



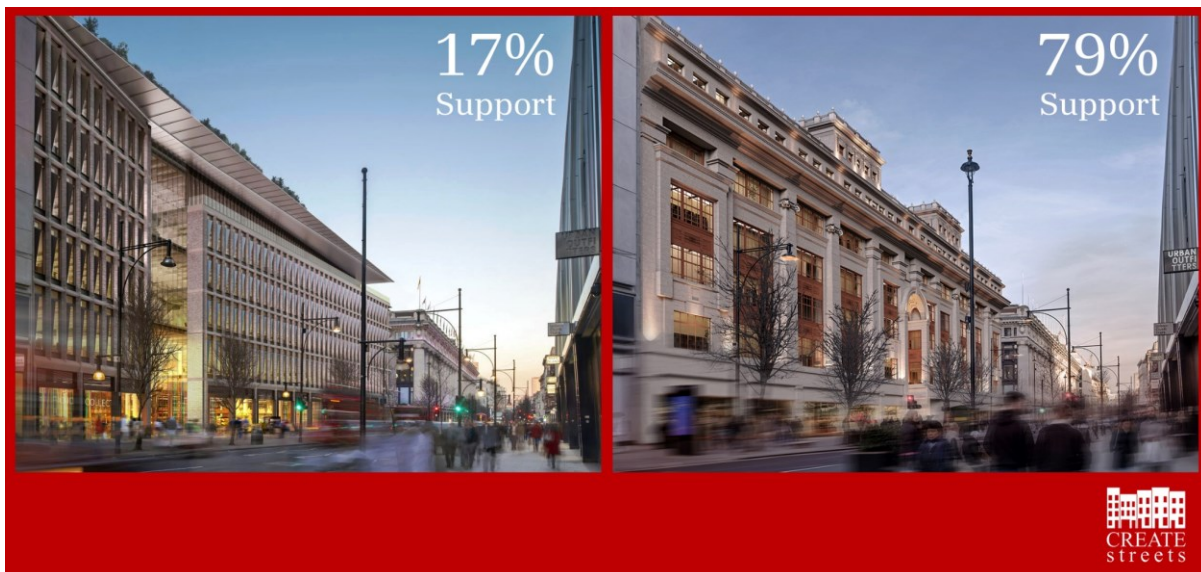
Orchard House Saved?

Creating a greener and more popular alternative

Executive summary

- *Marks and Spencer's proposal to demolish their 1930 Oxford Street flagship store (Orchard House) has proved very controversial* with a government call in, an appeal to the High Court and high-profile interventions from (among others) Kevin McCloud, Griff Rhys Jones, Sir Simon Jenkins and Kristin Scott Thomas as well as a host of experts from the worlds of architecture, heritage and planning. It has served as a prominent *cause célèbre* for important interrelated debates about net zero development, the future of department stores, twentieth century heritage and high streets.
- *The future for Orchard House is once more in doubt following the March 2024 High Court decision.* The Secretary of State had turned down the planning application but the High Court has upheld a judicial review of the rejected planning permission. The only grounds on which the Secretary of State's refusal was not overturned was his approach to the store's sensitive heritage setting. However, this is not the end of the story. The Secretary of State now needs to redetermine the appeal. He could, in theory, still refuse planning permission. What will Michael Gove do next?
- *A more sustainable and better path is possible.* Trade offs are inevitable between the viability of the site, its heritage, its uses, its embodied carbon, ongoing sustainability and the quality, beauty and future of Oxford Street. Nevertheless, Create Streets believes that an approach which sought to reuse more of the existing building and was less dismissive of the existing setting would have been wiser, less costly for Marks and Spencer and more popular with the wider public. Working with the internationally significant classical architect, *Francis Terry*, we have therefore worked up an alternative proposal which;
 - *Creates a comparable volume of overall development to ensure viability;*
 - *Accepts some demolition whilst saving what can be saved;*
 - *Encloses the street more fittingly and elegantly to Oxford Street's long-term benefit;*
 - *Creates an improved new public space at Granville Place;*
 - *Creates elegant public arcades through the site;*
 - *Creates a development in which it would be possible to create homes as well as offices and shops; and*
 - *Creates a better street with a raised crossing and street trees.*
- *Our approach is much more popular with the general public and this something we can agree on.* In a national opinion poll conducted by Deltapoll in February 2024,
 - *The British public overwhelmingly preferred our design* by 79 per cent to 17 per cent;
 - *This preference transcends politics.* Voters for all three main British parties strongly preferred our design with Liberal Democrat voters being closest to the national average (80 vs 15 per cent for Liberal Democrat voters; 76 vs 20 per cent for Labour voters and 83 vs 14 per cent for Conservative voters).
 - *This preference transcends views on Europe.* Views on the design from "remain" and "leave" voters were almost identical. (80 vs 15 per cent for "remain" voters and 80 vs 17 per cent for "leave" voters).

- *A preference that is shared by rich and poor.* Those of ABC1 social status and of C2DE social status both strongly prefer our design. (82 vs. 15 per cent for ABC1 and 75 vs. 21 per cent for C2DE).
- *A preference that is shared everywhere.* Respondents in every British region strongly preferred our design with the highest support in the South of England (83 vs. 13 per cent) and Scotland (83 per cent vs 15 per cent) and the lowest in Wales (71 vs 26 per cent).
- *A preference of old and young.* Clear majorities of all age groups preferred our design though with support slightly increasing with age. (75 vs 23 per cent for those aged 18-24 and 83 vs. 12 per cent for those aged over 65).



Foreword by Nicholas Boys Smith

In November 2021, Marks and Spencer received planning permission to demolish Orchard House, its flagship 1930 Oxford Street branch. In March 2024, after a complex and controversial path in which the Secretary of State called in and rejected this permission, Mrs Justice Lieven in the High Court supported Marks and Spencer's judicial review of the rejected planning permission on five out of six grounds. The only grounds on which the Secretary of State's refusal was not overturned was his approach to analysing the setting, particularly Selfridges and the Stratford Place Conservation Area.

However, this is not the end of the story. The Secretary of State now needs to redetermine the appeal. He could, in theory, still refuse planning permission. He could also rewrite national policy to encourage retrofit of existing buildings.

What will happen next? Was there a better path available which compromised between Marks and Spencer's understandable desire to improve the building with the quality of Oxford Street?

Orchard House was created in 1930 to *Néo-Grec* designs by Trehearne and Norman, a distinguished practice that, remarkably, still exists and which designed Africa House on Kingsway and many of the buildings on today's Regent Street. It echoes its magnificent neighbour Selfridges, continuing the lines of its basement and cornice, emulating its giant order and spandrel panels, and working with it to form a splendid architectural frame to Orchard Street.



Two temples of early twentieth century commerce: Selfridges and Marks and Spencer

Orchard House's proposed replacement will feature a familiar graph-paper facade, an unvarying grid of some two hundred exactly the same windows. Marks and Spencer's design and access statement claims ominously that 'a rational structure is celebrated.'¹

Marks and Spencer's proposals and the flurry of opposition they engendered are very much not a storm in a central London teacup. As SAVE have pointed out, we have a glut of department stores and office buildings that, have been 'caught out' by the changing winds of how we shop and how we work after COVID and with the rise of remote working and retail.² These buildings, being larger and more complex, are not as readily re-purposed as Georgian terraced houses or Victorian shops. What shall we do with them?

How we reuse our existing early 20th century and late Victorian department stores, civic architecture and warehouses so as to encourage better, more liveable and more sustainable town centres goes right to the heart of discussions about sustainability, heritage, levelling up and place-making.

In our view, for all the charm and sincere intentions of the architect Fred Pilbrow, the current plans are deeply flawed: they create no new homes, they destroy an elegant and important interwar building, they make Oxford Street less lovable and they pointlessly wastes oodles of embodied carbon in the process. The environmental case for pulling down this fine building is gossamer thin at best. We should be adapting as much as possible of the remaining building, not smashing it up.

Despite their (for now) legal success, Marks & Spencer and their advisors have 'read the room wrong' on this. Their victory will, I suspect, be Pyrrhic. They have failed to see how the debate is moving, and moving quite fast, away from unnecessary demolition. In a cluster of other recent plans (including at least one by Marks & Spencer themselves) it is notable that owners are seeking to re-use large interwar buildings, not demolish them. Examples include LSE's Firoz Lalji Global Hub at Lincoln's Inn Fields, the redevelopment between Smith Square and Millbank and Marks & Spencer's own redevelopment of their King Street shop in Hammersmith.

This is for good reason. So-called embodied carbon, the carbon already used in a completed building and which is lost when we needlessly demolish it to build another, is the Cinderella of urban sustainability. It's still not been invited to the ball. And yet it really matters.

If you demolish a Victorian house to replace it with the most modern and efficient Passivhaus available, you have burnt the best part of 100 years of embodied carbon and need a century of higher performance just to 'catch up.' The embodied carbon in a traditional Victorian house could drive a car eight times round the world. Recycling buildings or parts of buildings matters.³

In this case Marks and Spencer have insisted that they have no option, that the only answer is complete demolition. They argue that the historic building is internally gutted and that the 160s and 1980s buildings besides it on Oxford and Orchard Streets (both also to be demolished) are entirely without merit. It is hard to disagree with this latter assertion. They are shoddy and faceless, as discourteous to the street as their 1930 neighbour is polite. The 1960s 23-24 Orchard Street to the north is lumpen and the 1980s Neale House to the west on Oxford Street itself is charmless and lazy.

Maybe a compromise is best. It often is: a compromise that tries hard (quite a lot harder) to preserve some of the 1930s building but accepts that not everything can or should be saved; a compromise

¹ [Design and access statement](#)

² SAVE, (2022), *Departing Stores: Emporia at Risk*.

³ See Building Better Building Beautiful Commission, *Living with Beauty*, p.92 for a summary.

that recognises that Oxford Street needs to be treated with rather more respect than the currently proposed spreadsheet architecture but which realises that not everything in the existing amalgam of the fine and the formless can, or should, be preserved. A compromise that cares about the street and wants it to grow in stature and beauty.

Will such a compromise please everyone? Probably not but we set out the results of a visual preference survey here which suggests that it can appeal to nearly everyone. My personal view is that if Marks and Spencer had set off down a path with more focus on the stewardship of the street at the outset then they would have burnt a lot less money in the process. It would still have involved demolition but less demolition, and far less damage to Oxford Street. Had Marks and Spencer been more aware of and mindful of their own history, they might also have revived their own fine tradition of enlarging their own stores elegantly and symmetrically.⁴

It has been a huge pleasure to be working again with Francis Terry, our friend and collaborator on Create Street's very first project back in 2014, Mount Pleasant Circus.⁵ It seems a fitting way to mark Create Streets's first decade.

1. History and context

The Marks & Spencer store on Oxford Street, known as Orchard House, was designed by architects Trehearne and Norman and built between 1929-30 by Thomas & Edge Ltd. *Néo-Grec* in style, it complements Selfridges just across the street. The building has a Portland stone façade on a steel frame. The ground floor shopfront was completed by the firm Holttum and Green with large curved plate glass display windows on a granite plinth.

The façade featured a series of sculpted heads on keystones and balconies. These were based on characters from *Alice in Wonderland* and *Alice through the Looking Glass* and were carved by A. T. Bradford. Most have since been removed. However, the White Knight remains on the Orchard Street corner beneath the projecting clock.⁶



The White Knight: remaining Alice in Wonderland head on Orchard House

⁴ For example, in the 1920s and 30s, Marks & Spencer stores in Reading, Portsmouth and Lincoln were all extended symmetrically as we propose below. Both Selfridges next door and Marks and Spencer's store in Hull also grew over time.

⁵ [Legatum-Institute-Create-Streets-Mount-Pleasant.pdf \(createstreets.com\)](https://www.createstreets.com/legatum-institute-create-streets-mount-pleasant.pdf)

⁶ [Microsoft Word - 11 Chapter 11.doc \(ucl.ac.uk\)](https://www.ucl.ac.uk/legatum-institute/microsoft-word-11-chapter-11.doc)

Orchard House is a rare building which interweaves the stories of two of the twentieth century Britain's greatest retail brands: J Lyons & Co and Marks and Spencer. It was originally developed for J Lyons who occupied the upper floors as their training centre.

The *Evening News* was impressed on its opening: 'This impressive building at the corner of Oxford Street and Orchard Street has been transformed in the space of 17 days from an empty shell of bare walls into a worthy neighbour of the renowned fashion houses... It adds a new feature to the famous attractions of the West End. For throughout its immense area of 21,420sq ft, there is not one article priced above five shillings.'⁷

When Lyons moved out of the upper storeys in 1967, Marks and Spencer took over the whole site. They extended it, first to the north with a heavy 1960s brutalist extension designed by the architects Lewis and Hickey; next to the west along Oxford Street with the 1986 Neale House on Oxford Street. The ground floor was entirely remodelled and recessed to allow Orchard Street to be widened. Balconies and most of the *Alice in Wonderland* sculptures were removed.

Architectural historian, David Frazer Lewis, expert on architecture between 1880 and 1940 has commented;

'Orchard House was built 1929-1930 to the designs of Trehearne and Norman. It is an excellent example of interwar commercial classicism, with a sculptural stone facade and setbacks. Such sculptural masonry facades are amongst the character-defining features of Oxford Street, and thereby form part of an ensemble of commercial architecture of international significance.

The design is by no means generic: its treatment of surfaces and mouldings was creative and appropriately bespoke, and a scheme of ornamentation by architectural sculptor A.T. Bradford took the surprising and delightful theme of Alice and Wonderland characters. In this respect it constitutes a striking example of the playful, creative and approachable re-use of traditional architectural languages that characterises much interwar commercial architecture.

Trehearne and Norman was an important interwar practice specialising in apartment and commercial architecture, of which the chief architect at the time of Orchard House was Alfred Frederick Aldridge Trehearne (1874-1962). It designed a number of buildings of a scale and importance similar to Orchard House that have already been listed, including 273, 275, 275A and 281A Regent Street, and Africa House on Kingsway.'⁸

Throughout its history, the store underwent significant renovations. In the late 1990s, a comprehensive refurbishment aimed to modernise the store's layout. Another substantial renovation occurred in the mid-2010s, focusing on updating the store's amenities.

⁷ [MS_report_WEB.pdf\(savebritainsheritage.co.uk\)](#).

⁸ Application for listing.



Marks & Spencer, Oxford Street decorated for the 1953 coronation of Elizabeth II



Façade details showing spandrel panels, pilasters and capitals

In November 2021, Marks and Spencer received planning permission to demolish Orchard House. The proposal led to widespread opposition from SAVE, from the *Architects' Journal* and from amenity societies. Create Streets also objected publicly and signed SAVE's Open Letter in May 2022.

The permission was 'called in' on 20 June, 2022 by the Secretary of State, Michael Gove.⁹ A two-week public inquiry took place in October-November 2022, overseen by planning inspector David Nicholson. In his report of 1 February 2023, Nicholson recommended that the scheme be approved. The Secretary of State disagreed with the recommendation and refused planning permission on July 20, 2023, writing that the scheme would 'fail to support the transition to a low carbon future, and would overall fail to encourage the reuse of existing resources, including the conversion of existing buildings.' He further stated that he did not believe the redevelopment would 'outweigh the harm to the significance of a number of designated heritage assets' such as the Selfridges store opposite.¹⁰

In August 2023, Marks and Spencer was granted permission by the High Court to apply for a judicial review of the decision.¹¹ On 1 March 2024 the High Court Judge ruled in Marks and Spencer's favour on five out of six grounds, the only exception being the challenge to the Secretary of State's approach to analysing the setting, particularly the Selfridges and the Stratford Place Conservation Area, which was dismissed.

However, as the solicitor, James Souter, has pointed out to *Building Design* magazine, this does not mean that a fresh planning permission must automatically be granted. The Secretary of State now needs 'to redetermine the appeal and could in theory still refuse planning permission.... In the event that Gove were to refuse planning permission for a second time, either following a further planning inquiry or otherwise, it would be open to M&S to challenge that decision in the same way as they challenged his first decision.'¹² The saga is not over yet.

2. The 'brief' that we set ourselves

A lot of critical work had already been done by Marks and Spencer and their architects, Pilbrow & Partners, into the site's redesign. Much need not be jettisoned. We therefore did not start from scratch and reexamine every decision they had made. Key decisions and elements of the brief which we accepted included, the overall mass, the need for routes through the site and the improvement of Granvill Place.

What we do question is Westminster's City Council's Local Plan which discourages homes, Historic England's regrettable decision not to list at least the façade of Orchard House and the necessity of demolishing everything. Orchard House is an elegant building characteristic of Oxford Street as we have come to know it, and its loss would mean an irreparable change to the street's character and the building's wider setting. This approach does not extend to the site beyond Orchard House, however. The more recent additions to the site are not worth preserving in and of themselves.

⁹ https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/64b90fo82059dc00125d265b/23-07-20_DL_IR_456-472_oxford_street_london_w1_-_3301508.pdf

¹⁰ [M&S launches legal challenge after Gove blocks Oxford Street store revamp \(cityam.com\)](https://www.cityam.com/m-s-launches-legal-challenge-after-gove-blocks-oxford-street-store-revamp/)

¹¹ <https://www.theplanner.co.uk/2023/11/24/ms-granted-permission-challenge-refusal-oxford-street-plans>

¹² [What does the High Court's ruling mean for M&S' Oxford Street plans? Lawyers give their views | Features | Building Design \(bdonline.co.uk\)](https://www.bdonline.co.uk/news/what-does-the-high-courts-ruling-mean-for-m-s-oxford-street-plans-lawyers-give-their-views-features/)



Post-war additions along Oxford Street (left) and Orchard Street (right)

The brief we set therefore had eight main components:

1. *Creating a comparable volume of development* so that the landowner has comparable space to sell or rent;
2. *Accepting some demolition whilst saving what can be saved;*
3. *Enclosing the street more fittingly and elegantly to Oxford Street's long-term benefit;*
4. *Creating an improved public space at Granville Place;*
5. *Creating elegant public arcades through the site* to follow the original brief but to do so with more impact and elegance;
6. *Creating a development in which it would be possible to create homes as well as offices and shops;* and
7. *Creating a better street with a raised crossing and street trees.*

The next section sets out our attempt to meet this brief.

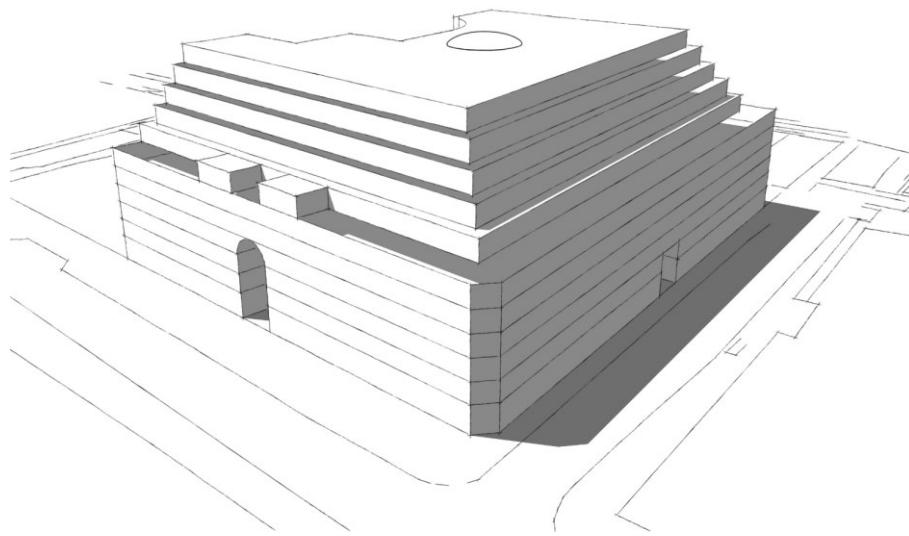
3. Our proposals: saving Orchard House not destroying it



Francis Terry and Create Streets's proposal for doubling of Orchard House instead of its destruction.

In late 2023, Create Streets convened an internal workshop for our colleagues, led by Robert Kwolek with architect, Francis Terry. Since then Francis Terry Associates and Create Streets have worked up an indicative alternative approach to show that a different path was open to Marks and Spencer had they chosen to take it, a route which would have better traded-off the unavoidable compromises of viability, prosperity, embodied carbon, heritage and place quality.

Creating a comparable volume of development so that the landowner has comparable space to sell or rent. Our proposal provides an estimated ground floor area of approximately 62,150 square metres across 11 above ground levels and two basement levels, which compares favourably to Pilbrow's estimate of 64,721 square metres across ten above-ground levels and two basement levels.



A massing model showing how the building steps back after the fifth floor to minimize its visible mass from the street.

Accepting some demolition whilst saving what can be saved. Whilst we profoundly agree with SAVE's campaign against any unnecessary demolition for reasons of embodied carbon, we do nevertheless accept the difficulty of the current site internally and the lumpen and ugly nature of Orchard House's two neighbours.

Comparable costs. We have deliberately mirrored much of the spatial planning and organisation of spaces of the Pilbrow design so that the façade is nearly interchangeable. The difference in costs is therefore primarily limited to the façade, a small proportion of the total build costs. There is no reason a classical façade cannot have a modern interior layout behind.

Enclosing the street more fittingly and elegantly to Oxford Street's long-term benefit. Working with one of Europe's premier classical architects we seek not just to echo Orchard Houses' magnificent neighbour Selfridges, but to rise to it. In doing so, we have taken then original façade of Orchard House and added a new section near symmetrically, to match the existing to the west along Oxford Street where Neale House now stands. We have connected them with an arch to provide an entrance to the internal arcades (see below).

This approach to 'growing' department stores, even if they are not all department stores within, was also used by Selfridges, next door. Selfridge's first section was begun in 1906 and it was expanded in

several phases until 1928. This approach is also an important part of Marks and Spencer's own tradition. Its expansion of stores in the 1920 and 1930s often took great pains to ensure uniform or symmetrical facades as they expanded. For example, when Marks and Spencer's Reading store was expanded in 1927, they duplicated the original 1913 design. When a further matching bay was added in 1934, consequent changes were made to the original building to ensure symmetry. The Portsmouth store was also expanded (in 1931 and 1936-7) in such a way as to ensure symmetry and similar approaches were taken in Leicester, Lincoln and elsewhere.¹³



Orchard House reborn, not demolished

Creating an improved public space at Granville Place. Rather than a utilitarian rear, the building encloses a new public space along Granville Place. Paved with stone, this is a place for customers to pass through or for employees to socialise. As with Pilbrow's proposal, the loading bay is moved to Portman Mews.

Creating elegant public arcades through the site to follow the original brief but to do so with more impact and elegance. Our plan builds on Pilbrow's, further emphasising two new public routes through the building at ground level. The routes are realigned, however, congregating at a full height atrium with a large semi-circular skylight at roof level. The character of these public routes would be reminiscent of an arcade, the principle north/south arcade four storeys high and the east/west arcade two storeys high.

¹³ K. Morrison, (2003), *English shops and shopping*, p.232.



Ground floor plan of our proposal



Scale in metres
0 20

A north/south section through the building showing the central arcade and large atrium

The lofty arcades were inspired by the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II in Milan, although the light at the top would need to rely on mirrors [is this credible?] or artificial light.



Precedent for four storey arcade: Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II, Milan



Another precedent: the Galleria Alberto Sordi, Rome

Creating a development in which it would be possible to create homes as well as offices and shops although this is Westminster City Council's error, not Marks & Spencer's. This is facilitated by the stepped back floors above the fifth storey and the internal arcades of our proposals, illustrated above.

Creating a better street with a raised crossing and street trees. Enhancements are extended to the street beyond the building, with a new raised crossing across Orchard Street and new street trees framing the building.

Francis Terry has written of his approach to Orchard House:

'Orchard House was not built for Marks & Spencer but was a speculative development by J. Lyons & Co. of teashop fame. The elevations were first sketched out in 1923 when Harry Salmon, representing Lyons, leased the site from the Portman Estate. The building was constructed in 1929 to 30; M&S moved into the northern section of the building in November 1930 and gradually expanded to occupy most of the site. Originally the building had a whimsical Alice in Wonderland theme (presumably a reference to Lyons & Co. via the Mad Hatters tea party) which I find particularly appealing having painted an Alice in Wonderland mural of my own. Unfortunately, most of the external sculpture, together with projecting balconies and anthemion cresting, was removed in 1968 when a large modernist extension was attached to the north side of the building. This loss of detail was given as justification for the certificate of immunity from listing granted to the building in 2021. What remains is actually a very decent Portland stone façade, by the firm Trehearn & Norman who had designed buildings on Kingsway, which reflects, "through the (Art-Deco) looking glass", the architecture of the Selfridges building on the opposite side of Orchard Street. The scale and rhythm of the sumptuous Beaux-Arts Selfridges is transliterated with neo-grec details. The bronze panels of Selfridges with their flowery swags are reimagined with geometrical ornaments.

I propose that the site could be redeveloped by retaining the Portland stone façade and adding a new section to match the existing to the west along Oxford Street. The old and new sections would be linked by an arch leading to a lofty arcade inspired by the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II in Milan. I envision upper stories could be added in a sympathetic style, renewing the visual interest of the lost cresting. The precedent for this scheme is Selfridges; the first sections of which were begun in 1906 and which was expanded in several campaigns of building until 1928 with the famous "Queen of Time" statue installed in 1931 (after the completion of Orchard House). Selfridges proves that a piecemeal development maintaining an architectural theme can produce a very successful whole, both aesthetically and commercially. Marks & Spencer themselves previously used this technique to expand their own store in Hull in the 1950s. My proposal would involve some minimal losses and adaptations of the 1920s façade but would retain almost all of the stonework which has shown itself capable of weathering nearly a century in London's polluted air. The embodied carbon represented by the stone and the steel frame behind it would be saved along with an interesting part of Oxford Street's history.

I wanted to design something that looked like it was from London. Everyone, from residents to tourists appreciate this unique character. Too many modern buildings could be placed in any city from Los Angeles to Dubai to Hong Kong. London has a unique character and so my aim was to add to the existing heritage rather than diminish it with more generic modernist architecture.'

Among the key advantages of our approach are that it:

- Preserves the façade of Orchard House, avoiding needless demolition;

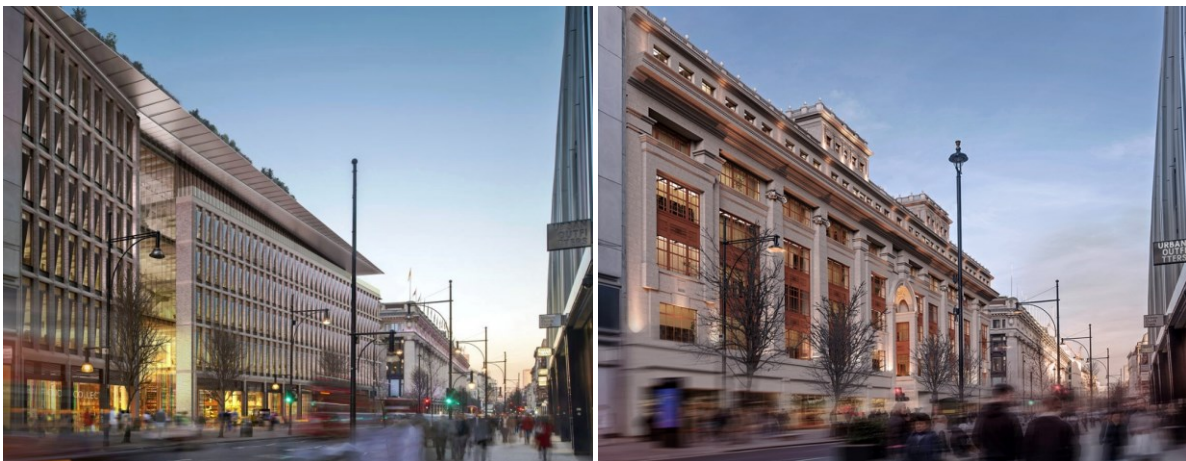
- Does not lead to further loss of character along Oxford Street and indeed enhances the street's identity;
- Creates a more elegant internal street and arcade for London;
- Is conceived to permit homes in the future as should be possible already given the desperate need for new homes in London; and
- Preserves some (as opposed to none) of the carbon budget of the original building.

4. What do the public think? Our visual preference survey

In February 2024, we commissioned Deltapoll to run a visual preference comparison between the two designs.

- Deltapoll surveyed a controlled and representative sample of 3,130 British adults.¹⁴
- The question asked was:

'Here are two alternative design proposals for a building on London's Oxford Street. All other things being equal, if you had to choose, which one of the following building designs would you prefer?'



- The choice of images was as shown above with a 'don't know' option also provided. Images were described purely as 'Image A' or 'Image B'. In other words no further verbal description was provided which might have influenced the result.
- The choice of images and the question's wording was selected using Create Streets Visual Preference Survey principles to ensure a fair comparison of views. These principles state that:
 - **Images.** 'Visual preference surveys should aim to use images which are as similar as possible. Ideally, only the elements which are compared should be different. Often images will need to be edited to align extraneous aspects such as sky colour or level of greenery which might influence the result.'
 - **Questions.** 'Wherever possible, ask as tangible, specific and 'real' a question as possible. Sometimes it is right to ask "which of these do you prefer?" But normally you should

¹⁴ I.e. not including Northern Ireland.

relate questions to real life or to actual changes to a named place: "Which of these buildings would you rather live next to?" "Where would you rather sit?" "Where would you rather walk?" "Which of these would you rather see built near your home?"

Results: what the British public think

- *The British public overwhelmingly preferred our design* by 79 per cent to 17 per cent.
- *A preference that transcends politics...* Voters for all three main British parties strongly preferred our design with Liberal Democrat voters being closest to the national average (80 vs 15 per cent for Liberal Democrat voters; 76 vs 20 per cent for Labour voters and 83 vs 14 per cent for Conservative voters).
- *.. a preference that transcends views on Europe...* Views on the design from "remain" and "leave" voters were almost identical. (80 vs 15 per cent for "remain" voters and 80 vs 17 per cent for "leave" voters).
- *... a preference that is shared by rich and poor...* Those of ABC1 social status and of C2DE social status both strongly preferred the Francis Terry / Create Streets design. (82 vs. 15 per cent for ABC1 and 75 vs. 21 per cent for C2DE).
- *... a preference that is shared everywhere...* Respondents in every British region strongly preferred the Francis Terry / Create Streets design with the highest support in the South of England (83 vs. 13 per cent) and Scotland (83 per cent vs 15 per cent) and the lowest in Wales (71 vs 26 per cent).
- *.. and by old and young.* Clear majorities of all age groups preferred the Francis Terry / Create Streets design though with support slightly increasing with age. (75 vs 23 per cent for those aged 18-24 and 83 vs. 12 per cent for those aged over 65).
- *A confident decision.* Finally, only 4 per cent of the public selected 'don't know.' Nearly everyone had a clear point of view. This is consistent with the confident and quick views that most people form visually of what they like – and don't like.
- The full results from Deltapoll are available [here](#).

