK as a place. Something to identify it with. Trying to portray a slice of sophistication & well being. A status symbol that says we are keeping up with everyone else.



5.6 What do they think the public art they've seen says about MK?

The following analysis is based on the views of all respondents but has been broken down into four age ranges: (16 - 25), (26 - 35), (36 - 55), (56 - 65+). This generational analysis is followed by analysis of what non-residents think the public art they've seen says about MK.

Age group 16 – 25 year olds (26% of survey respondents)

The youngest age group (16 - 25) generally have a positive approach to public art and think it says that MK is a modern, up and coming place:

It makes it seem a lot more modern, concrete cows are a little crazy. It shows it's being progressive. A modern up and coming place for the younger generation. New planned city, trying to think what would work well in certain areas.

There is an incipient sense of pride in many of this group's comments:

We're proud of what we produce, art work that is, and we're not afraid to show it.

It's different from some cities where there isn't much art.

Gives MK an edge over other cities - Forefront of design and art.

We're quite a creative town. Full of creative people. A lot of inspiration to be had, especially if you're a photographer or musician or artist.

Place is proud to display art but should be more on display.

This youngest age group made few criticisms. Their critique included comments on access and suggested that public art may be lacking in impact or relevance for this young group:

It all seems a bit 80s, a bit dated I haven't seen much art that has inspired, not public art anyway. A lot of pieces of sculpture are outside offices or the library. You have to go specifically to those places to see them.

Age group 26 – 35 year olds (19% of survey respondents)

The next age group (**26-35**) were probably the most critical of all the groups, with the concrete cows coming in for special derision:

It could be anywhere. The cows are a bit of a joke. Concrete cows are rubbish. Lowers the tone.

Furthermore, they had specific issues around public art that they were, however, able to articulate explicitly in ways that may be helpful to the direction of the public art strategy:

Lack of community, a centre, a core. Art is not placed well. No overall long term strategy – no linking. For the most part dull and uninspiring. Lacking in colour (bright) There's no corporate image, the sculptures don't say anything. It's very clinical, modern and expensive and not diverse enough. Make it more exotic, more shapes and sizes, more colours towards the art.

The comments above may indicate the existence of a desire to 'understand' the art in order to relate to it in some meaningful way.

However, the overall message from this group (**26-35**) echoes that from the younger group: that public art says MK is a modern place:

Younger, more creative city, less traditional city. It says it's pretty modern and not the sort of things you expect to see in MK. It's actually a pretty vibrant place. Multicultural, young environment Modern city and giving it a bit of culture. New and up coming for younger generation. It's diverse/modern. This group expressed less of a sense of pride in MK through its public art. It was more focussed than, what might be called, the bravado of the younger group:

Arts are important to the town. Thriving, multicultural, forward think plans respecting heritage.

We have the ability.

It has a very good culture and heritage.

Notable in this group's attitude is the start of recognition of diversity (or difference) and multiculturalism but fewer examples of aesthetic appreciation.

Age group 36 – 55 year olds (33% of survey respondents)

As we come to the next age group (**36** – **55**) ambiguity starts to surround issues of culture and multi-culturalism:

Makes it feel cultural, my children learned from public art (Peace Pagoda) Makes it a cultural place. Progressive, cultured. Community spirited. A sense of pride. A city for everybody – a variety for a variety of people. Something about the culture.

What is uncertain here is whether they are defining MK's culture as sense of place, modern and progressive through its aesthetics:

It's a modern city. Forward looking, industrious. A place to work. It adds to the atmosphere. It's a growing city, very attractive place and a good working environment. Contemporary place in the minds of the planners. Better than most places. Gives it a feeling of security - makes the environment – aesthetic pleasure. Visually aware city. It's making it pretty. Or some wider sense of public art, reflecting characteristic traits of a particular period (80s?), class or a community, that satisfies a different human need:

Trying to portray a slice of sophistication and well being. It says there's a municipal interest in demonstrating some sort of individuality to make up for the incredibly boring architecture.

It's a modern city, lifeless and soulless.

It's a modern city that wants to create an image of harmony and peace. To give people a change to prove that they can achieve something.

This group's critique of public art was not just focussed on cost and value for money, although they did comment:

...the council waste an extreme amount of money. [What does public art say about MK?] Not lot – waste of money. It seems they have money to spend on unnecessary objects of art.

but on what some perceived as underlying reasons for public art:

Only for elite / businesses to put MK on the map. Council don't know what people want. Art is not something to put MK on the map. Too abstract. Art is needed for the people. Appears to be very corporate - over rated – not organic – not celebratory about MK.

However, on a more positive note, this group also displayed a sense of pride in what the public art was saying about MK:

Architecture / sculpture make it look unique. MK is interested in art. That someone cares about its image. People care about the city and make it an interesting place.

Age group 56 – 65+ year olds (22% of survey respondents)

The oldest age group (56 - 65+) consider that public art supports the idea of MK as a modern progressive city in a more significant way than all the other groups:

...we are a progressive community and enjoy art. Bloody sight better than it was. It has improved dramatically in the last 15 years. Innovative, progressive, creative. I think it's good and the art is part of it. It's progressive and not afraid to try something new.

This group seem personally self-effacing, with their sense of pride situated in external effects of public art on the image of MK:

Brings an awareness above and beyond MK as a clean, nice open place. Good – help image of MK caring for art and interested in public participation. A status symbol that says we are keeping up with everyone else. Recognition as a city. A distinct image. We're trying very hard to make people appreciate MK but I don't think people appreciate it. Cows are a joke – makes a mockery of MK.

What the non-residents think...

Generally, non-residents felt that the public art was saying that MK was a modern city:

New, up and coming, thriving, cool, friendly,

Quite modern, well cared for - place is clean.

It's a very modern and still developing town. There's a lot of building going on.

Modern and learned.

Inevitably, given the phrasing of the question (what does public art say about MK), their remarks frequently strayed to a description of MK rather than of its public art:

Modern and high tech like the rest of the city. Bland. I can't stand the place. Grey and angular, no character.

Looks like an industrial estate.

Modernist, concrete, badly designed idea that doesn't work.

This may be because non-residents' remarks reveal fairly low levels of engagement with public art in MK as was seen in the chart on page 19:

I haven't got a clue.

I don't honestly know except I've seen a horse outside Lloyds Bank. I don't know if it's public art or not. It's very attractive.

To be honest I haven't been aware of any.

I don't know, I've only been here 3 – 4 hours.

It's not applicable. It's only my second time here.

Furthermore, where non-residents have engaged with it, it does not seem to satisfy them:

MK people don't tend to put a lot of effort into art. Meaning is ambiguous – statue doesn't make an impact on visiting passers-by. Plaque useful¹. Sometimes people need a bit of a prompt.

It says there's a municipal interest in demonstrating some sort of individuality to make up for the incredibly boring architecture.

...a lack of taste over enthusiasm to obtain something very modern which begins to look dated as the years pass.

A few non-residents felt the aesthetic and emotional value of public art that says this about MK:

More welcoming to a 'new' place.

People have pride in its appearance and an interest in art.

A lot of people interested in that sort of thing and making it more beautiful than just a

big city.

It is important to have art.

It depends on designs. It represents what an area is trying to be. It's a bit like the spare plinth in Trafalgar Square. It gives people a chance to look at different works of art.

It's a glorious place!

5.7 What do they think public art *should* say about MK?

What do residents think public art should say about MK?

Massey and Rose¹² have sought to reflect upon public art in the context of place and identity from the point of view of new thinking about its construction and what makes a piece of art a piece of *public* art. The findings in this section coincidentally resonate with similar themes of people, place, identity and culture but from the public's perspective. The following findings have therefore been presented under headings that may be helpful to compare and contrast with the earlier research.

Respondents were asked, not what the art should be, but what it should say about MK. Inevitably, therefore they spoke about the place, but also about its culture, identity and people.

While the previous section dealt with what **non-residents and residents** thought public art says about MK, this section deals firstly with **residents**' views on what public art *should* say about MK. After that, there is a generational analysis of *all* respondents.

¹² Massey, Doreen & Rose, Gillian, *Personal Views: Public Art Research Project* The Open University July 2003

Place – what residents think public art should say about it

For residents, it seems, the character of MK is known as clean, safe, and a good place to live:

Clean place, an artistic place.

There appears to be little indication of a '...knowable location of security' ¹³ for MK residents as far as a sense of place is concerned. What reference there is to history is confined to vague statements such as:

It should say something about history.

Apart from saying that MK is a good place to be:

Should reflect that MK is a good place to live in. A nice town to be in. Nice, attractive place.

residents did feel that public art should say that:

It should reflect the lovely countryside we have.

It's a growing city and makes good use of public places.

...not too radical. Good art makes MK a better place. Makes one appreciate the

area.

¹³ lbid p 3

Identity - what residents think public art should say about it

Residents felt that public art should:

...give a sense of place and identity. It should reflect its character. Is in touch with things that are happening around it.

That identity, MK's individuality; its substance, quality and nature is characterised by its residents as young, vibrant, innovative, changing and unique and is encapsulated in the following statements:

It's a new and up and coming area, relatively unique. Stuff elsewhere is older. Vibrant and growing. Youthful city, modern, keeping up with time. Young vibrant place – the place to be. This is a progressive, modern city.

The art that is needed to reflect this identity is something that will be regarded, to external viewers, as unique:

It should say it's different. MK is different from some cities in the way it's laid out.

Quite futuristic as a city.

Represent an image of a modern city, and care for good standards in art.

Art that stand out like Angel of the North to put MK on the map.

MK residents exhibit a strong sense of pride when describing what public art should say about their city:

...make it a proud place.

It should say it's important.

How proud we are of MK and what it's becoming.

It's a vibrant growing city. It should tell people it's important.

We are proud of MK.

It should say that you are proud of MK.

And above all, this pride is not contained for the benefit of its residents. There is an overwhelmingly outward gesturing to a wider public audience (perhaps born from the insecurity of long-term public scrutiny) to come and see what MK is, and what message MK's public art should give:

It should say there is something different to come and see if you're visiting. Best place to come to. It should say it's inviting. We are growing fast and you are welcome to come. Good impression to others. This is a dynamic new city and people should come to see it. Very good quality place to live in. Come and have a look. We take pride in ourselves.

It should tell you all about the advantages of MK and bringing people in for art and theatre.

Culture - what residents think public art should say about it

As far as human intellectual achievement, that is regarded collectively as culture, is concerned, residents tended to focus largely on relaxation / peacefulness:

Nice relaxed place.

It should keep as modern and peaceful as possibly, as long as it's aesthetically pleasing.

and diversity as sources worthy of celebration in public art¹⁴:

It's an up an coming city with different types of culture. Diversity in culture here, match architecture – 1960s change. That it is a diverse society with multi-cultural equality. Reflect the city. That MK cultural and ethnic diversity. A growing city. A young city. Reflect more the multicultural nature of the place and also its youth.

Finally, there is an appeal for colour:

... need more colour.

We can be practical cheaper and colourful and more cultural.

It's a new city with vibrance, freshness and excitement. It's for the new generation.

¹⁴ It is uncertain whether these ideas have come from exposure to and understanding of harmony in long-established pieces, such as The Peace Pagoda, or whether they have evolved from other sources. Whatever their source, the sentiment is undeniably present.

People – what residents think public art should say about the people of MK

There is a strong sense that something is trying to be said in MK about its people that is currently not being addressed through its public art:

Diverse, but things that people understand. Not too abstract.

City [is] not just houses and roads but has some heart – sophistication.

It should be all about community and give people opportunities to have recognition. MK is a really commercial place and art doesn't really express that. Art is mainly about aesthetics.

What is being looked for is for public art to be in touch with the people of MK in a way that celebrates who they are and what they value:

Should be representative of the people. City [is] full of outgoing people, proud of the city and want to make it attractive! City is clean – not many are. Friendly place. It should reflect the culture and types of people who live in or visit MK. It should say it's a great community but it [doesn't]. That it's forward looking and for the people. That it is a growing, interesting community.

There is also a sense that MK has its own stock of talent that should be involved with its public art:

A lot of talent around.

It should say we've got a good positive attitude towards art and creative art. We try and nurture people in becoming better musicians and artists by giving them inspiration for their work.

Link with artists in resident – more community links.

Place, People, Identity & Culture by age group 16 - 25 year olds

When analysis looks at generational breakdowns, in the 16 - 25 age group there is reference to MK as a multi-cultural place:

...show the age range and represent the social diversity of MK.

but more focus on public art's aesthetic and emotional value:

Creative, well organised, beautiful. It should also say it's an inspirational place, a good sight or view to look at.

It should pay attention to art and not just buildings.

It should keep as modern and peaceful as possible, as long as it's aesthetically

pleasing.

... Art is mainly about aesthetics.

Should stand out, inspirational.

There was also recognition that public art could be tied into an aspiration for MK to appear more 'cultured' insofar as it could manifest human achievement:

It should be all about community and give people opportunities to have recognition. Reflect relatively 'new city' but has a culture developing here and a certain type of person who lives here.

MK's uniqueness as an up and coming vibrant modern place:

Represent the true image of the place based on the American Dream – unique in the UK.

is countered by the young respondents' need for orientation to understand themselves in relation to their city:

It should give you some sense of direction.

Like with any city it should reflect the city's cultural values. Given the nature of MK itself, it's important to have a few more landmarks.

Place, people, Identity & Culture by age group 26 - 35 year olds

The **26** – **35** age group, which was earlier the most critical of MK's public art, were again the most articulate group. There was, however, no conclusive idea of how to define MK through its public art. Some appeared to recognise it as a place that has a history and locate its past, present and future development:

About people, what they did in the past and in the area. Natural beauties. History. Mixture of what MK was, is and should be. Present [the] culture of the place and [the] history of the town.

However, this is countered by the view that MK has little known culture:

This place is futuristic. It has not past or present. It exists only on shops and bars and factories and storage. I don't know.

I don't know much about MK except shopping.

It should give it an identity.

There appears to be confusion around what MK stands for, its identity, and what public art should be saying about it. This group centred MK's identity on people, their diversity and achievements:

It should inspire the city and define what MK stands for. It should represent important persons or issues to the city.

Actually I was told it was a town, but it's a city with so many people and work places. There's inter-cultural relations, different countries.

It should let people know more about what is happening in MK. With all the different nationalities there should be different art to embrace their culture.

The **26-35** group barely mentioned the aesthetic and emotional aspects of what public art should say about MK:

Reflect heart and soul of town.

Inspiring place to live.

Place, people, Identity & Culture by age group 36 - 55 year olds

As we come to a maturing age group (**36-55**), the perceived cost of public art starts to arise:

...money should to NHS - elderly care.

Art should be publicly donated. Public money from the council should not be used [on] other than the bare necessities.

However, this was countered to a large extent by significant interest in projecting a positive image of MK to onlookers. There appears to be a common thread of pride running through all the respondents' responses but this age group seem more focussed on MK's promotion as a good place, not only to live in but to visit:



The way in which this might be achieved through what public art says about MK appears to be community-based:

Should be more local ideas and people. Art is about the people and the next generation.

Links with artists in residence – more community links.

Diverse – but things that people understand. Not too abstract.

Furthermore, there were higher levels of aesthetic and emotional value placed in what public art should say about MK:

It should be positive and inspiring. Should be life enhancing and forward thinking. We are new up and coming and be expressive. People who come here do remember it. People who live here do enjoy it. Shouldn't necessarily say anything. Art is art.

This age group (36 – 55) were concerned about what MK's identity might be:

MK needs to get a culture first before reflecting on it.

Where its identity was explored, there was some ambiguity, and not a little anxiety, in searching for some sort of coherence:

That is a city of culture. It should say it was modern and learned. Is in touch with things that are happening around it. Bold, discerning.

But there was an awareness in this group of how public art should contribute to a sense of place:

A fun place to be.

Modern but green.

Advertise public spaces or draw attention to public spaces.

It should give the place some kind of distinctive landmarks. It's all a bit featureless.

Place, people, Identity & Culture by age group 56 - 65 year olds

Finally, the oldest age group's (56 - 65+) priorities for what public art should say about MK was firmly focussed on its people:

Should be accessible to all including disabled and housebound. Would like to see more about people. It should say what we are as people. That it's forward looking and for the people. It should represent people and their ideas.

This group expressed interest in MK's environment and its use of open space:

Reflect [the] environmental aspect of MK... Something specifically related to situation / location. Identity of space. It's a growing city and makes good use of public places. It should emphasise the open spaces. People are interested in their surroundings.

As far as identity and culture are concerned, the **56** – **65**+ age group didn't mention cultural diversity at all when describing what public art should say about MK. For this group, a sense of identity seemed to lie in MK's progressiveness and modernity:

Can think outside the box. Implies vigour. It's a vibrant growing city. A new cultural city. An up and coming town. Youthful, modern, keeping up with time. That we are about the top 5 for art in the country. Show its prosperity...

Again, like the other groups, this age group exhibited a strong sense of pride in what MK has achieved and a commitment to tell others about it.

5.8 Where would they like to see new public art?

As this topic was added to the survey as an extra question, and remains outside the objectives of the research, time constraints prevent further analysis on this literal list. If required, work can be carried out to classify the main areas where respondents said they would like to see new public art.

The list has, however, been broken down to show where residents and non-residents would like to see new public art. Furthermore where Netherfield residents would like to see new public art, where Bletchley residents would like to see it and where Oxley Park / Westcroft residents would like to see it.

Post script

Further to the completion of the report, the responses from residents and nonresidents have now been post-coded on loose categories by **amh** for internal guidance. This will inform the projects and programmes.

6. Conclusions

6.1 The general audience for public art in MK

The research concludes that the general residential audience for public art in MK reflects the socio-demographic profile of its residents:

- the greatest audience for public art in MK (almost three quarters) comprises its residents, of which almost half both live and work in MK.
- The residents show high levels of pride in MK and are interested in sending out positive messages about MK through its public art.

MK has a relatively youthful population:

- Over one fifth of MK residents are in the 25 34 year age range.
- □ This is followed by one fifth in the 35 44 year age range
- \Box and just under a fifth who occupy the 45 54 age range.
- □ The area has just 7% aged 65+ compared to the national average of 16%

Young people aged between 15 and 24 account for 17% of the population and are almost equally balanced by the 56 - 65+ age group who account for 18% of the population.

 The highest concentration of MK residents, and therefore its main adult audience for public art, is in a broad age range (25 to 64)

Among non residents:

- D Non-residents working in MK comprise the smallest audience for public,
- Non-residents visiting for other purposes comprise the largest audience for public art.

As non-residents were more highly concentrated in the 19 - 45 age range, it suggests that:

 MK attracts a relatively youthful visitor profile substantiated by many of their responses when describing MK's public art.

- The research suggests that without affective bonds, non-residents are far more critical of what public art is saying about MK.
- non-residents form a younger audience for public art than residents.

Having identified the main ACORN types at category level, further analysis is possible to:

- □ further define who the audience might be and how many¹⁵
- use this analysis to identify those groups with strong predisposition to engage with public art.
- Who and where those groups are, in order to devise plans to engage with them.

It is anticipated that this exercise will aid recruitment of focus groups for work in Phase III.

¹⁵ By further ACORN / TGI analysis centered on the population of MK.

6.2 Levels of awareness of public art in MK

Very few residents claim never to have seen public art in MK , suggesting:

- □ High levels of awareness among residents.
- Conversely, non-residents' awareness is poor.

As residents' awareness of public art was concentrated on the main bronzes such as the *Black Horse, The Whisper* and *Vox Pop* and other well-remembered pieces related to human or recognisable forms, we may conclude that:

□ Abstract objects are harder to recall, describe or relate to.

This is further supported by the fact that other well-remembered pieces such as *Mighty Blow for Freedom* and *Family Sport* were descried by their subject or form whereas residents had more difficulty in identifying abstract pieces which were more often described by their location or material, suggesting a lack of meaningful relation to these pieces.

Other rather high-profile pieces such as *Chain Reaction, Octo* and the *Concrete Cows* seemed to be more easily identified which might due to their stature in terms of size or reputation.

As very little mention was made of building design, lighting or seating, (with the exception of the glass window in Midsummer Place) the research concludes that:

- Residents awareness of public art is rather limited to statues
- □ Perceptions of what constitutes public art are similarly limited.

Netherfield residents demonstrated no awareness of public art in their local community, with the exception of the hospital.

For non-residents' awareness:

- A very high proportion of non-residents claim never to have seen any public art in MK
- Those non-residents who have seen public art mainly see it less frequently than once a month.
- Awareness is very much concentrated on what they see in their immediate proximity.
- □ There is little awareness of public art in local communities or hospitals.
- Half the public art seen by non-residents is in Central MK or while travelling by road or train.
- The first experience of public art in MK, for many non-residents arriving by train, remains with *Locomotive* and *O Wert Thou in the Cauld Blast* and it is by these two pieces that MK's public art is frequently defined.
- The Concrete Cows seem to account for a disproportionate amount of recognition and is most probably due to their notoriety.
- There is an even lower awareness of public art as constituting building design, lighting or seating than from the residents.

There is a sense of emotional and intellectual distancing from non-residents in their descriptions of public art they have seen which may suggest:

 Non-residents may generally have had less exposure to public art than residents and may require extra assistance in appreciating it.

Generally:

- There is awareness from both residents and non-residents that public art exists in parks.
- Some guidance about how to understand abstract pieces in relation to the self may be required for meaningful engagement.
- There is a significant sense that residents and non-residents were more aware of large, powerful images such as Octo, A Mighty Blow for Freedom, Triple Starhead, and Chain Reaction
- Older people are less likely to be aware of public art than younger people.

6.3 Perceptions of the role of public art in MK

The image and concept of the value of public art in MK is received with very positive attitudes among the survey respondents. Its potential role is understood on several levels across a broad range of people.

However, above all, the public seek an art that comes from the people of MK, is about the people of MK and fulfils the aspirations and needs of the people of MK.

Paradoxically, as levels of awareness do not seem to support this level of understanding the research concludes that:

 respondents are not satisfied that current public art is satisfactorily fulfilling its potential role(s).

Respondents' priorities of what they perceive of the role of public art to be are ranked in the following order:

- Giving MK a positive image
- Creating well designed spaces (e.g. seating and lighting)
- □ Providing places to meet in MK (e.g. parks and gardens)
- □ Helping people learn more about art and design
- Providing places for peace and inspiration
- □ Helping people feel proud of being in MK
- □ Finding your way around MK a higher priority for non-residents
- Generating a sense of excitement about being in MK

Given the above priorities and in the context of the qualitative data, the research concludes that there is a strong case for exploring the role that public art plays in providing spaces for people to be in and experience, rather than much of the current public art that exists to be looked at.

As far as generational attitudes are concerned:

- □ Young people (16-25) are more likely to see the intrinsic value of public art.
- The next age group (26 35) are more likely to show signs of appreciating the instrumental value of public art,
- The 36 to 55 years old group moves towards a critique of institutional interference.

 Whereas the oldest group eschews the self and appear to see how the intrinsic, instrumental and institutional can be of value to the community.

It is apparent from this public consultation that there is a very positive attitude to public art in MK and that its residents see it has the potential to articulate who and what they are to a wider world.

The image that they wish the city to portray is tied up with concepts of modern-ness, newness, youthfulness, vigour and diversity. But there is also a sense of loneliness in its wide expanses of concrete, steel and commercialism: a feeling of loss of personal identity for its people who are currently defined by the place they live and not by their achievements.

There also exists a sense that MK's newness may have left it vulnerable to external speculation. It may be worth exploring further how residents' undoubted sense of pride is being compromised by what they perceive as its external image. There is evidence to suggest that MK's residents, especially the older ones who may have grown up with the city's development, would like to give MK a more accurately positive image that is worthy of external respect.

- There is a strong sense of cultural misappropriation of MK by historical media representation of the place as 'where the *Concrete Cows* are', which is manifested in a defensive pride of MK.
- Residents see the value of public art as having the potential to redress this misconception.

As respondents were asked, not what the art should be, but what it should say about MK, inevitably, they spoke about the place, but also about its culture, identity and people and it is to this that public art should be addressing itself.

Issues of culture and multi-culturalism seem loaded with meaning which is worth probing in more depth in the third phase of this audience development project.

Perceptions, therefore, of what public art's role should be are:

- Denote that MK is a good, clean, safe, growing place
- □ That MK's identity is characterised by being:
 - o vibrant,
 - progressive / forward looking
 - \circ modern
 - \circ welcoming
 - \circ its people are proud of it.
- □ That it defines and reflects MK's culture through its people as:
 - o diverse and equal
 - o unique
 - o friendly
 - \circ sophisticated
 - \circ learned
 - o community-based
 - o celebratory of its people's achievements and values
 - o artistic and creative
 - \circ inspirational

Public art is seen by respondents as having the potential to humanise MK as a place. That is to ameliorate, what many see as, the utilitarian, commercially corporate uniformity of the place by adding colour, exoticism, stature, greenness and meaning to the place through providing well designed places for people to be and to celebrate what people are.

As Massey and Rose point out, the particularity of combinations of qualities that are unique to any one place requires an extended period of research which this survey has not, in itself, set out to do. However, it has been able to highlight generalities that combine to give MK residents a sense of place and, more importantly, it has come from them.

7. Appendices

- 7.1 Sample Survey
- 7.2 Public Art Identification List
- 7.3 Survey Schedule
- 7.4 Nationwide distribution of survey respondents
- 7.5 MK Unitary Authority distribution of survey respondents

7.1 Sample Survey

MK Public Art Survey March 2006

Q0a	Name	Location	Time Band
	Jackle Gelleskey	Bletchley High Street	Oxley Park / Westcroft
	Jamle Galindner	Midsummer Place Sh	opping
	Eustace Gelleskey	Centre Netherfield	9 - 12
	Brian Langer		12-2
	MK Team	MK Station Foyer	2-4
	——————————————————————————————————————	The Buzzy	4-6
		Xscape	
Intervi	ew Refusa	ıls (1
Q1	Are you ?		
Q(I	Resident and work	Resident In MK	Resident Non resident
	in MK		Isewhere, work in visiting MK for other Wisiting WK for other purpose
		10	
Q2	Respondents' age (tick gende	The second secon	
	Male	gender 16-16 19-25	26-35 36-45 46-55 56-65 65+
	Female		
Q3	Aproximately how often do yo	u see public art in and around	MK?
	Never (go to Q6 overleaf) About 2 or 3 times pe	r week Monthly
	Daily (inc working week)	Weekly	Less often
Q4	What public art can you reme	mber cooing in MK2	
644		rompt sheet for codes & identif	ication purposes only)
	1 Black Horse	4 The Whisper 7	Flying Carpet 10 The Space
	2 Chain Reaction	5 Concrete Cows 8	Vox Pop
	3 Octo	6 Sitting on History	Glass Window
	Other - name or brief descrip	don	
Q5	Where do you see it?		
0.000	In my local community	Public places (school	
	Central MK	Ibrarle's / sports centre	
		Parks	
	Please state other places		

Q6	How important do you think public		for:			
		Very Miportant	important	Not sure	Not Important	Not at all important
	Finding your way around MK					
	Helping people feel proud of being in MK Providing places to meet in MK (eg parks and gardens)					
	Providing places for peace and inspiration Generating a sense of excilement about being in MK					
	Helping people learn more about art & design					
	Giving MK a positive image Creating well designed spaces (eg seating and lighting)					
Q7	Thinking of public art you've seen, t	what do you	u think it says a	bout MK?		
Q8	What do you think public art should	f sav about	MK?			
	,,					
Q9	Where would you like to see new pu	ublic art?				
~	11		044 14			
QIU	May we take your postcode to show we had consulted widely?	ave	researc	h? TÁKE	again about put DETAILS BELO "No	
	******		·	•• L		
Q12	Name:					
	Address					
	Tel:					
	iei.					

7.2 Key pieces of Public Art in MK

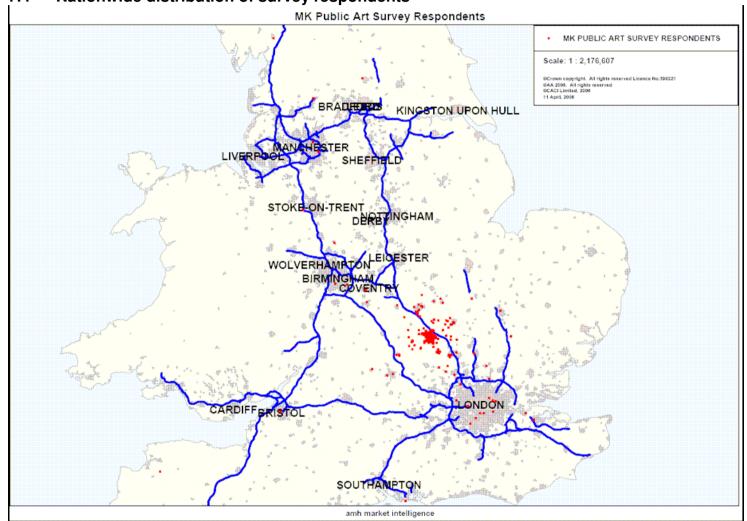
1.	Black Horse Elizabeth Frink bronze	Lloyds Court Corner
2.	Chain Reaction	Skeldon Gate near Campbell Park
3.	Octo (stainless steel, water)	Saxon Gate
4.	The Whisper (bronze)	Library
5.	Concrete Cows	Bancroft / Stacey Bushes

6.	Sitting on History (bronze book)	Midsummer Place
7.	Flying Carpet	Midsummer Place
8.	Vox Pop (bronze)	Midsummer Place
9.	Glass Window (coloured, carved & etched glass)	Midsummer Place
10.	The Space Between (patinated bronze with fibre optic	Winter Garden Business District

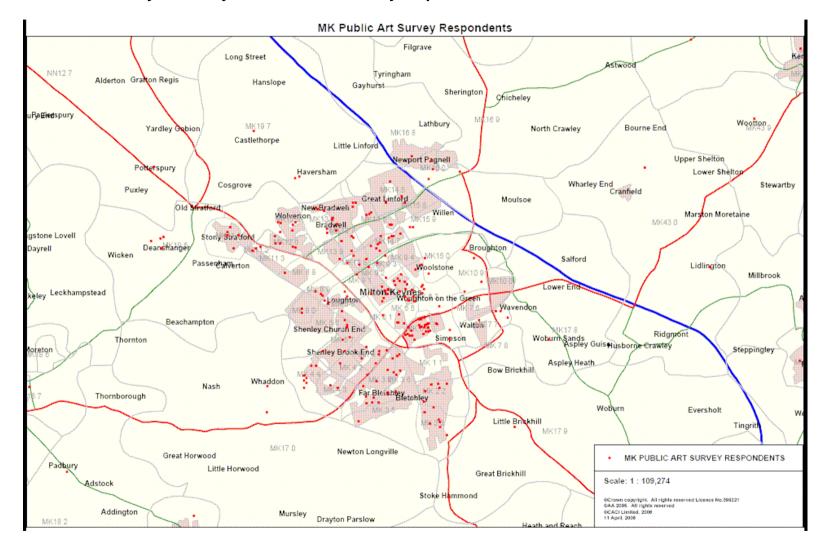
elements

7.3 Survey Schedule

Day	March	Location(s)	5hr sessions
SUN	19		
MON	20	Pilot Morning – Bletchley High Street Afternoon – Midsummer Place	1
TUES	21		
WED	22		
THUR	23	Bletchley High Street Market Day	1
FRI	24	Netherfield Shopping Centre	1
SAT	25	MK Station Concourse / The Buzzy	1
SUN	26	Xscape	1
MON	27	The Buzzy / Station Square	1
TUES	28	MK Station Concourse / Midsummer Place Food Hall	1
		Netherfield	1
		Oxley Park / Westcroft	.5
WED	29	Midsummer Place Shopping Centre	1
THUR	30	Midsummer Place Shopping Centre	2
FRI	31		
	April		
SAT	1	MK Station Concourse / The Buzzy	1
SUN	2		



7.4 Nationwide distribution of survey respondents



7.5 MK Unitary Authority distribution of survey respondents