

Data Management and Analysis Group

Commuting in London



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Commuting in London

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Contents

Summary	7
1.0 Introduction	9
1.1 Abstract	9
2.0 Commuter movements in London	11
2.1 Jobs density in London	11
2.2 Lived and worked in the same area	16
2.3 Home workers	16
2.4 Commuting outside area of residence	16
2.5 Commuting into an area	16
2.6 Percentage of workers who commute in each borough	16
2.7 Balance of commuter movements by Borough	17
2.8 Net flows of commuters	19
2.9 Numbers of commuters into boroughs	21
2.10 Numbers of commuters out of boroughs	22
2.11 Numbers of commuters within boroughs	25
2.12 Total commuters across the borough boundary (in plus out)	26
2.13 Total commuters in each borough (in plus out plus within)	27
2.14 Commuters to each borough from outside London	27
2.15 Number of commuters by borough of residence	30
2.16 Commuters who travelled into London by region	31
2.17 Commuters who travelled out of London	32
2.18 Commuters who travelled into London by district	34
2.19 Commuters who travelled out of London by district	34
2.20 Largest flows of commuters within London, 2001	38
2.21 Change in commuter numbers from 1991 to 2001	39
3.0 Method and distance of travel to work	42
3.1 London commuting as a proportion of national commuting	43
3.2 Method of travel for workers by borough	44
3.3 Working from home	45
3.4 Underground or Tram	47
3.5 Train	49
3.6 Public transport stations	50
3.7 Bus	53
3.8 Car	55
3.9 Car passengers	57
3.10 Motorcycle	58
3.11 By bicycle or on foot	59
3.12 Change in method of travel 1991 to 2001 for Inner and Outer London	61
3.13 Change in travel to work 1991 to 2001 by Borough of residence	62

3.14	Distance Travelled to work	64
3.15	Data limitations with the distance travelled to work data	65
3.16	Distance travelled by method of travel	65
3.17	Qualifications and Socio-Economic Classification by distance travelled to work	67
3.18	Commuters to Inner London by NS-SEC	68
4.0	Ethnic Group	71
5.0	Focus on commuters to City of London and Westminster	74
5.1	District of residence for City of London workers	74
5.2	District of residence for Westminster workers	75
5.3	Workers in the City by borough	77
5.4	Workers in Westminster by borough	77
5.5	Managers and professionals	77
5.6	Commuters by ethnic group	80
5.7	Propensity to commute to Central London by ethnic group	81
5.8	Workers in managerial and professional occupations in the City of London	82

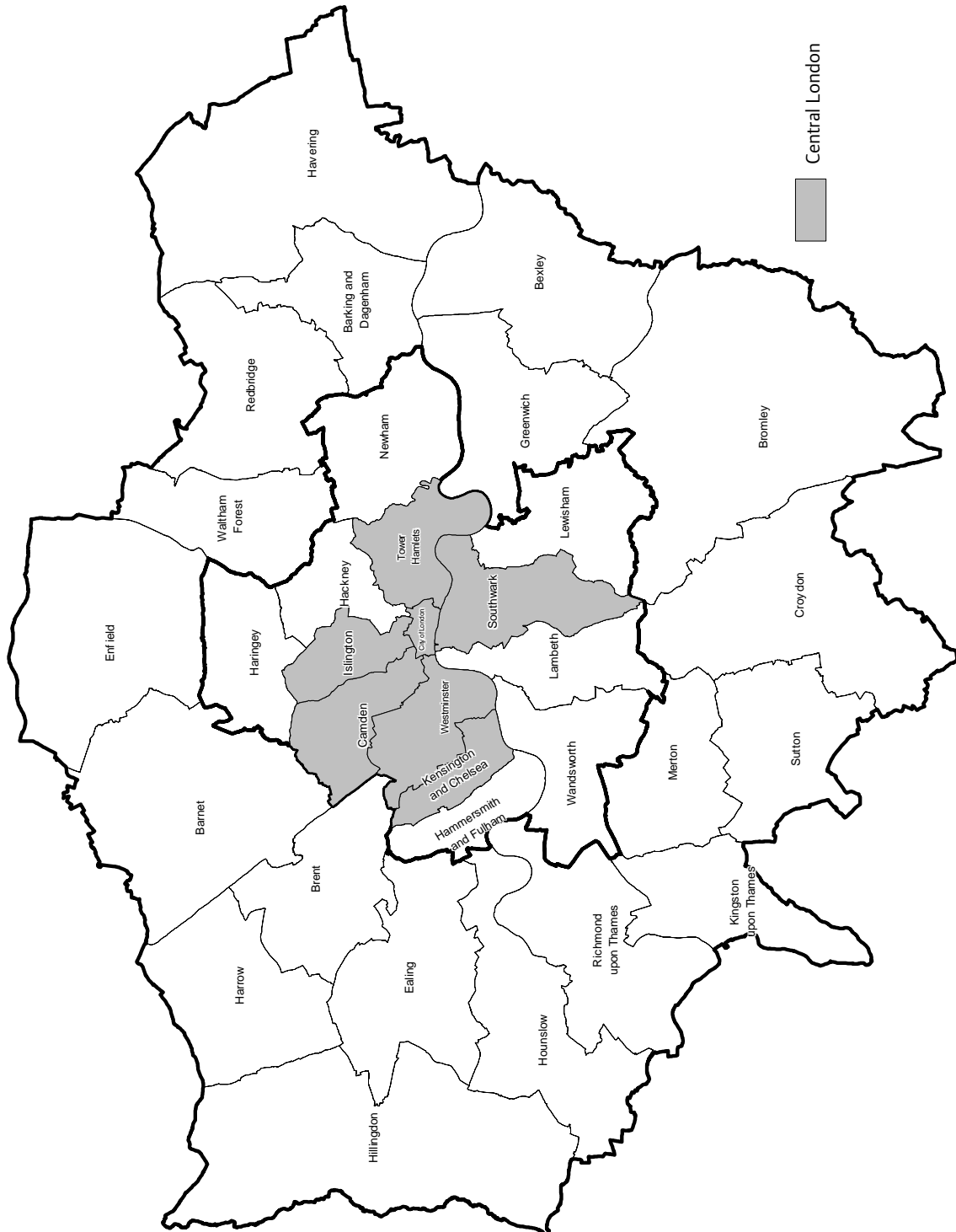
Summary

- The 2001 Census showed there were over 3.7 million people whose journey to work involved travelling in London.
- Around 2.8 million Londoners travelled to work in London and over 2 million of these travelled to work outside their borough of residence.
- Around 722,000 people travelled from outside London into London to work with over 350,000 of these travelling into Central London.
- Over 1.5 million people commuted to Central London altogether, including those who also lived in Central London. Around 23 per cent of these workers were resident outside London.
- The total number of people in work in London from the 2001 Census was 3,805,655.
- In London the average jobs density was 0.7 but by far the highest jobs density in the country was in the City of London where there were over 51 workers per resident.
- In 2001 there was a net inflow of commuters to London of 486,521 down from 522,910 in 1991, a fall of 36,389.
- There were 275,000 more commuters in 2001 than 1991 in London. However there were around 300,000 more Londoners in work in 2001 than in 1991. There were almost 90,000 more Londoners working outside London in 2001.
- There has been a trend towards more commuting to Boroughs in Central London and around Heathrow with the other Boroughs being increasingly more of an origin of workers than a destination.
- The number of people who worked mostly from home increased by 164,000 to 286,000 in London, which doubled the proportion from 4.3 per cent to 8.6 per cent. However, the number of people who lived and worked in the same Borough (not including home workers) fell by 41,000.
- Less than one fifth of London residents in work, lived and worked in the same borough (not including home working)
- The number of Londoners who worked outside their Borough of residence increased by 453,000 between 1991 and 2001. In Inner London, this meant an increase from 61 per cent to 66 per cent of all residents in work, while in Outer London there was a smaller increase from 57 per cent to 59 per cent.
- In terms of numbers Westminster had the biggest inflow of commuters (463,000), followed by the City of London (310,000) and Camden (191,000).

- Westminster and the City of London had a net inflow of 728,359 commuters, considerably more than all of the other eight boroughs with a net inflow added together (418,865).
- Westminster had the highest number of commuters into the borough, Wandsworth had the highest number leaving, while Croydon had the highest number who lived and worked there.
- Westminster had slightly more commuters from outside London (110,453) than the City of London (100,121), though given the overall size of the workforce in these two areas a higher percentage of City workers came from outside London.
- Overall, 49 per cent of all commuters into Greater London worked in Central London. This compares with 42 per cent of employed Londoners who commuted to a workplace in Central London.
- The most popular workplace outside London for Londoners at district level was Slough (9,695), closely followed by Hertsmere (9,644) and Dartford (9,638)
- By far the most popular method of travel was by car or van (39 per cent). In Outer London, this figure rose to 50 per cent, though in Inner London it was 23 per cent. The train was second (18 per cent), followed by tube (17 per cent) and bus (10 per cent).
- London accounted for the vast majority of all underground, light rail and tram (92 per cent) and train (73 per cent) journeys to work in England.
- There were 655,000 London workers whose main method of travel to work was the underground or tram. Over 95 per cent of these people were Londoners.
- Use of the underground by Londoners increased significantly, between 1991 and 2001, by 184,000 workers. This was an increase of 42 per cent and increases its share from 16 to 21 per cent of Londoners in work.
- London had a total number of 688,000 train commuters who were either resident or work in the capital.
- There were 389,699 commuters in London whose main method of travel was by bus.
- The 1991 Census presented data on method of travel-to-work differently to 2001. For example, there was no option to tick 'Taxi' in 1991 and any respondents who did not state a method in 1991 remained as 'not stated' in all output, while in 2001, the 'not stated' data was imputed (that is each person was assigned a method of travel). In 1991 the travel to work data was a ten per cent sample. For this briefing, the 'not stated' group from 1991 is proportionally distributed across the other methods of travel. The proportion was calculated by dividing each method by the total persons in employment minus those with method 'not stated' and home-workers (since this briefing analyses home-workers and commuters separately).

- The number of Londoners who used the train increased by 83,000 between 1991 and 2001, while the number of bus users was up by 39,000. In contrast 4,000 fewer London residents drove to work and its share fell from 41 to 37 per cent.
- Over 80,000 people cycled to work and in London there was an increase of 18,000 cyclists between 1991 and 2001.
- There were over 285,000 people who walked to work in London and while numbers in Inner London increased, in Outer London they fell by a greater number leaving an overall fall in the number of people walking to work in London of 3,000 between 1991 and 2001.
- Around two-thirds (65 per cent) of workers in the City travelled over 10km to work, compared with 42 per cent in London and 32 per cent nationally.
- On average commuters who worked in Inner London travelled around 50 per cent further than those who worked in Outer London.
- In London just under half (49 per cent) of workers held level 3 qualifications or higher, though the proportion was considerably higher in Inner London (57 per cent) than Outer London (37 per cent).
- Just over two thirds (68 per cent) of City workers were resident in London compared with 78 per cent of Westminster workers.
- For all Londoners who worked in the City, 71 per cent were managers or professionals compared with 59 per cent in Westminster.
- Given the size of the working population, the ethnic group most likely to commute to the City was 'Other White', though 'Other' ethnic groups, Chinese and White British were also above average. The most under-represented groups were 'Other Asian', 'Other Black', Black African and Bangladeshi.

London boroughs with the Inner London boundary marked and definition of Central London in this briefing highlighted



NB. The definition of Central London varies and the one used here is based on net commuter flows.

1.0 Introduction

Much of the data in this briefing is taken from the special workplace statistics from the 2001 Census. This is double geography data showing place of residence and place of work, which gives an insight into commuting patterns.

The aim of this briefing is to present a picture of the contrasting commuting patterns between London boroughs and provide a summary of workers commuting into and out of London. At borough level it will focus on method of travel-to-work of commuters. Furthermore, there will be a focus on commuting into Central London, in particular the City of London and Westminster, and an analysis of further variables such as ethnic group and NS-SEC (Socio-Economic Classification).

Commuting is defined in this briefing as working outside the home. This includes commuting to a workplace in the borough of residence but not working from home^{1 & 2}.

For the purposes of this Briefing Central London includes the Local Authorities of City of London, Westminster, Camden, Tower Hamlets, Islington, Southwark and Kensington and Chelsea. These are the areas of London with the largest net inflows of commuters i.e. they are the main destinations for workers. Though Hillingdon has a greater net inflow of commuters than either Southwark or Kensington and Chelsea, it is excluded due to its geographical location in Outer London. It is worth noting that this is a different definition from the areas that the Central London Partnership covers, which include the Boroughs of Lambeth and Wandsworth but does not include Tower Hamlets. As this briefing shows, in terms of commuting, Lambeth and Wandsworth are both predominantly origins of workers. In contrast Tower Hamlets is the fourth largest destination for commuters in London, after the City, Westminster and Camden.

1.1 Abstract

In total there were over 3.7 million people whose journey to work involved travelling in London. Over 2 million Londoners, travelled to work outside their borough of residence. Furthermore, just under a million workers worked in the same borough they lived and a further 285,000 worked mainly at/from home. Also, around 722,000 people travelled from outside London into London to work.

Over 350,000 of those who commuted from outside London travelled into Central London. There were a further half a million commuters who travelled from Outer London to Central London to work and three quarters of a million who lived in Inner London and travelled to work in Central London. Over 1.5 million people commuted to Central London altogether, including those who also lived in Central London, but not those who worked from home. Around 23 per cent of these workers were resident outside London.

The number of people who live in London but work outside it has more than doubled in ten years, and this has meant that despite an increase of 50,000 more commuters coming into London, the net flow of commuters has fallen by 36,000. The total number of people who work

¹ This briefing occasionally refers to commuters as those who travel outside the borough of residence to work but always states clearly where this is the case.

² London's Workers Part 1, DMAG 2004-2 gives more analysis about London's workforce

in London (including home-workers) has increased by over 450,000 people. The working age population of London has increased by 10 per cent but the number of Londoners who work in London has increased by 15 per cent. Finally, the number of unemployed has fallen by around a third.

Summary Table of changes in employment in London 1991 to 2001

	1991	2001	Change	% change
Population (all ages)	6,679,699	7,172,091	492,392	7
A. Lives in London and works outside London	149,820	236,018	86,198	58
B. Lives and works in London	2,676,620	3,083,116	406,496	15
C. Lives outside London but within England and Wales and works inside London	672,730	722,539	49,809	7
Net flow (C-A)	522,910	486,521	-36,389	-7
'Workplace' population (B+C)	3,349,350	3,805,655	456,305	14
Working age population (Aged 16-64)	4,411,749	4,832,265	420,516	10
Economically Active	3,418,027	3,580,386	162,359	5
In employment	3,022,141	3,319,134	296,993	10
Unemployed	395,886	261,252	-134,634	-34

NB Unless age is stated, 1991 data refers to people 16 and over, and 2001 refers to 16 to 74

Source: 1991 Census Table L06 and L82 and 2001 Census Table TT10 and KS09

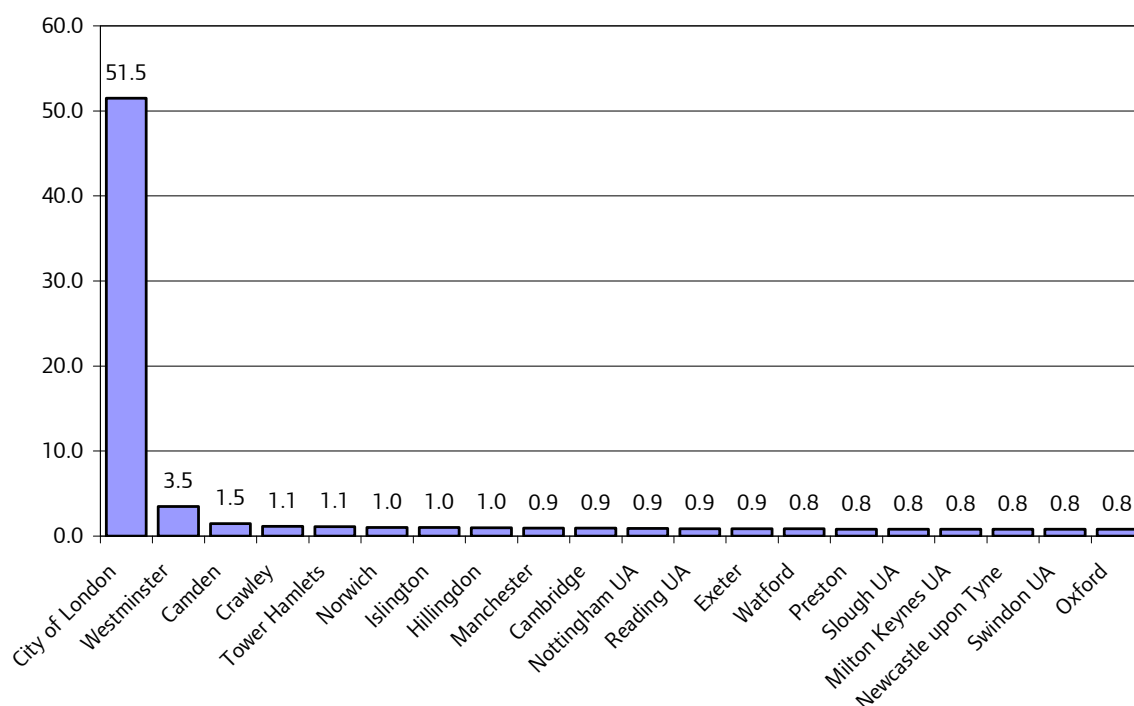
2.0 Commuter movements in London

2.1 Jobs density in London

The total number of workers in London from the 2001 Census was 3,805,655. The greatest number of people working in one borough was 509,943 in Westminster followed by the City of London (312,178) and Camden (227,669). The boroughs with the fewest workers were Barking and Dagenham (52,301), Waltham Forest (60,647) and Haringey (62,794).

Jobs density is defined in this Briefing as number of workers per resident aged 16 to 74. In London the average jobs density was 0.7. The jobs density in Inner London (1.0) has double that in Outer London (0.5). The highest job density was in the City of London where there were over 51 workers per resident. This was by far the highest in the country, while the next highest was Westminster where the figure was 3.5 followed by Camden (1.5). The fourth highest district was Crawley (1.0), which contains Gatwick Airport and also in the top ten but outside London were Norwich (1.0) and Manchester (0.9) (see Map 1). Five of the top ten were in Central London, while Hillingdon was eighth highest, predominantly due to the large volume of people working around Heathrow Airport.

Figure 1 Top 20 districts for jobs density, England and Wales 2001



Source: 2001 Census, Key Statistics Table KS009 and Standard Table ST129

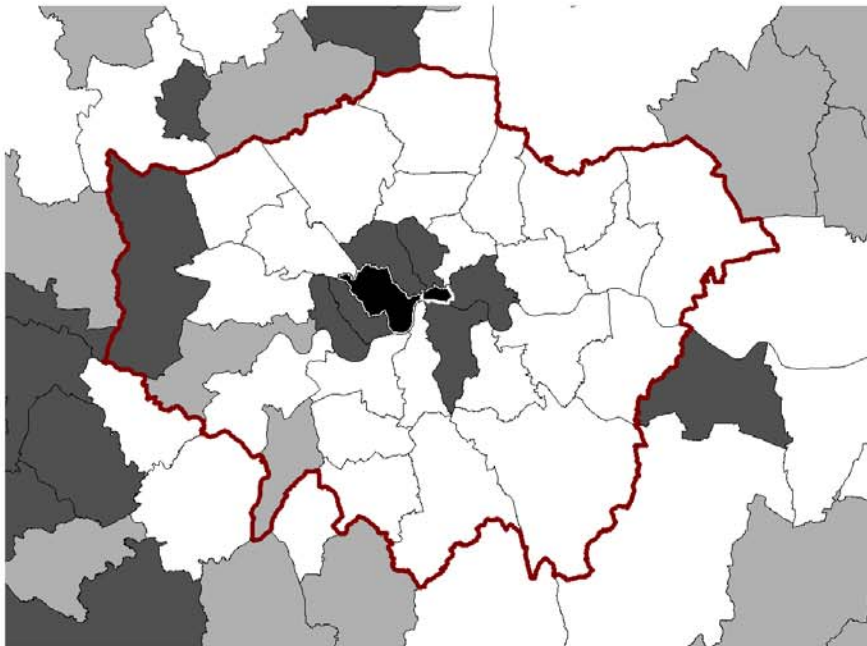
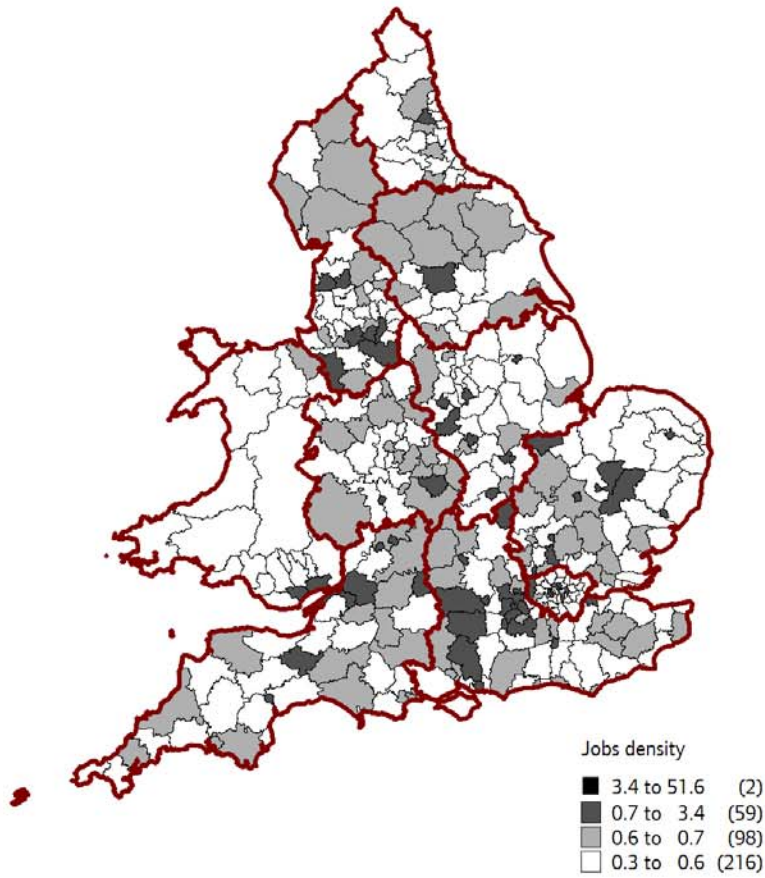
Jobs density can also be measured by area e.g. workers per hectare. There were on average 24 workers per hectare in London. In the City of London there were 1,076 workers per hectare, which was by far the highest nationally and this compares with a population density of 25 residents per hectare, the fourth lowest in London. This is higher only than the population density in Havering, Bromley and Hillingdon. In Westminster there were 237 workers per hectare and in Camden the figure was 104 per hectare. The lowest numbers of workers per hectare were in Bromley and Havering (7) though they are the largest and third largest London boroughs in terms of area.

Table 1 Jobs density ranked by workers per resident aged 16-74, London 2001

	Area* (hectares)	Resident population	Number of workers	Residents per hectare	Workers per hectare	Workers per resident 16-74
City of London	290	7,185	312,178	25	1,076	51.37
Westminster	2,148	181,286	509,943	84	237	3.48
Camden	2,180	198,020	227,669	91	104	1.47
Tower Hamlets	1,977	196,106	157,161	99	79	1.10
Islington	1,486	175,797	138,342	118	93	1.02
Hillingdon	11,570	243,006	175,462	21	15	1.00
Kensington and Chelsea	1,213	158,919	101,741	131	84	0.81
Southwark	2,885	244,866	141,915	85	49	0.77
Hammersmith and Fulham	1,640	165,242	100,113	101	61	0.77
Hounslow	5,599	212,341	109,239	38	20	0.69
Kingston upon Thames	3,725	147,273	66,456	40	18	0.61
Lambeth	2,682	266,169	113,155	99	42	0.55
Croydon	8,652	330,587	128,230	38	15	0.54
Richmond upon Thames	5,741	172,335	68,381	30	12	0.54
Sutton	4,385	179,768	66,701	41	15	0.52
Hackney	1,906	202,824	74,276	106	39	0.51
Ealing	5,553	300,948	109,862	54	20	0.49
Bromley	15,015	295,532	102,558	20	7	0.48
Wandsworth	3,426	260,380	97,664	76	29	0.48
Merton	3,761	187,908	66,035	50	18	0.47
Havering	11,227	224,248	75,946	20	7	0.47
Barnet	8,674	314,564	106,908	36	12	0.47
Barking and Dagenham	3,609	163,944	52,284	45	14	0.46
Enfield	8,084	273,559	90,012	34	11	0.46
Brent	4,324	263,464	89,858	61	21	0.45
Harrow	5,047	206,814	67,519	41	13	0.45
Bexley	6,056	218,307	67,489	36	11	0.43
Greenwich	4,735	214,403	64,736	45	14	0.42
Redbridge	5,641	238,635	68,491	42	12	0.40
Newham	3,622	243,891	67,222	67	19	0.39
Haringey	2,959	216,507	62,794	73	21	0.39
Waltham Forest	3,882	218,341	60,647	56	16	0.38
Lewisham	3,515	248,922	64,623	71	18	0.35
Inner London	31,930	2,766,114	2,168,810	87	68	1.03
Outer London	125,277	4,405,977	1,636,845	35	13	0.51
London	157,208	7,172,091	3,805,655	46	24	0.72

Source: 2001 Census, Key Statistics Tables KS001, KS009 and Standard Table ST129

Map 1 Jobs density for districts in England and Wales with London enlarged, workers per resident aged 16 to 74, 2001



Source: 2001 Census, Key Statistics Table KS009 and Standard Table ST129

Table 2 Numbers of residents and workers, London 2001

	Resident population aged 16-74	Lives in area			Lives outside area	
		Lives in area and works outside area	Works same area from but not at home	Lives and works in area but not at home	Lives outside area and works inside area	
City of London	6,067	2,228	432	1,630	1,777	310,116
Barking and Dagenham	113,579	41,422	4,010	20,432	47,715	27,859
Barnet	228,123	86,409	15,467	44,044	82,203	47,395
Bexley	156,172	62,413	7,537	33,679	52,543	26,277
Brent	198,712	75,716	10,886	32,102	80,008	46,871
Bromley	212,368	77,555	12,653	51,289	70,871	38,615
Camden	155,165	55,472	9,860	26,536	63,297	191,273
Croydon	238,077	78,333	13,372	65,036	81,336	49,819
Ealing	224,780	89,508	12,256	42,002	81,014	55,608
Enfield	197,706	66,905	9,985	44,367	76,449	35,660
Greenwich	153,795	57,253	6,581	27,752	62,209	30,406
Hackney	146,865	53,584	6,937	18,705	67,639	48,640
Hammersmith and Fulham	129,792	56,339	7,376	19,308	46,769	73,434
Haringey	162,700	67,084	8,416	20,232	66,968	34,146
Harrow	150,514	60,432	9,644	27,683	52,755	30,184
Havering	161,323	57,275	7,500	39,762	56,786	28,682
Hillingdon	175,645	52,176	9,624	55,244	58,601	110,600
Hounslow	157,406	60,405	8,667	34,551	53,783	66,022
Islington	135,661	53,199	6,711	19,945	55,806	111,684
Kensington and Chelsea	124,869	49,690	10,259	15,622	49,298	75,863
Kingston upon Thames	109,058	41,462	6,783	26,648	34,165	33,023
Lambeth	203,976	94,351	9,873	26,512	73,240	76,767
Lewisham	183,135	79,413	8,350	26,820	68,552	29,454
Merton	139,476	63,682	8,052	23,209	44,533	34,775
Newham	170,268	55,107	7,053	24,268	83,840	35,901
Redbridge	171,300	68,478	8,967	28,669	65,186	30,859
Richmond upon Thames	127,541	55,481	9,852	24,075	38,133	34,456
Southwark	183,489	71,328	8,313	28,227	75,621	105,374
Sutton	129,176	52,065	7,411	30,815	38,885	28,481
Tower Hamlets	143,429	45,038	5,658	23,242	69,491	128,262
Waltham Forest	159,041	62,981	6,735	28,061	61,264	25,851
Wandsworth	204,647	100,612	10,809	29,770	63,456	57,089
Westminster	146,477	43,218	9,906	36,348	57,005	463,689
Inner London	2,096,540	171,373	109,953	972,455	842,759	1,086,402
Outer London	3,203,792	852,679	175,982	1,036,692	1,138,439	424,171
London	5,300,332	236,018	285,935	2,797,181	1,981,198	722,539
England	35,532,091	129,012	2,055,224	20,257,261	13,090,594	63,634

Source: Census 2001, Theme Table TT010

Table 3 Percentage of workers by the number of residents, London 2001

	Workplace population aged 16-74	Lives in area			Lives outside area	
		Lives in area and works outside area	Works from home	Lives and works in same area but not at home	Lives in area but does not work	Lives outside area and works inside area
City of London	312,178	37	7	27	29	5,112
Barking and Dagenham	52,301	36	4	18	42	25
Barnet	106,906	38	7	19	36	21
Bexley	67,493	40	5	22	34	17
Brent	89,859	38	5	16	40	24
Bromley	102,557	37	6	24	33	18
Camden	227,669	36	6	17	41	123
Croydon	128,227	33	6	27	34	21
Ealing	109,866	40	5	19	36	25
Enfield	90,012	34	5	22	39	18
Greenwich	64,739	37	4	18	40	20
Hackney	74,282	36	5	13	46	33
Hammersmith and Fulham	100,118	43	6	15	36	57
Haringey	62,794	41	5	12	41	21
Harrow	67,511	40	6	18	35	20
Havering	75,944	36	5	25	35	18
Hillingdon	175,468	30	5	31	33	63
Hounslow	109,240	38	6	22	34	42
Islington	138,340	39	5	15	41	82
Kensington and Chelsea	101,744	40	8	13	39	61
Kingston upon Thames	66,454	38	6	24	31	30
Lambeth	113,152	46	5	13	36	38
Lewisham	64,624	43	5	15	37	16
Merton	66,036	46	6	17	32	25
Newham	67,222	32	4	14	49	21
Redbridge	68,495	40	5	17	38	18
Richmond upon Thames	68,383	44	8	19	30	27
Southwark	141,914	39	5	15	41	57
Sutton	66,707	40	6	24	30	22
Tower Hamlets	157,162	31	4	16	48	89
Waltham Forest	60,647	40	4	18	39	16
Wandsworth	97,668	49	5	15	31	28
Westminster	509,943	30	7	25	39	317
London borough average	3,805,655	38	5	19	37	48
Inner London	2,168,810	8	5	46	40	52
Outer London	1,636,845	27	5	32	36	13
London	3,805,655	4	5	53	37	14
England	22,376,119	0	6	57	37	0

Source: Census 2001, Theme Table TT010

2.2 Lived and worked in the same area

Over half of London's population aged 16 to 74 lived and worked in Greater London. At borough level, the highest percentage of residents who worked in the same borough was Hillingdon (31 per cent), followed by Croydon and City of London (27 per cent). Overall, less than one fifth of London residents worked in the same borough they lived in (not including home working). The highest number of people living and working in the same borough was in Croydon (78 thousand). The lowest percentage of people who lived and worked in the same borough was Haringey (12 per cent), while Kensington and Chelsea, Hackney and Lambeth were all 13 per cent.

2.3 Home workers

Almost nine per cent (286,000) of Londoners worked mainly from home. The percentage of working age residents working from home was highest in Kensington and Chelsea (eight per cent), followed by Richmond (eight per cent). The lowest percentage of home workers was four per cent in Barking and Dagenham, Tower Hamlets, Newham, Waltham Forest and Greenwich. In London the average for home working was five per cent.

2.4 Commuting outside area of residence

Only four per cent of Londoners aged 16 to 74 worked outside Greater London, though this represented 236,000 people. Over 100 thousand residents commuted out of Wandsworth. This was also the borough with the highest percentage of residents who worked outside the borough (49 per cent), followed by Lambeth (46 per cent). The lowest percentages that lived in but worked outside the borough were in Westminster and Hillingdon (30 per cent). Around 61 per cent of Londoners in employment, worked outside the borough of their residence. This suggests how significant commuting is for working Londoners.

2.5 Commuters into an area as a ratio of commuters out

The number of people commuting into London for work was more than three times the number that commuted out of London for work. Overall there were 722,000 people commuting into London. The ratio of travelling out to in, in the City of London is one to 139, while in Westminster over ten times more people travelled to the borough than left it. In terms of numbers, over 310,000 travelled into the City of London to work and 463,000 into Westminster. The lowest in to out ratio was in Lewisham, where almost three times more people left the borough to work than travelled to it, though this was closely followed by Waltham Forest and Bexley.

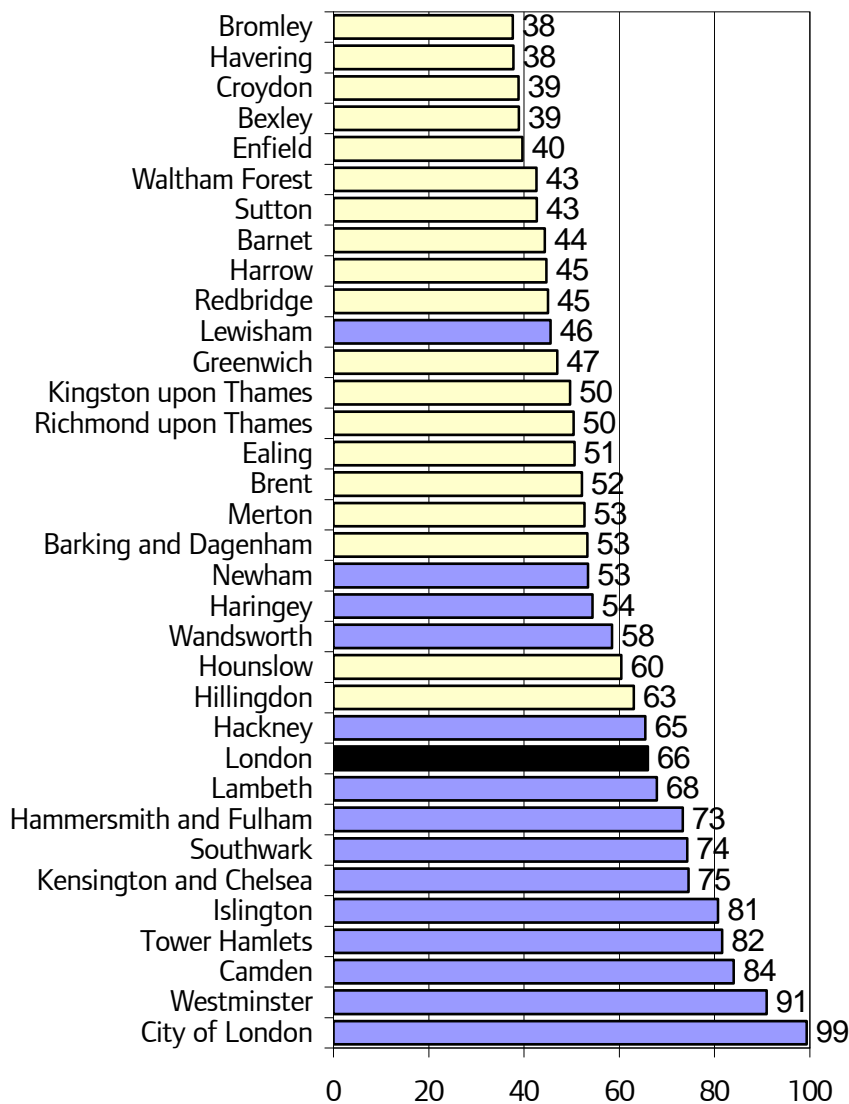
2.6 Percentage of workers who commute in each borough

As shown in Figure 2 the highest percentage of the workforce commuting into that area was 99 per cent in the City of London. Nine in ten workers in Westminster commuted to the borough, while in Camden more than four in five workers commuted to the borough. Bromley had the lowest percentage of workers who commuted from outside the borough, closely followed by Havering (both 38 per cent). In general it can be seen that a higher percentage of workers in Inner London boroughs commuted into the area. There were some exceptions such as Lewisham, where only 46 per cent of workers commuted to the borough. Also, Hounslow and Hillingdon had high percentages of commuters into the borough, probably due to the location of Heathrow airport, which is close to the border between these two boroughs. On average,

two thirds of the London workforce commuted into a borough from outside that borough. Therefore a third of the workforce lived and worked in the same borough.

In terms of numbers Westminster had the most in commuters (463,000), followed by the City of London (310,000) and Camden (191,000). Waltham Forest had the fewest commuters coming into the borough (25,000), slightly less than Bexley (26,000) and Barking and Dagenham (28,000).

Figure 2 Percentage of workforce in each borough who commute to the borough



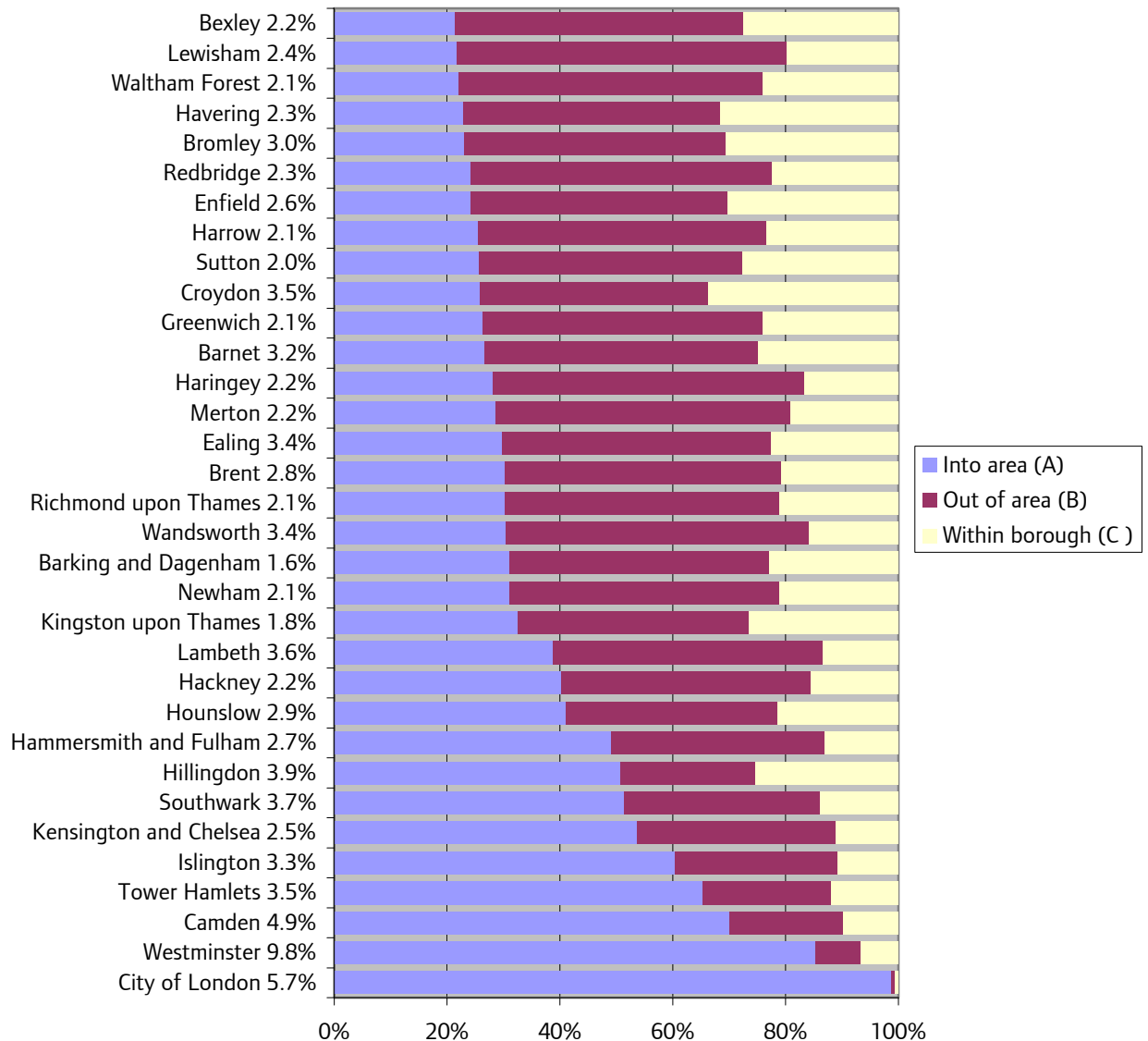
NB Outer London boroughs are in lighter shading Source: 2001 Census, Theme Table TT10

2.7 Balance of commuter movements by borough

Figure 3 shows the split between leaving the borough and coming to the borough and those who worked within their borough of residence. It shows that 99 per cent of all the workers who lived or worked in the City of London, commute there from outside the area. This compares with 84 per cent in Westminster and 68 per cent in Camden. The lowest proportion of commuters into a borough of all workers who lived or worked there was in Bexley, followed by

Lewisham (both 20 per cent). The boroughs with the highest percentage of workers who commuted out of the area were Lewisham (55 per cent) and Haringey (52 per cent).

Figure 3 Split of workers coming into each borough, leaving the borough and working within the same borough



NB the figure by the borough name is the percentage of the total London workforce who worked in that borough.
 Source: 2001 Census, Theme Table TT10

The biggest net sources of commuters to other areas, as a percentage of workers in the borough, were Lewisham, Waltham Forest and Bexley, where the percentage of workers out of the area was at least 28 percentage points greater than those coming into the area. In terms of numbers, the biggest net sources of commuters to other areas were Lewisham (50,000), Wandsworth (44,000) and Barnet (39,000).

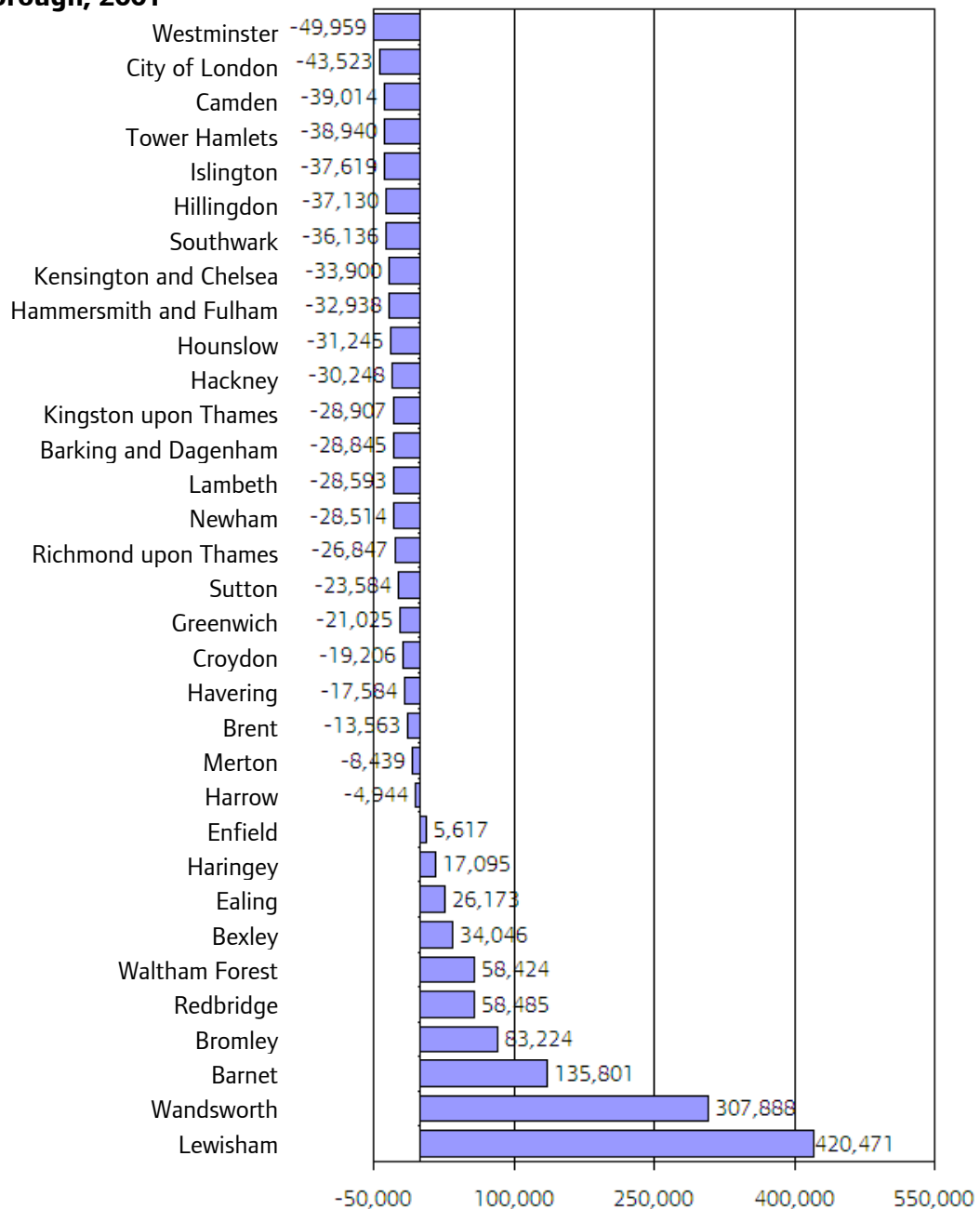
The highest percentage of people who both lived and worked in the same borough out of all people who lived or worked in the borough was in Croydon (38 per cent), followed by Bromley (36 per cent).

2.8 Net flows of commuters

Ten London boroughs had a net inflow of commuters. Between Westminster and the City of London there was a net inflow of 728,359, considerably more than all of the other eight added together (418,865). Eight of the ten were in Inner London, with Hillingdon and Hounslow being in Outer London. Lewisham had the largest outflow of workers, with almost 50,000 more workers leaving than entering the borough.

Inner London had a net inflow of 915,029 workers, accounted for by a net outflow from Outer London of 428,508 and an inflow from outside Greater London of 486,521.

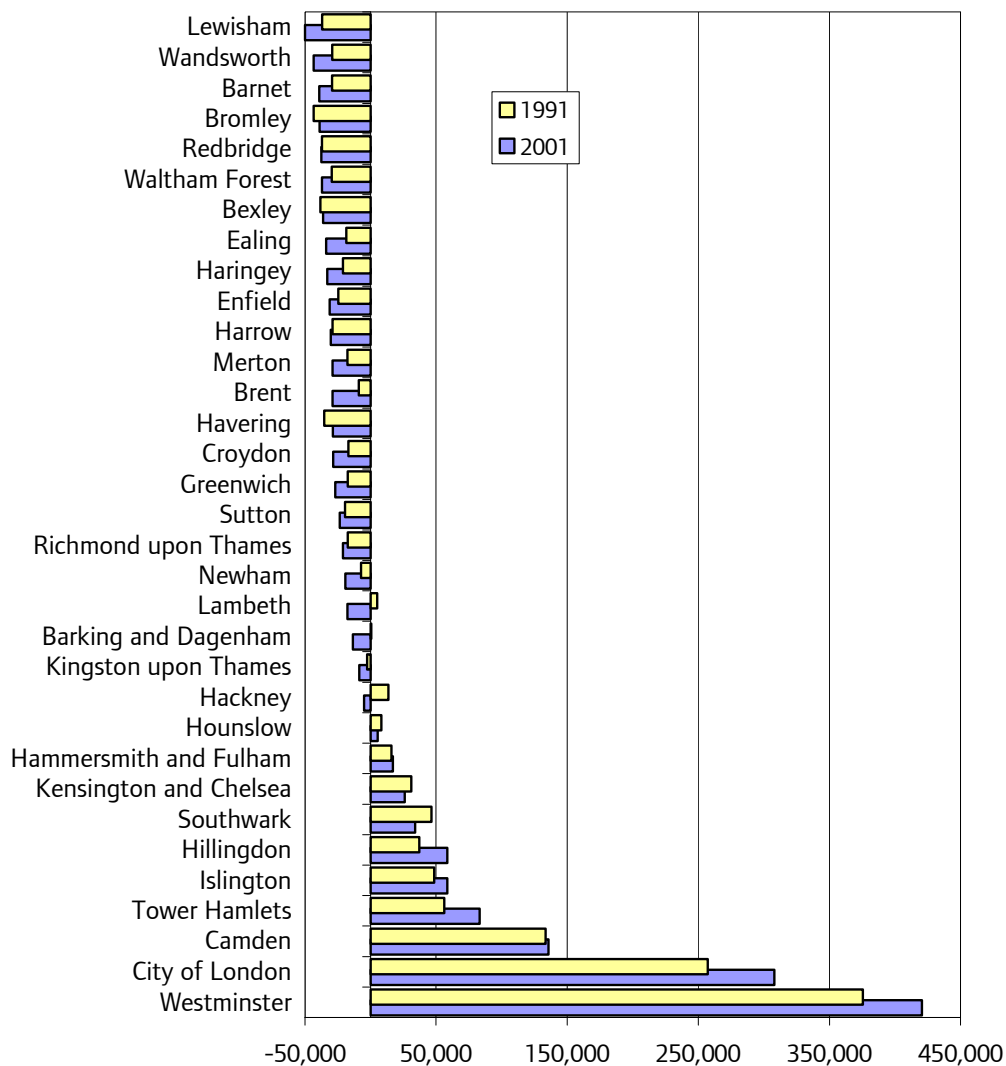
Figure 4 Number of commuters coming into each borough minus commuters leaving the borough, 2001



Source: 2001 Census, Theme Table TT10

In 2001 there was a net inflow of commuters to London of 486,521 down from 549,200 in 1991, a change of 62,679. Although there was still a significant inflow from outside London, it has gone down over the period. The net inflow has decreased by over 11 per cent. In 1991, the net flow to Westminster was 375,000 and in 2001 it was 420,000, which was a change of 45,100. In the City the net flow changed from 257,000 in 1991 to 308,000, which was a change of 51,000. The other big positive net changes were in Tower Hamlets and Hillingdon. However there were twelve Boroughs where the net change was negative by more than ten thousand. In each of these Boroughs, the number of workers working outside the Borough has increased by more than the number coming in by over ten thousand. This indicates they are becoming increasingly significant as sources of workers rather than workplaces. Lambeth is a Borough which changed from a small net inflow in 1991 (5,000) to a large net outflow in 2001 (-17,600) and has a similar change to Barking and Dagenham. Hackney had a large net inflow in 1991 (13,600) and a small net outflow in 2001 (-5,000) (see Figure 5). In Central London only Southwark and Kensington and Chelsea saw a reduction in their net in flows.

Figure 5 Net commuter flows in 1991 and 2001



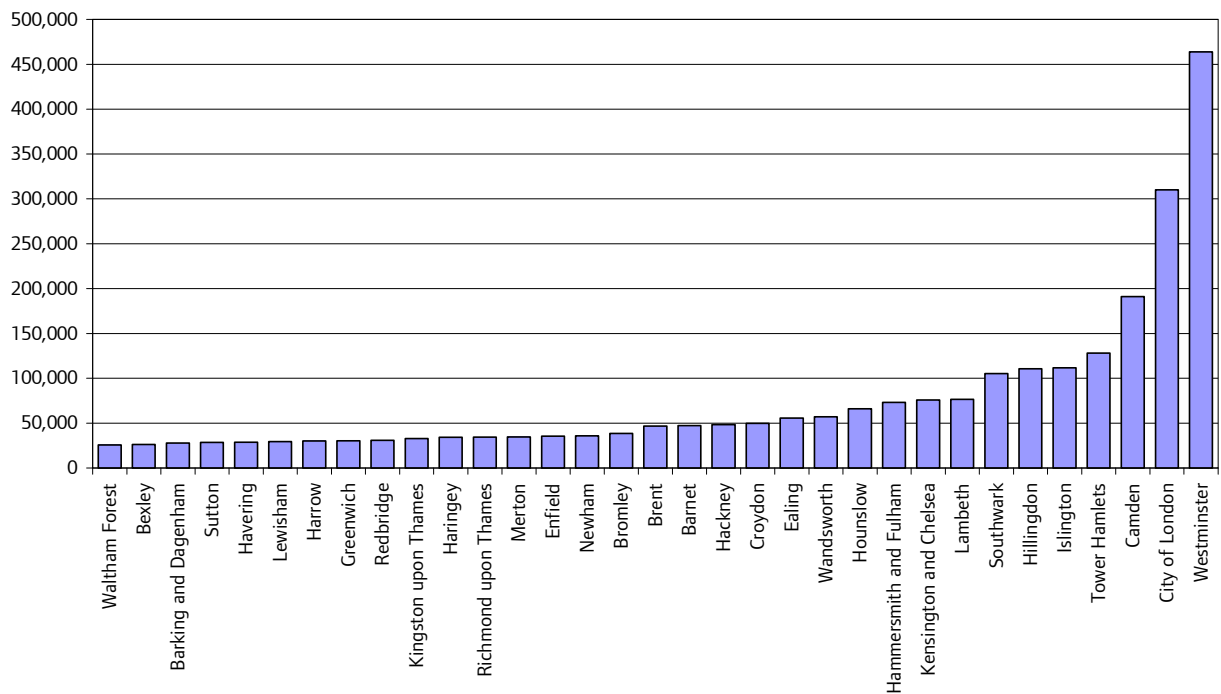
Source: 1991 Census Table SWSc05 and 2001 Census Table TT10

In 1991, there were 13 Boroughs that had a net inflow, which had fallen to ten in 2001. Those ten Boroughs, which were Central London plus Hounslow and Hillingdon, had a net flow of 1,010,000 in 1991. This had increased to 1,147,000 by 2001, up by around 137,000. In contrast, the other 14 Boroughs had a net outflow of 461,000 in 1991, which increased to 661,000 in 2001, an increase of 200,000. This indicates that there has been a trend towards more commuting to Central London and around Heathrow with the other Boroughs being more of an origin of workers than a destination.

2.9 Numbers of commuters into boroughs

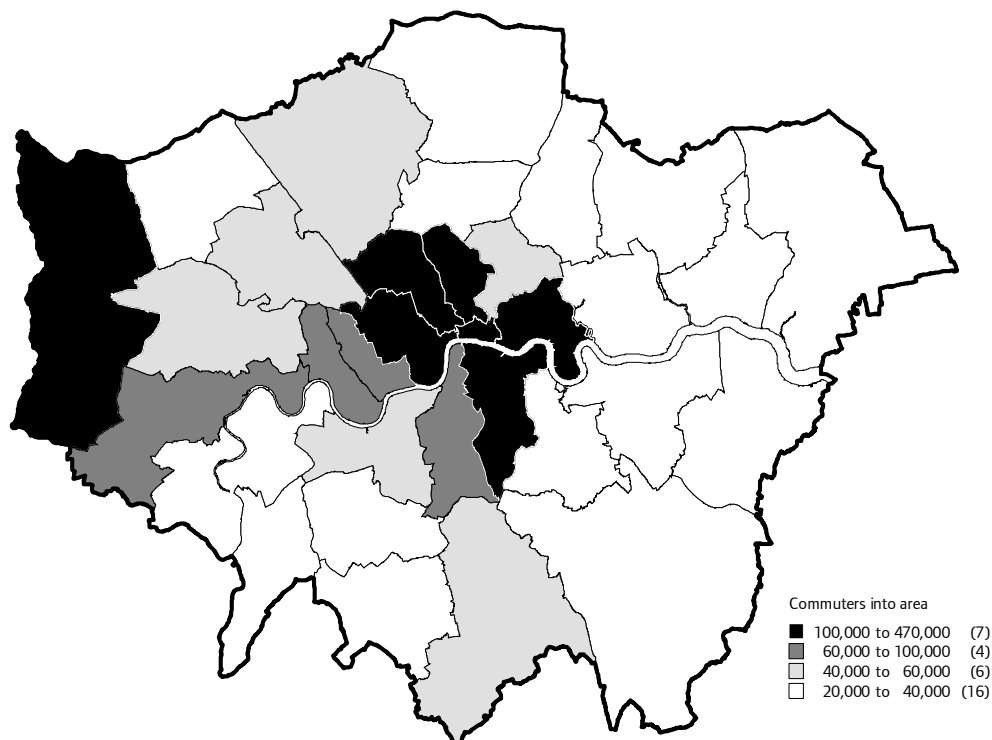
The greatest number of workers travelling into a single borough was 463,689 into Westminster, followed by 310,116 into the City of London and 191,077 into Camden. Around 38 per cent of all workers in London worked in these three boroughs. The lowest number of commuters travelling to a borough was to Waltham Forest (25,851), followed by Bexley (26,277).

Figure 6 Numbers of commuters who travelled into each borough, 2001



Source: 2001 Census, Special Workplace Statistics SWS103

Map 2 Numbers of commuters who travelled into each borough, 2001



Source: 2001 Census, Special Workplace Statistics SWS103

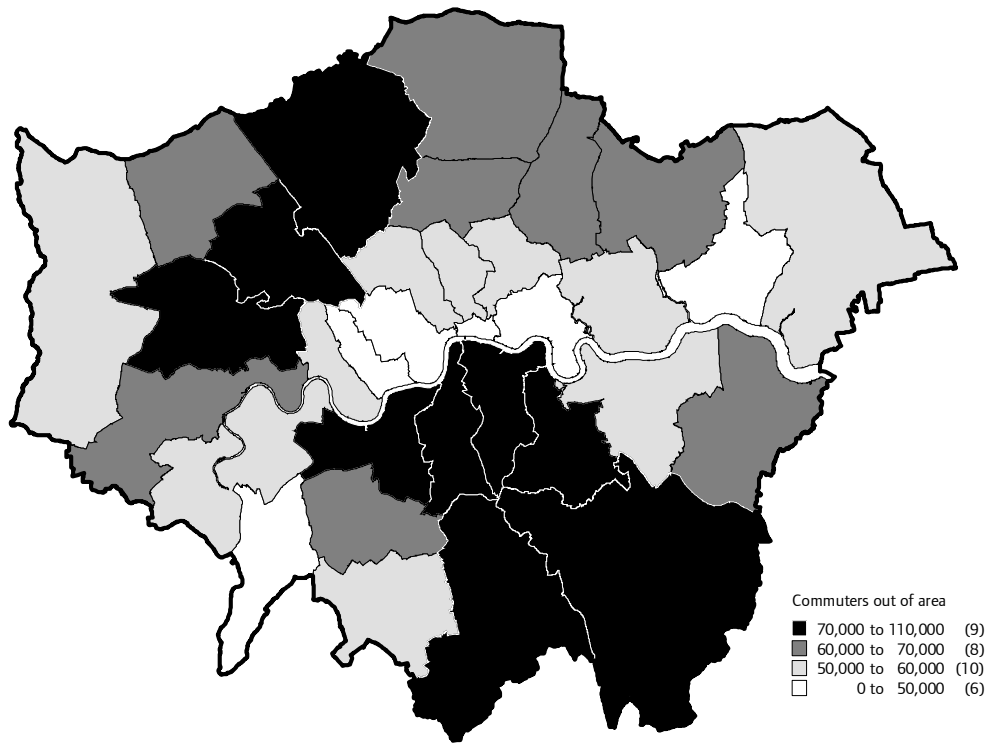
2.10 Numbers of commuters out of boroughs

In 2001 the number of Londoners working outside their Borough of residence was 2,036,614. This breaks down as 1,209,951 in Outer London and 826,663 in Inner London. Wandsworth had the highest number of commuters leaving the borough to work at 100,612, followed by Lambeth (94,351). Unsurprisingly, the City of London had the least (2,228), though both Kingston-upon-Thames and Barking and Dagenham had around 41,400 who exited the borough for work (see Map 3).

The 2001 figure in London was almost 29 per cent more than in 1991 when the total was 1,583,230. Despite the large change in numbers, the percentage of people who worked outside their Borough of residence increased slightly from 59 per cent to 61 per cent. There was a bigger increase in Inner London than Outer London (49 per cent compared with 18 per cent), which meant that in Inner London the percentage who worked outside the Borough they lived in increased from 61 per cent to 66 per cent.

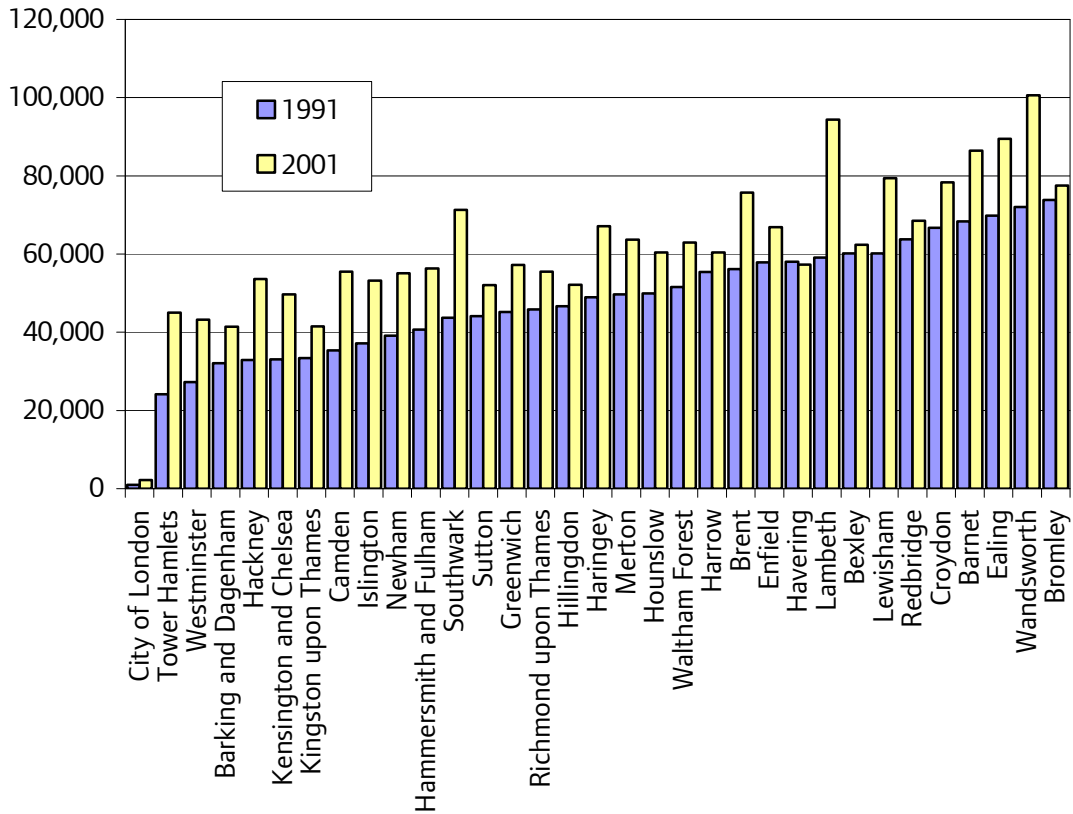
Other than the City of London, the three areas with the highest percentage change of those working outside their Borough of residence were Tower Hamlets (87 per cent), Southwark and Hackney (both 63 per cent). Havering was the only Borough to have had a slight fall in the numbers leaving the Borough to work (one per cent), though Bexley and Bromley had slight increases, four and five per cent respectively (see Map 4 and Figure 7).

Map 3 Numbers of commuters who travelled out of each borough, 2001



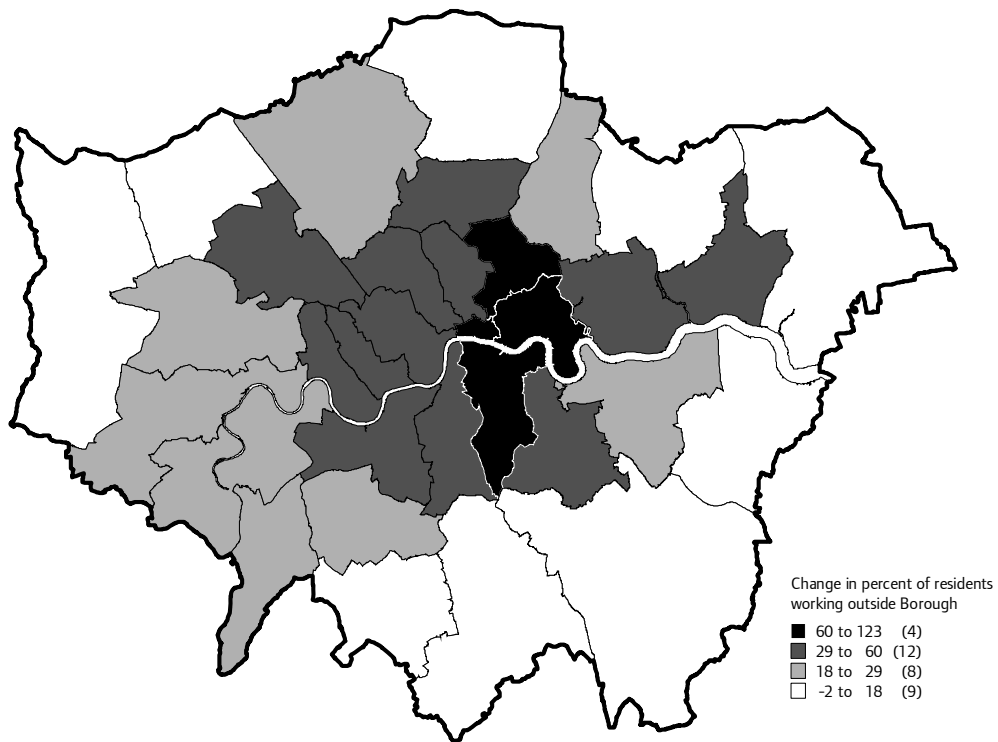
Source: 2001 Census, Special Workplace Statistics SWS103

Figure 7 Numbers of commuters who travelled out of each borough to work, 1991 and 2001



Source: 1991 Census, Table L82 and 2001 Census, Table TT010

Map 4 Percentage change of numbers of residents who left their borough of residence to work, 1991 to 2001

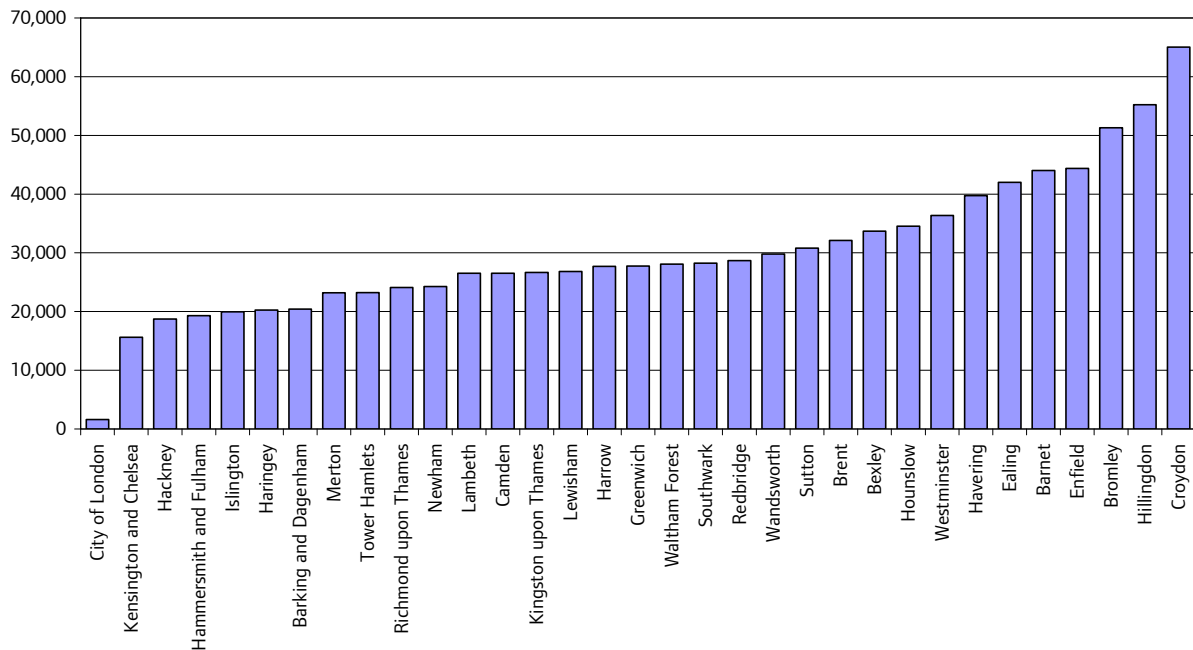


Source: 1991 Table SWSC05 and 2001 Table SWS103

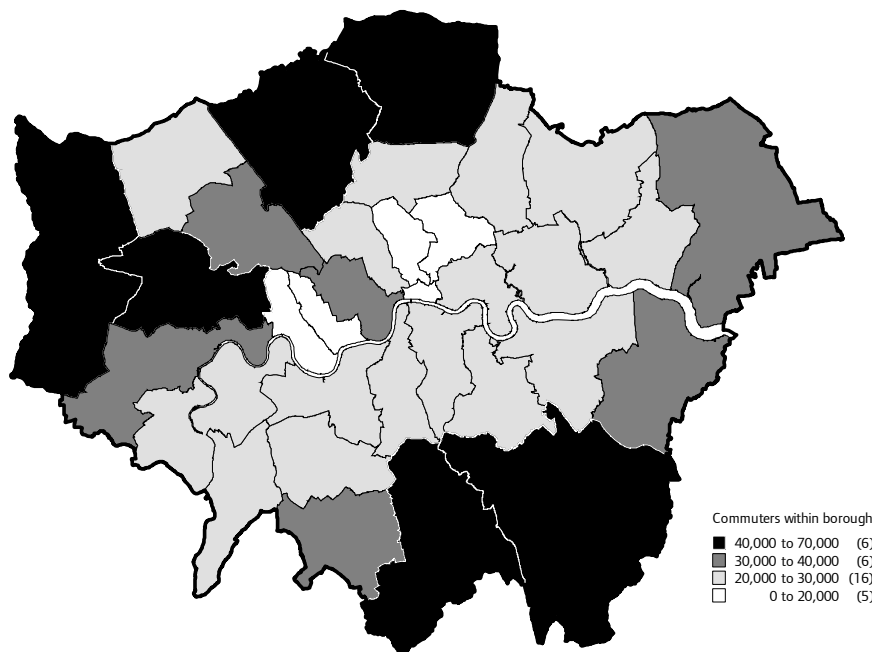
2.11 Numbers of commuters within boroughs

In London, Croydon had the largest number of people who both lived and worked there (65,036), accounting for over 40 per cent of residents in employment in the borough (see Figure 8). Hillingdon was second highest (55,244), though a higher percentage of that borough's employed residents work there (47 per cent) than for Croydon. Other than the City of London, Kensington and Chelsea had the fewest people who lived and worked in the same borough (15,622), which makes up only 21 per cent of employed residents. Only Lambeth had a lower percentage (20 per cent), though the numbers were still 26,512, the twelfth lowest.

Figure 8 Numbers of commuters who travelled within their borough of residence



Map 5 Numbers of commuters who travelled within their borough of residence, 2001

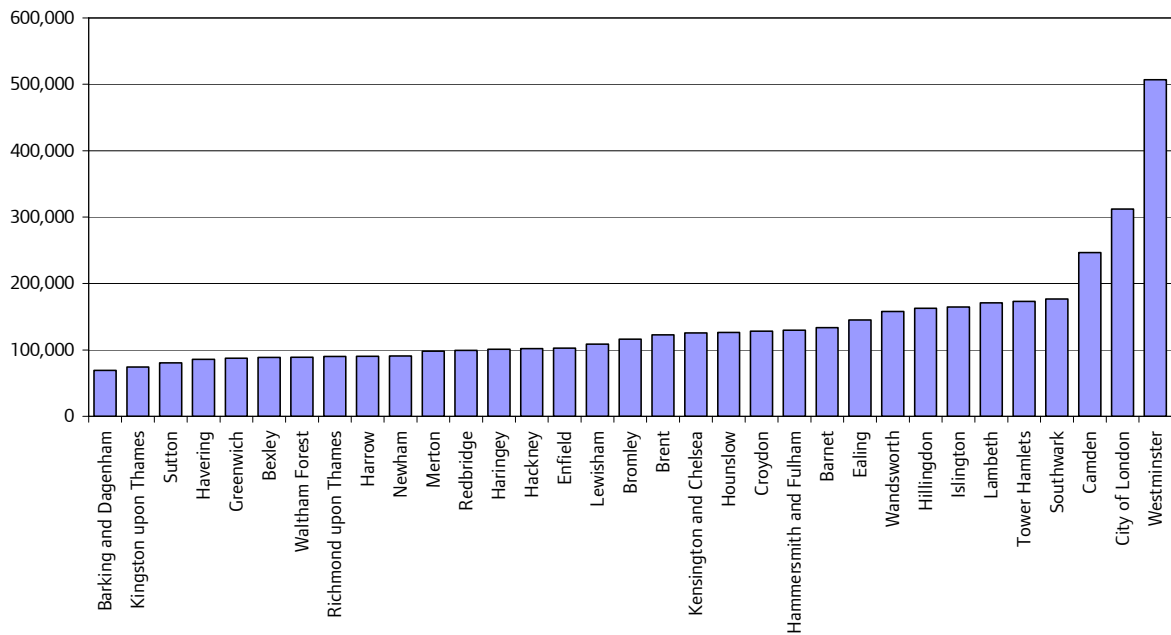


Source: 2001 Census, Special Workplace Statistics SWS103

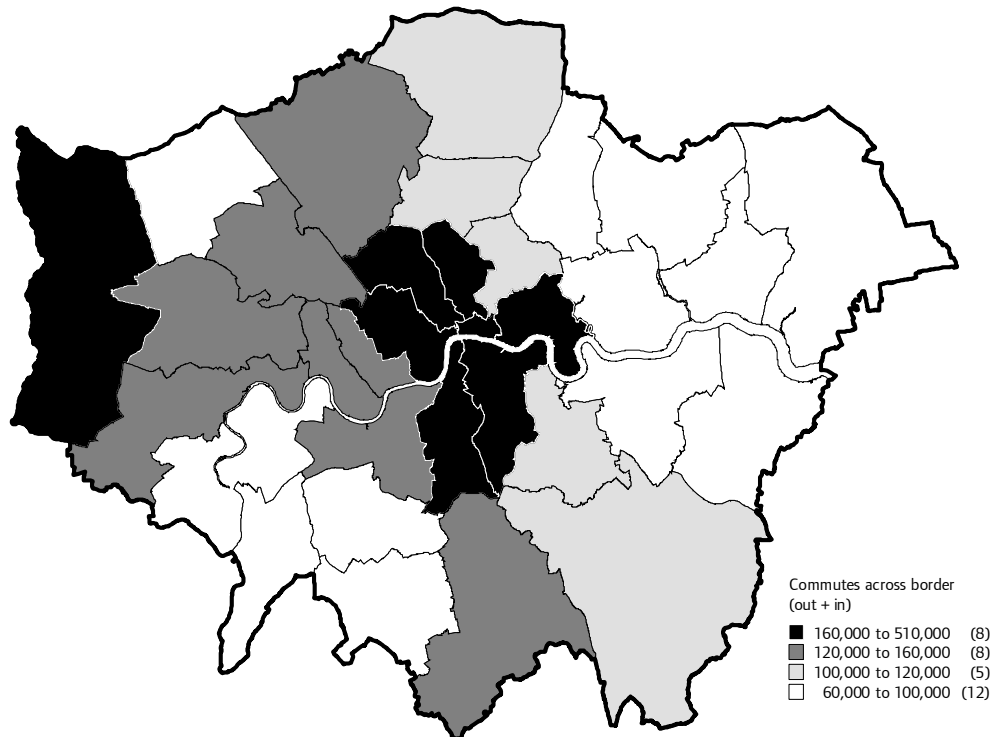
2.12 Total Commuters across the borough boundary (in plus out)

This value provides an indication of the number of commuters who cross each borough's boundary. Westminster had over half a million workers who either entered or left the borough. This compares with the City of London, (312,344) and Camden (246,745), all of which were heavily weighted by the high inflow of commuters. Although Camden was third highest in London, it still had less than half the number of movements in or out of Westminster.

Figure 9 Numbers of commuters who travelled in or out of borough, 2001



Map 6 Numbers of commuters who travelled in or out of borough, 2001

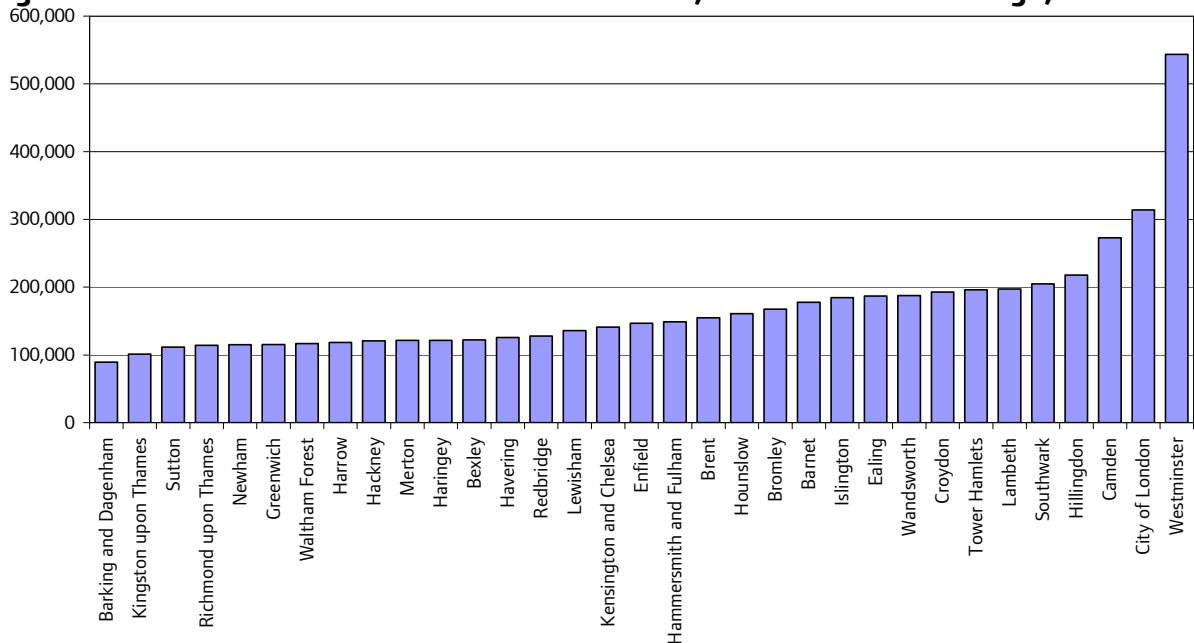


NB This data includes double counting as one commuter can be counted as leaving and counted as entering a borough. Source: 2001 Census, Special Workplace Statistics SWS103

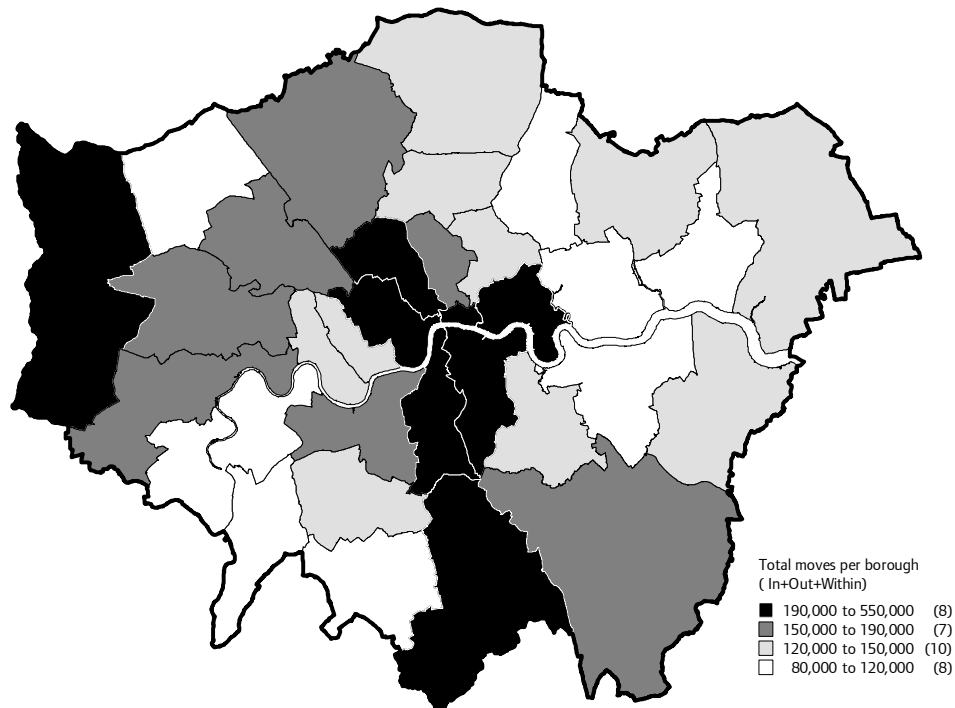
2.13 Total commuters in each borough (in plus out plus within)

This is a measure of how many commuter movements there were in each borough including those who commute within their borough of residence. There were 543,255 movements of workers around Westminster, considerably higher than in the City of London (313,974), though the City, in area, is far smaller. In general, there were higher numbers of moves in Inner London Boroughs than Outer London, though Newham, Haringey and Hackney (Inner) all had relatively low numbers, while Hillingdon and Croydon (Outer) both have relatively high numbers.

Figure 10 Numbers of commuters who travelled in, out or within a borough, 2001



Map 7 Numbers of commuters who travelled in, out or within a borough, 2001



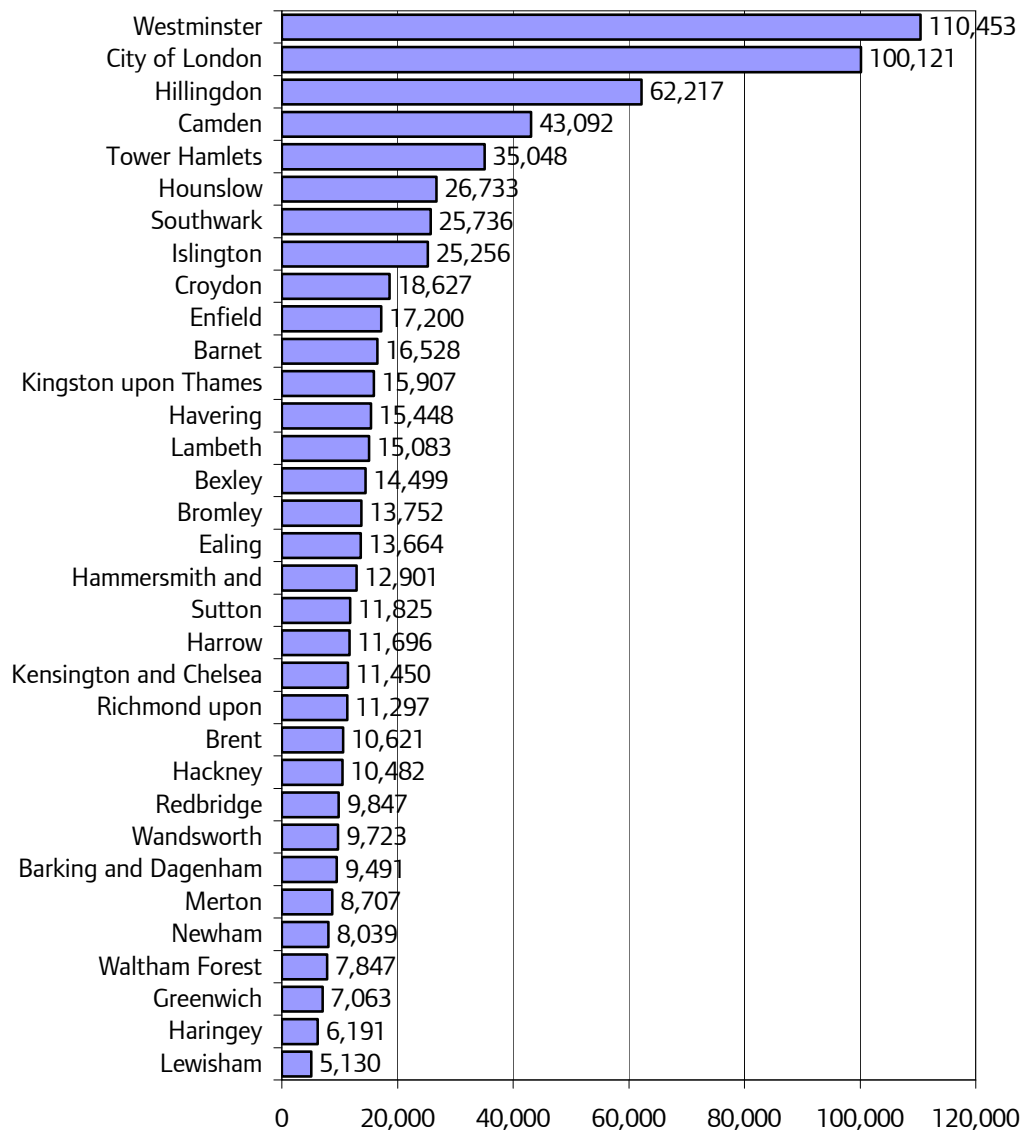
NB This data includes double counting as one commuter can be counted as leaving and counted as entering a borough.

Source: 2001 Census, Special Workplace Statistics SWS103

2.14 Commuters to each borough from outside London

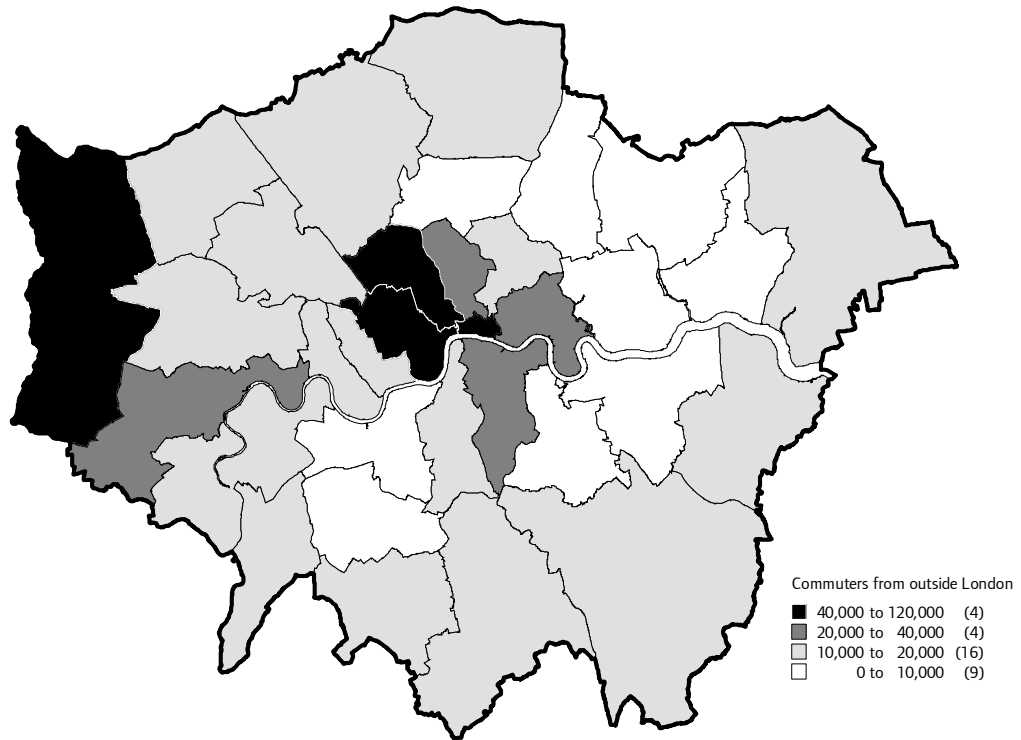
Westminster had slightly more commuters from outside London (110,453) than the City of London (100,121), though given the overall size of the workforce in these two areas, a higher percentage of City workers came from outside London. Furthermore, a far higher number of commuters from the East region travelled to the City than Westminster. Hillingdon had the third highest number of commuters from outside London at 62,217. In general, boroughs in Central London and Outer London boroughs that border districts outside London had the highest numbers of in commuters from outside London.

Figure 11 Numbers of commuters who travelled into each borough from outside London



Source: 2001 Census, Special Workplace Statistics SWS103

Map 8 Numbers of commuters who travelled into each borough from outside London, 2001

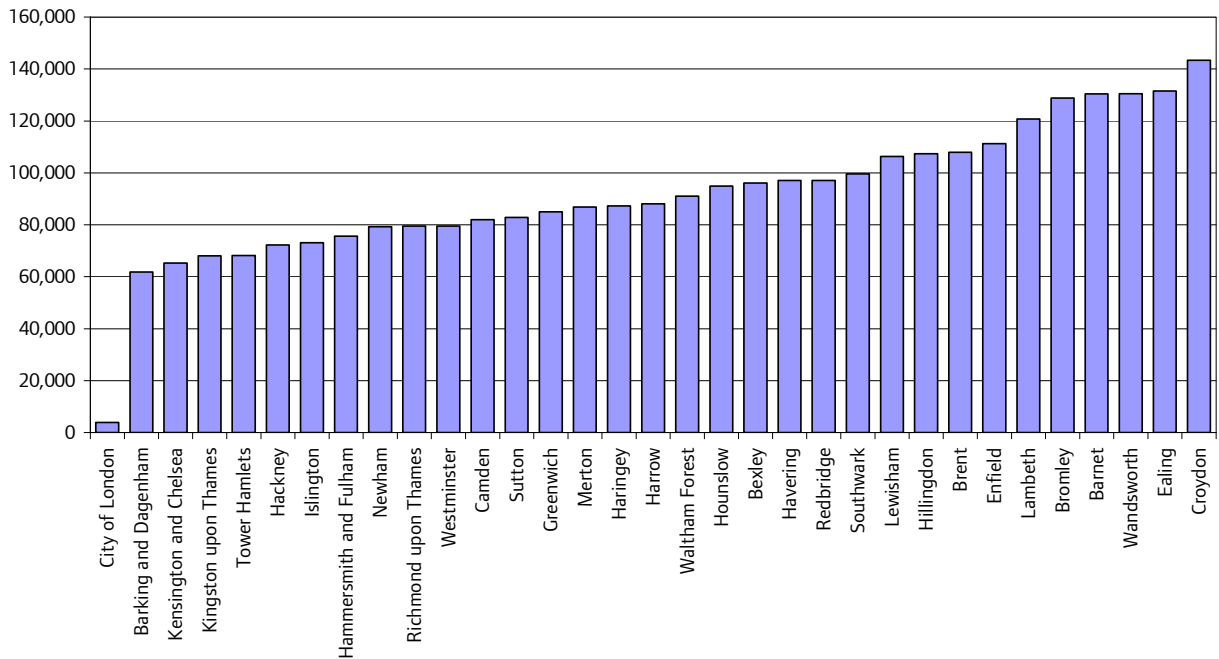


Source: 2001 Census, Special Workplace Statistics SWS103

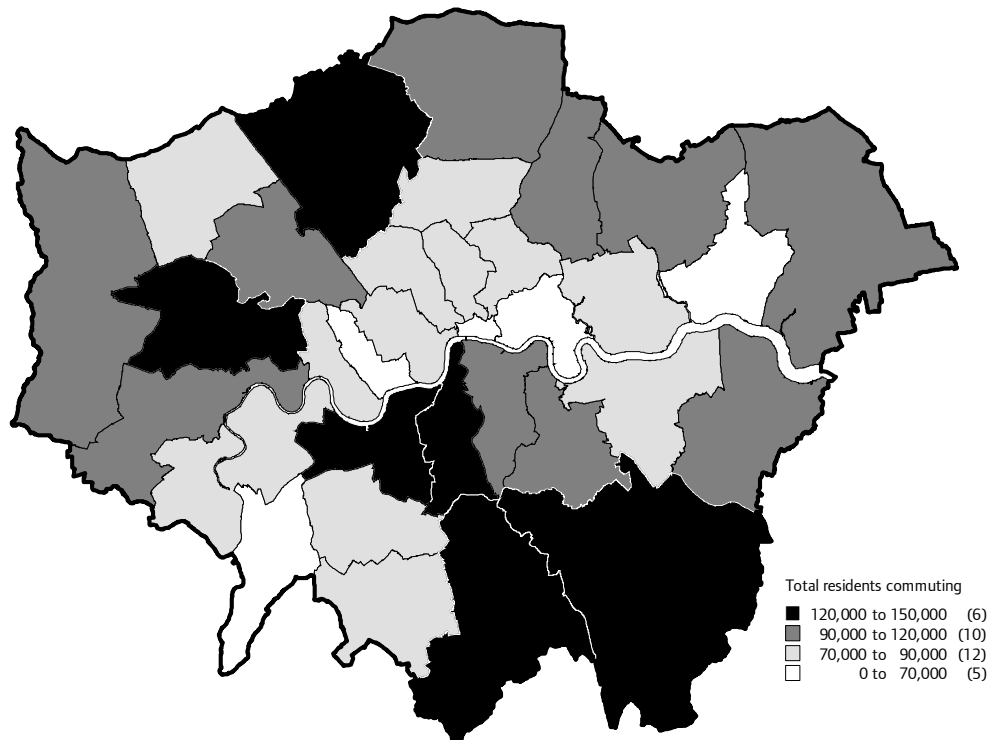
2.15 Number of commuters by borough of residence

In 2001 just over 3 million Londoners commuted to work. This includes all residents who worked away from home. Croydon had the highest number of residents who commuted of any London borough with 143,363 people. Ealing, Wandsworth, Barnet and Bromley all had around 130,000 commuters.

Figure 12 Numbers of residents who commuted, 2001



Map 9 Numbers of residents who commuted, 2001



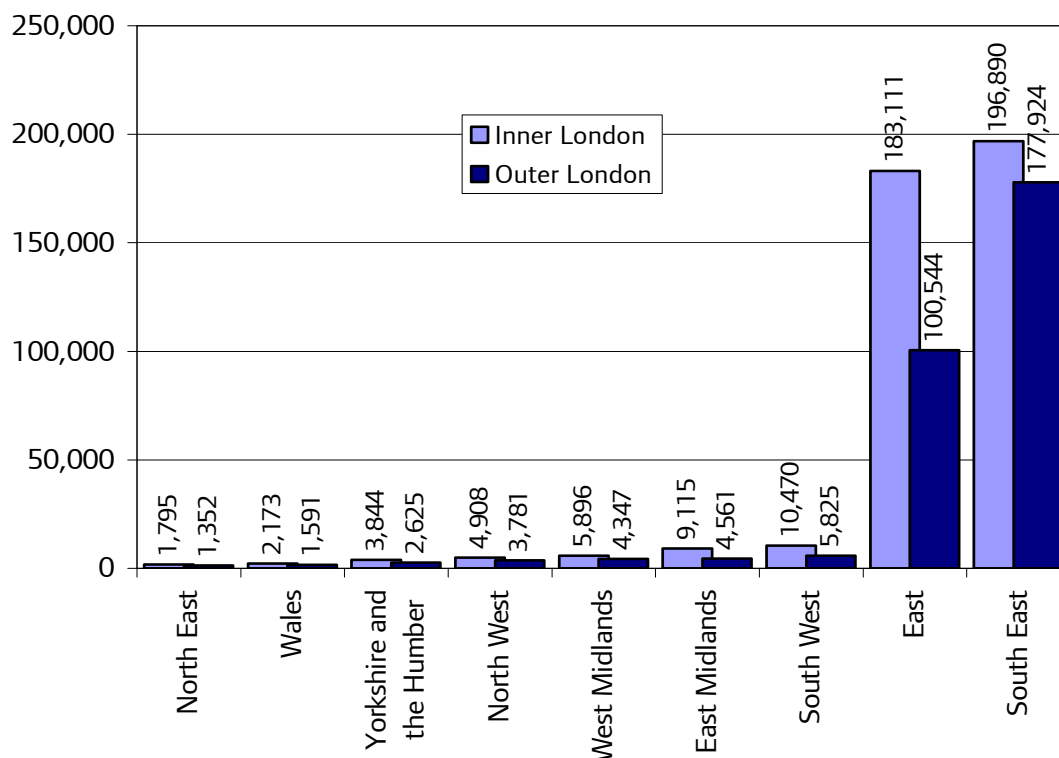
Source: 2001 Census, Special Workplace Statistics SWS103

2.16 Commuters who travelled into London by region of residence

The highest number of commuters into London came from the South East region (374,829), followed by the East region (283,750). Less than half (43 per cent) of those from the South East, travelled into Central London (162,576), while more than half (55 per cent) of the people from the East region travelled into Central London (157,133). All other regions added together total 63,095 commuters, the largest of these was the South West (16,243).

Overall, 49 per cent of all commuters into Greater London worked in Central London. This compares with 42 per cent of employed Londoners who commuted to a workplace in Central London.

Figure 13 Number of commuters who travelled into Inner or Outer London by region of residence, 2001



Source: 2001 Census, Special Workplace Statistics SWS103

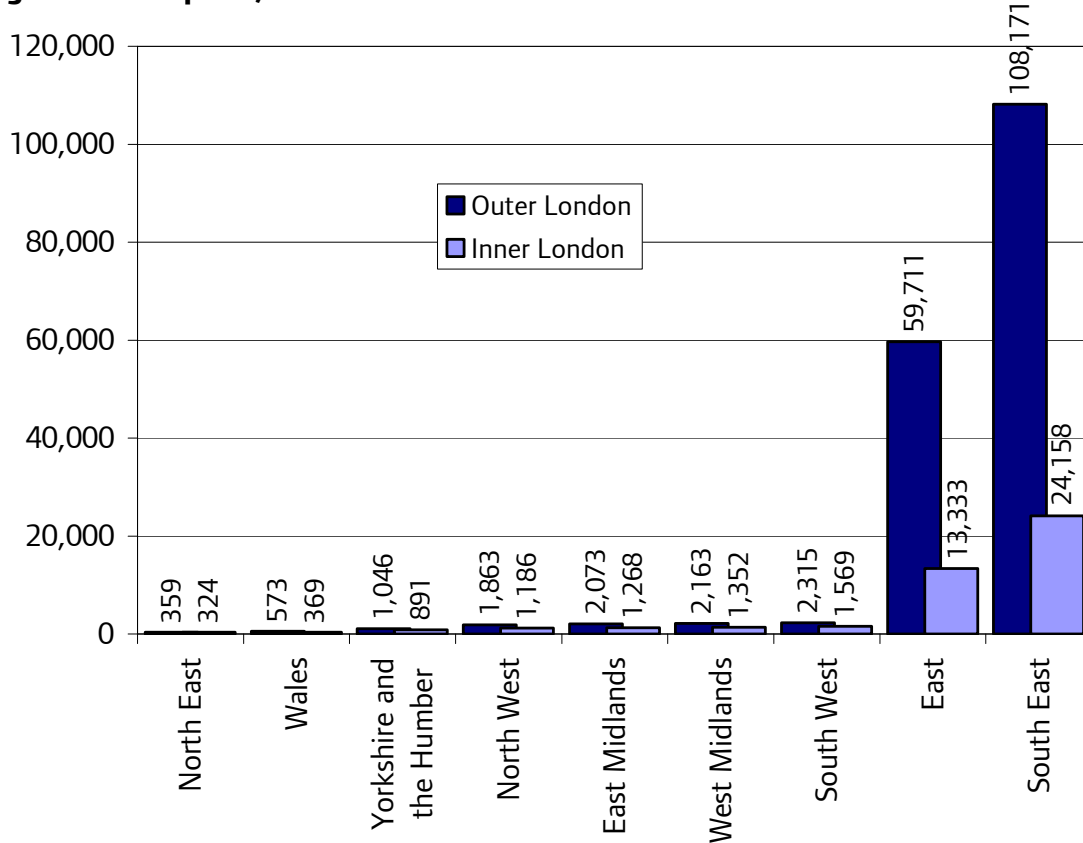
The largest number of commuters from the South East travelled to Westminster (59,199) followed by Hillingdon (48,130) and the City of London (41,843). For the East region, the City of London was by far the main destination (53,219), followed by Westminster (38,149) and Camden (20,164).

At district level, the highest number of workers travelling into London was from Epping Forest (26,159), followed by Elmbridge (22,254) (see Table 4). There were 49 districts with over 5,000 commuters who worked in London and all of these were in the East or South East regions. The top 73 districts were all in the East or South East regions. The district outside these two regions with the largest number of commuters to London was Birmingham (West Midlands) where 2,057 workers travelled from.

2.17 Commuters who travelled out of London

The South East was the most popular destination outside London for employed Londoners and was the workplace for 131,812 Londoners, almost twice as many as worked in the East region (73,106). Furthermore, 9,292 Londoners had a workplace outside the UK, which was considerably higher than any other region. Other than the South East and East, all other regions in the UK were the destination for a total of 21,181 workers from London.

Figure 14 Number of commuters who travelled out of Inner or Outer London by region of workplace, 2001



Source: 2001 Census, Special Workplace Statistics SWS103

The boroughs with the highest numbers of residents working in the South East were Croydon (11,854), Sutton (11,382), Hounslow (10,320) and Hillingdon (10,141). Less than 9,000 people travelled from Central London to the South East, which accounted for only six per cent of South East workers from London.

The significant origins of London workers in the East region were Havering (9,829), Barnet (8,563), Enfield (7,769) and Harrow (6,508). Less than 6,000 people travelled from Central London, which was eight per cent of commuters from London to the East region.

Table 4 Top 40 workplaces for London residents outside London and top 40 origins of London workers outside London, district 2001

Rank	District of workplace	Commuters	District of origin	Commuters
1	Slough	9,695	Epping Forest	26,159
2	Hertsmere	9,644	Elmbridge	22,254
3	Dartford	9,638	Thurrock	19,504
4	<i>Outside UK</i>	9,292	Basildon	18,297
5	Spelthorne	8,701	Spelthorne	18,175
6	Reigate and Banstead	8,595	Medway	17,614
7	Elmbridge	8,566	Sevenoaks	17,411
8	Epsom and Ewell	7,215	Hertsmere	17,073
9	Epping Forest	7,086	Dartford	16,656
10	Watford	6,930	Reigate and Banstead	16,028
11	Runnymede	6,074	Broxbourne	14,801
12	Thurrock	5,381	St. Albans	14,607
13	Crawley	5,376	Epsom and Ewell	14,331
14	Sevenoaks	5,190	Chelmsford	13,936
15	Windsor and Maidenhead	4,741	Tandridge	12,394
16	Mole Valley	4,485	Three Rivers	12,087
17	Brentwood	4,447	Brentwood	11,683
18	Tandridge	4,390	East Hertfordshire	11,548
19	Three Rivers	4,314	Slough	10,885
20	South Bucks	4,194	Windsor and Maidenhead	10,724
21	Basildon	4,046	Southend-on-Sea	10,459
22	Broxbourne	3,840	Gravesham	9,780
23	Welwyn Hatfield	3,765	Watford	9,293
24	Dacorum	3,496	Dacorum	9,172
25	Wycombe	3,279	Chiltern	8,968
26	Guildford	2,951	Wycombe	8,682
27	St. Albans	2,819	Runnymede	8,570
28	Bracknell Forest	2,790	Tonbridge and Malling	8,501
29	Woking	2,785	Guildford	8,231
30	Reading	2,355	Welwyn Hatfield	8,142
31	<i>Offshore</i>	2,176	Woking	8,081
32	Wokingham	2,175	Castle Point	8,051
33	Harlow	2,141	South Bucks	7,969
34	East Hertfordshire	2,031	Mole Valley	7,835
35	Chelmsford	1,943	Brighton and Hove	7,623
36	Tonbridge and Malling	1,848	Mid Sussex	7,480
37	Rushmoor	1,745	Tunbridge Wells	7,216
38	Medway	1,671	Maidstone	7,138
39	Luton	1,625	Rochford	6,729
40	Surrey Heath	1,613	Braintree	6,701

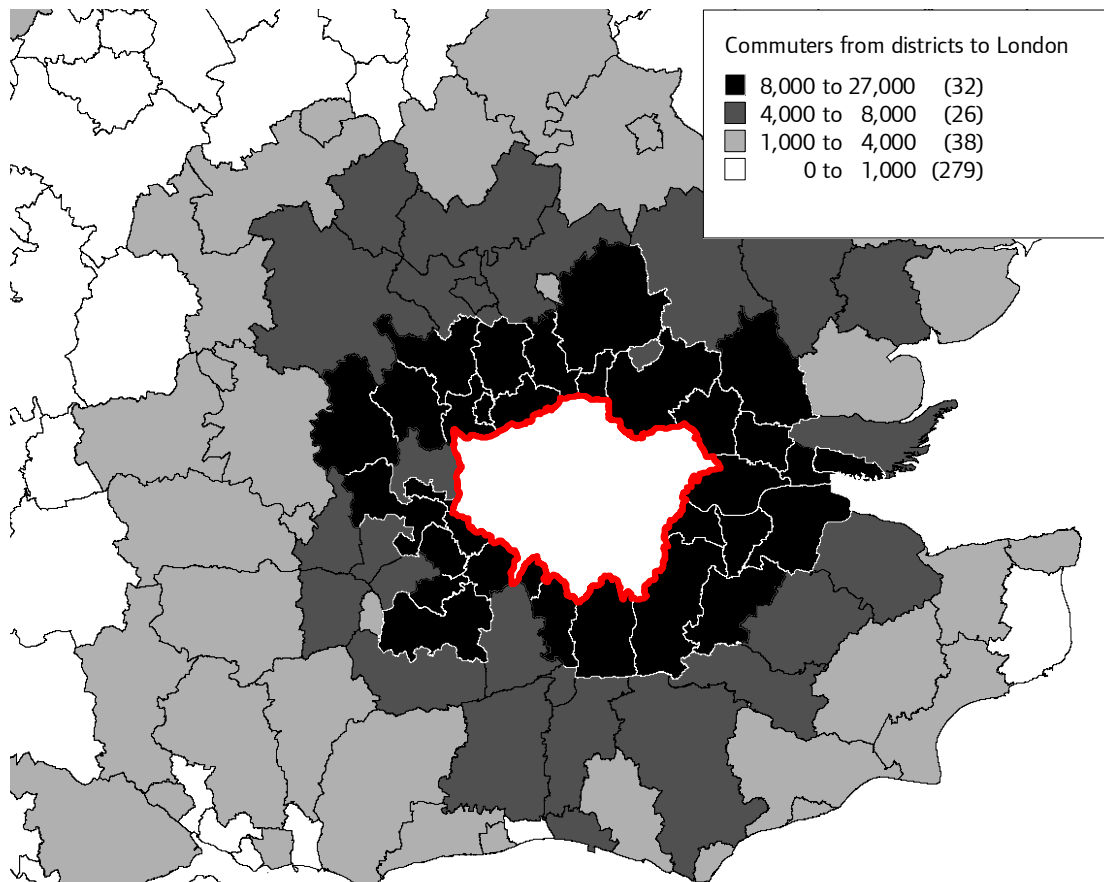
Source: 2001 Census, Special Workplace Statistics SWS103

2.18 Commuters who travelled into London by district

It is no surprise that Map 10 shows districts that are in closest proximity to London as being the origin of the highest numbers of London workers. However, it should be borne in mind that large numbers of those people from districts bordering a London borough may travel relatively short distances to an adjoining borough. Furthermore, it is also likely that areas with better transport links into London will have higher numbers of commuters.

Epping Forest had the highest number of commuters into Greater London (26,159), followed by Elmbridge (22,254).

Map 10 Number of commuters from districts outside London who travelled to work in London, 2001

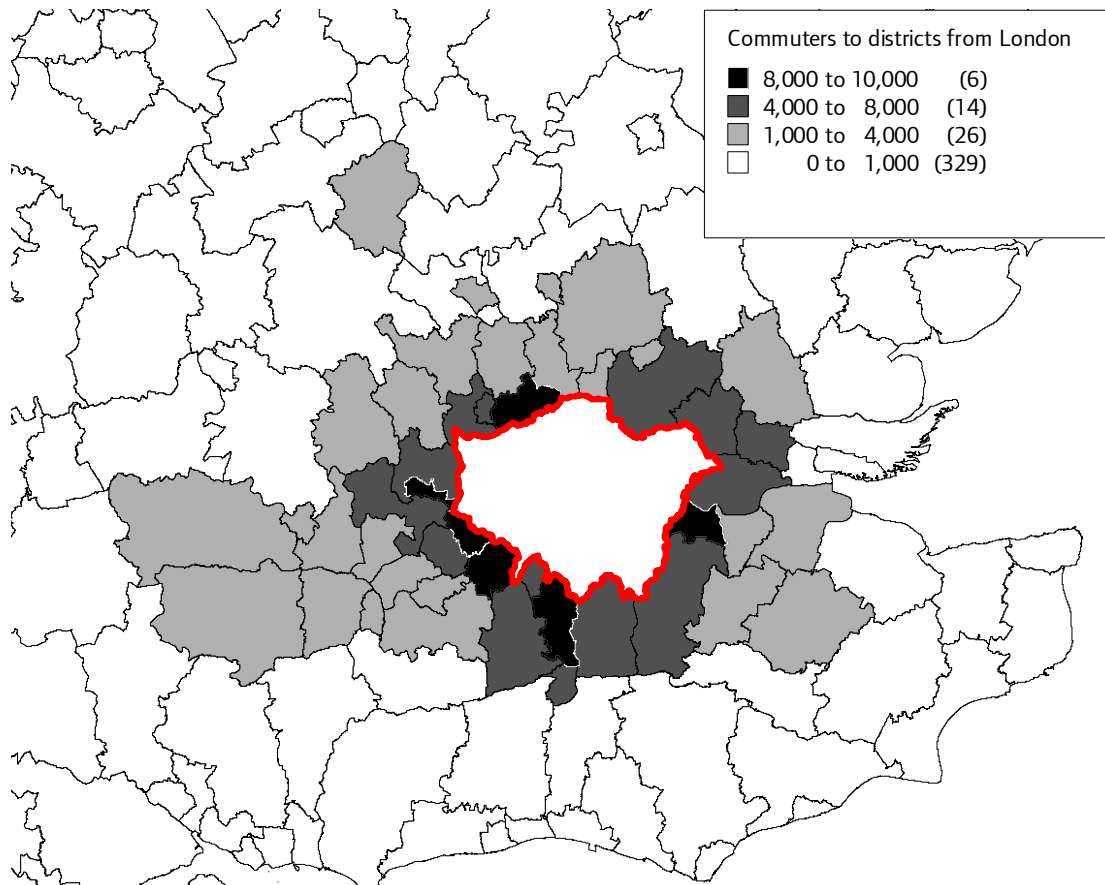


Source: 2001 Census, Special Workplace Statistics SWS103

2.19 Commuters who travelled out of London by district

The most popular workplace for Londoners at district level was Slough (9,695), closely followed by Hertsmere (9,644) and Dartford (9,638) (see Table 4). There were 46 districts with over a thousand Londoners working there, all in the East or South East. The most common destination outside these regions was Birmingham (974).

Map 11 Number of commuters from London who travelled to work outside London, 2001



Source: 2001 Census, Special Workplace Statistics SWS103

The biggest single flow of commuters, where one of the origin or destination is inside London and the other outside London, was from Spelthorne to Hillingdon (5,755). This was followed closely by Spelthorne to Hounslow (5,558) and Slough to Hillingdon (5,556). All of these flows were significantly influenced by employment around Heathrow airport.

Flows between Bexley and Dartford were significant, with at least 5,000 commuters going in each direction. The largest flow to Central London was Basildon to the City of London (4,968) followed by Chelmsford to the City (4,189). The top six flows to the City were from the East region, though Medway was top of South East origins for flows to the City.

It is clear when comparing Map 10 with Map 11 that commuters from outside London to London travel the furthest distances to work compared with workers who commute from the capital. The workplaces of the latter group tend to be far more concentrated in local authorities that either share a border with London or are very close to it.

Table 5 Total commuter flows with either a London origin or destination, but not both, by local authority, 2001

Origin	Region	Destination	Region	Commuters
Spelthorne	SE	Hillingdon	London	5,755
Spelthorne	SE	Hounslow	London	5,558
Slough	SE	Hillingdon	London	5,556
Bexley	London	Dartford	SE	5,474
Broxbourne	East	Enfield	London	5,327
Dartford	SE	Bexley	London	5,000
Basildon	East	City of London	London	4,968
Tandridge	SE	Croydon	London	4,357
Elmbridge	SE	Kingston upon Thames	London	4,227
Chelmsford	East	City of London	London	4,189
Windsor and Maidenhead	SE	Hillingdon	London	4,006
Hertsmere	East	Barnet	London	3,920
Thurrock	East	City of London	London	3,743
Epping Forest	East	City of London	London	3,668
Southend-on-Sea	East	City of London	London	3,581
South Bucks	SE	Hillingdon	London	3,573
Sutton	London	Epsom and Ewell	SE	3,397
Elmbridge	SE	Westminster	London	3,371
Barnet	London	Hertsmere	East	3,312
Epping Forest	East	Redbridge	London	3,303
Thurrock	East	Havering	London	3,165
Sevenoaks	SE	Bromley	London	3,136
Medway	SE	Westminster	London	3,104
Hounslow	London	Spelthorne	SE	3,065
Sutton	London	Reigate and Banstead	SE	2,899
Epsom and Ewell	SE	Kingston upon Thames	London	2,898
St. Albans	East	City of London	London	2,895
Epping Forest	East	Waltham Forest	London	2,886
Kingston upon Thames	London	Elmbridge	SE	2,840
St. Albans	East	Westminster	London	2,810
Epping Forest	East	Westminster	London	2,800
Reigate and Banstead	SE	Sutton	London	2,752
Croydon	London	Tandridge	SE	2,709
Medway	SE	City of London	London	2,699
Brentwood	East	City of London	London	2,692
Sevenoaks	SE	City of London	London	2,652
Hillingdon	London	Slough	SE	2,649
Runnymede	SE	Hillingdon	London	2,597
Reigate and Banstead	SE	Croydon	London	2,595

Source: 2001 Census, Special Workplace Statistics SWS103

Table 6 Net flows to London of commuters by district, 2001

District	To district	From district	Net Flow to London
Epping Forest	7,086	26,159	19,073
Medway	1,671	17,614	15,943
Basildon	4,046	18,297	14,251
Thurrock	5,381	19,504	14,123
Elmbridge	8,566	22,254	13,688
Sevenoaks	5,190	17,411	12,221
Chelmsford	1,943	13,936	11,993
St. Albans	2,819	14,607	11,788
Broxbourne	3,840	14,801	10,961
Southend-on-Sea	834	10,459	9,625
East Hertfordshire	2,031	11,548	9,517
Spelthorne	8,701	18,175	9,474
Gravesham	1,210	9,780	8,570
Tandridge	4,390	12,394	8,004
Three Rivers	4,314	12,087	7,773
Castle Point	315	8,051	7,736
Chiltern	1,267	8,968	7,701
Reigate and Banstead	8,595	16,028	7,433
Hertsmere	9,644	17,073	7,429
Brentwood	4,447	11,683	7,236
Epsom and Ewell	7,215	14,331	7,116
Dartford	9,638	16,656	7,018
Brighton and Hove	806	7,623	6,817
Tonbridge and Malling	1,848	8,501	6,653
Mid Sussex	897	7,480	6,583
Rochford	321	6,729	6,408
Tunbridge Wells	952	7,216	6,264
Braintree	452	6,701	6,249
Windsor and Maidenhead	4,741	10,724	5,983
Maidstone	1,218	7,138	5,920
Dacorum	3,496	9,172	5,676
Wycombe	3,279	8,682	5,403
Woking	2,785	8,081	5,296
Guildford	2,951	8,231	5,280
Waverley	981	6,149	5,168
North Hertfordshire	598	5,669	5,071

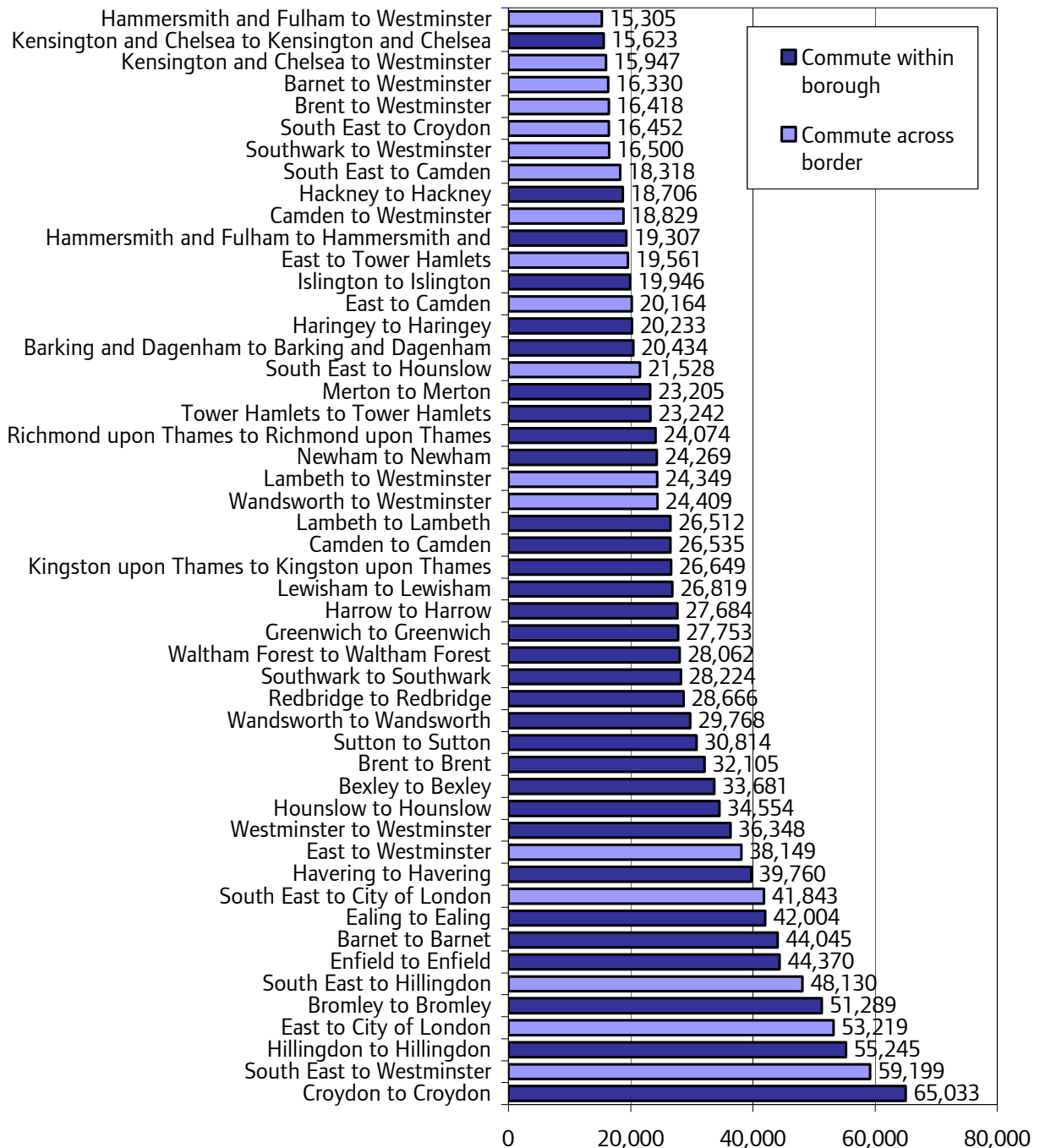
Source: 2001 Census, Special Workplace Statistics SWS103

The largest net flow to London was from Epping Forest in Essex (19,073), considerably more than the second highest district which was Medway in Kent (15,943), and then followed by two more districts in Essex, Basildon and Thurrock. Only one district in the South East or East regions had a net inflow from London and that was Crawley (1,161), mainly due to the effect of Gatwick airport on employment there.

2.20 Largest flows of commuters within London, 2001

The single biggest flow of commuters was for Croydon residents who also work in Croydon (65,033). More people travelled within Croydon than travelled from all of the South East region to Westminster (59,199). The vast majority of the biggest flows were for people working in the same borough they lived in. Worker movements within Hillingdon, Bromley, Enfield and Barnet were the largest. Wandsworth to Westminster was the largest flow to a different borough (24,409), closely followed by Lambeth to Westminster (24,349).

Figure 15 Top 50 single flows of commuters to London boroughs, 2001



Source: 2001 Census, Special Workplace Statistics SWS103

2.21 Change in commuter numbers from 1991 to 2001

Using 1991 Census data alongside 2001 data, it is possible to calculate approximate changes in numbers of commuters around London. This data was collected in a slightly different way in 1991 to 2001, for example, people who did not state a workplace in 2001 were imputed whereas in 1991 this was a separate category. For comparison in this Briefing, these numbers have been allocated to other areas in the same proportions as the known data. In 2001 people who stated they had 'no fixed workplace' were counted as working in their area of residence, so for this report the same has been applied to those in 1991 with no fixed workplace. There were 186,000 Londoners with no fixed workplace in 1991, which fell slightly to 175,000 in 2001.

Furthermore, the 1991 data is a ten per cent sample and has been grossed up by multiplying by ten. Statistically most flows still have large enough numbers to be significant, though small flows should be treated with caution. Appendix Table A2 shows the changes in numbers of commuters between the Boroughs.

The number of people who worked outside the UK or offshore are not included in Table 7, though the numbers in London did increase from 5,000 in 1991 to 11,000 in 2001. In 2001 four-fifths of these workers worked outside the UK, while one-fifth worked offshore.

Table 6 shows the summary of changes of flows. The total number of workers in London increased by 275,000 since 1991. A few Boroughs had large increases in workers over the period while others saw decreases. For example, Westminster (62,000), City of London (53,000), Tower Hamlets (49,000), Islington (23,000), Hillingdon (22,000) and Camden (22,000) all had big rises compared with Barking and Dagenham, Brent and Croydon which all lost around 8,000 workers.

In 2001 there were 329,000 more Londoners commuting to work than in 1991. The increases were of 250,000 travelling within London and 79,000 travelling to outside London. The largest increases (by borough of residence) were Lambeth (33,000), Southwark (26,000), Tower Hamlets (22,000) and Wandsworth (20,000). Havering (-6,000) was the only Borough with a significant decrease in the number of resident commuters, though Harrow, Hillingdon, Bromley and Bexley saw little change.

There were an additional 291,000 commuters who left their Borough of residence to work in 2001. Over 28,000 more people left Lambeth to work than in 1991 and the majority of Boroughs had large increases over the period. However, Havering, Bexley, Bromley and Harrow had fewer people leaving the borough for work.

Despite the large increase in the total number of commuters in London, the number of Londoners who both lived and worked in the same Borough fell by 41,000. This drop represents four per cent of the number of workers who worked in their Borough of residence in 1991. This does not include people who worked mostly from home, which had an increase of 164,000. The biggest falls were in Enfield (-6,000), Croydon, Wandsworth (-5,000), Brent and Hounslow (-4,000). Tower Hamlets (3,000) and Lambeth (2,000) saw the biggest increases. Given the large numbers of extra commuters in London since 1991, it is perhaps surprising that there had been any kind of fall in commuting within the Borough of residence. Therefore commuters must be travelling further than they were in 1991. In terms of distance travelled in

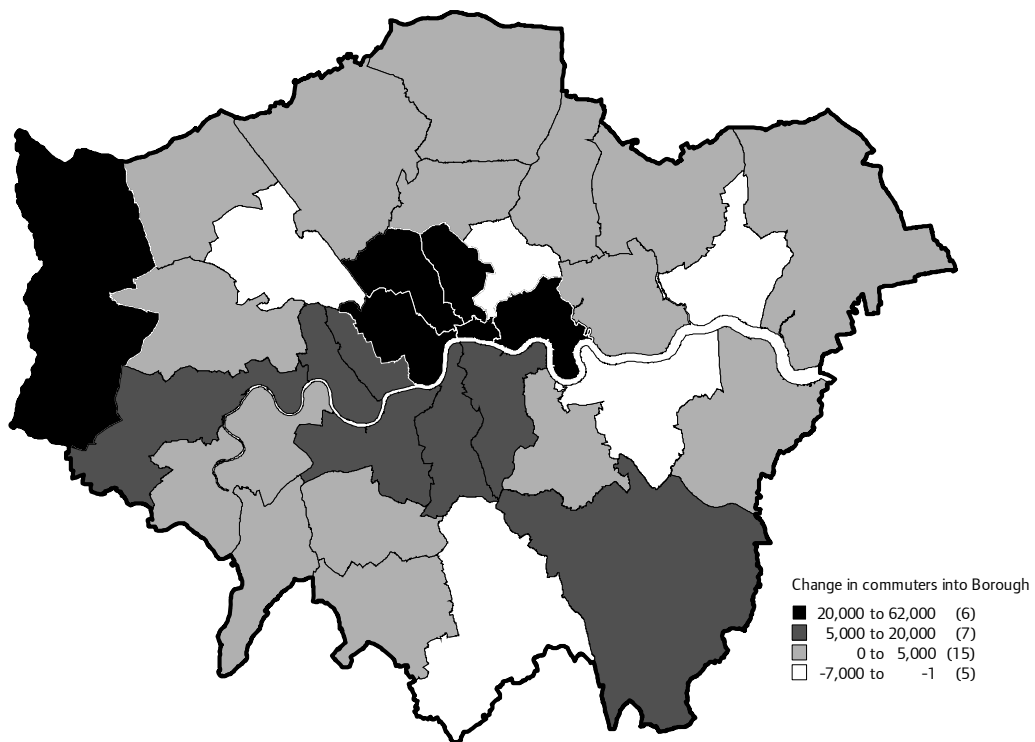
1991, 45 per cent of workers travelled less than five kilometres compared with 40 per cent in 2001.

Commuting into Greater London from outside increased slightly (25,040), though the significant increase came in just two Boroughs, Hillingdon (13,000) and Tower Hamlets (11,000). The City of London (5,000) and Westminster (4,000) also had increases but fourteen Boroughs saw a decline in numbers of commuters from outside London.

In contrast every Borough saw an increase in the number of residents commuting to a workplace outside London. Overall, an additional 79,000 workers left London to work in 2001 compared with 1991. Bexley had the biggest change, though Barnet, Ealing, Hillingdon Richmond and Harrow also had relatively significant increases (4,000 increase).

The largest increase of any single borough flow was from Lambeth to Westminster where there were an additional 6,241 commuters since 1991. The biggest single fall was for workers who lived and worked in Enfield, which fell by 5,882 workers in 2001. However the largest fall between Boroughs was from Havering to Barking and Dagenham which fell by 2,148.

Map 12 Change in number of commuters by Borough of workplace 1991 to 2001



Source: 1991 Census Table SWSC05 and 2001 Census Table SWS103

Table 7 Change in numbers of commuters by Borough 1991 to 2001

	Total number of workers	Residents commuting	From Boroughs within London*	To boroughs within London*	Commuters into Borough	Commuters out of Borough	Live and work in Borough	From outside London	To outside London
City of London	53,345	2,039	48,842	1,942	52,486	1,082	859	4,504	98
Barking and Dagenham	-8,019	6,028	-5,561	4,620	-6,113	6,526	-1,906	-2,457	1,409
Barnet	2,786	12,286	2,003	8,281	4,884	10,379	-2,098	783	4,005
Bexley	1,769	-288	857	-4,442	2,135	-4,076	-366	912	4,154
Brent	-8,330	11,484	-6,044	8,491	-4,180	12,640	-4,149	-2,286	2,993
Bromley	5,246	554	4,380	-2,120	5,789	-1,577	-543	867	2,675
Camden	21,570	18,800	24,490	17,272	20,419	16,121	1,151	-2,920	1,529
Croydon	-7,793	3,662	-4,667	194	-2,459	5,528	-5,334	-3,126	3,467
Ealing	-678	14,464	233	10,394	1,317	12,390	-1,995	-911	4,070
Enfield	-5,646	885	-4,253	-1,548	236	4,334	-5,882	-1,393	2,433
Greenwich	-3,045	6,284	-3,062	4,321	-288	7,077	-2,757	17	1,963
Hackney	29	18,473	862	17,132	-718	16,386	747	-834	1,341
Hammersmith & Fulham	15,781	14,529	15,205	12,826	14,255	11,300	1,525	576	1,704
Haringey	2,726	14,526	2,487	13,069	2,918	13,261	-192	238	1,457
Harrow	-1,173	-38	-229	-3,624	1,503	-947	-2,677	-944	3,586
Havering	1,112	-5,775	24	-8,190	4,220	-5,083	-3,107	1,088	2,415
Hillingdon	21,983	101	9,030	-3,676	24,849	-810	-2,866	12,953	3,777
Hounslow	1,883	3,982	2,185	800	5,639	4,556	-3,756	-302	3,183
Islington	22,937	12,702	20,149	11,461	23,849	12,373	-912	2,788	1,241
Kensington and Chelsea	10,761	15,226	10,605	13,886	9,901	13,026	860	156	1,340
Kingston upon Thames	689	6,224	1,974	3,522	1,463	4,296	-774	-1,284	2,702
Lambeth	10,251	32,564	9,808	30,354	8,509	28,611	1,742	443	2,211
Lewisham	3,011	15,987	2,379	13,859	2,623	13,471	388	632	2,128
Merton	83	11,311	532	8,712	834	9,463	-751	-449	2,599
Newham	-1,250	10,591	-242	8,992	972	11,214	-2,222	-1,008	1,599
Redbridge	709	990	1,183	-602	2,043	732	-1,334	-474	1,592
Richmond Upon Thames	4,111	7,445	3,913	3,830	4,496	4,216	-386	197	3,615
Southwark	13,532	25,680	12,332	23,347	12,217	22,032	1,315	1,200	2,333
Sutton	1,397	5,446	691	1,945	2,455	3,003	-1,058	706	3,500
Tower Hamlets	49,246	21,771	38,393	20,085	46,614	17,453	2,632	10,853	1,686
Waltham Forest	-1,035	6,398	-260	5,237	1,649	7,922	-2,684	-775	1,161
Wandsworth	5,404	19,619	4,191	16,768	10,277	21,641	-4,873	1,213	2,852
Westminster	61,620	14,137	57,544	12,838	61,312	12,530	308	4,077	1,299
Total	275,015	328,089	249,974	249,974	316,108	291,068	-41,094	25,040	78,115

NB. Table excludes people working from home * includes people to/from same borough

Source: 1991 Census Table SWSC05 and 2001 Census Table SWS103

3.0 Method and distance of travel to work

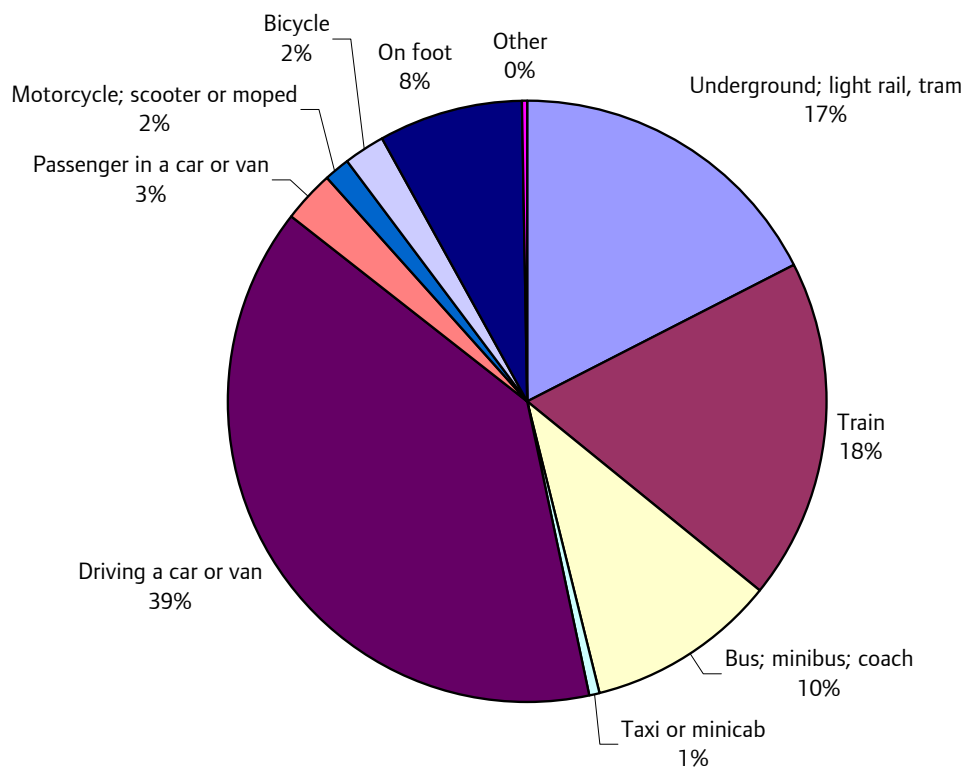
There were a total of 3,742,908 commuters whose journey to work was at least in part inside London. A very similar number of workers travelled in Inner London as Outer London (2,224,000 and 2,307,000 respectively).

By far the most popular method of travel for people who commute in London was by car or van (39 per cent). In Outer London, this figure rises to 50 per cent, though in Inner London was 23 per cent. In London as a whole, passengers within a car or van make up a further three per cent, which was slightly higher than those who used a motorcycle (two per cent).

The numbers of commuters taking the tube or the train were very similar to each other, with slightly more using the train. The split between Inner and Outer London for these two methods of travel were well matched. Both underground and train make up 27 per cent of commuters in Inner London and 13 per cent of commuters in Outer London. This averages out as 18 per cent for Train and 17 per cent for underground in London overall.

Bus use was much more even between Inner and Outer London (ten and nine per cent respectively). Cyclists make up two per cent of all commuter journeys, while eight per cent were on foot.

Figure 16 Method of travel to work for all commuters in London



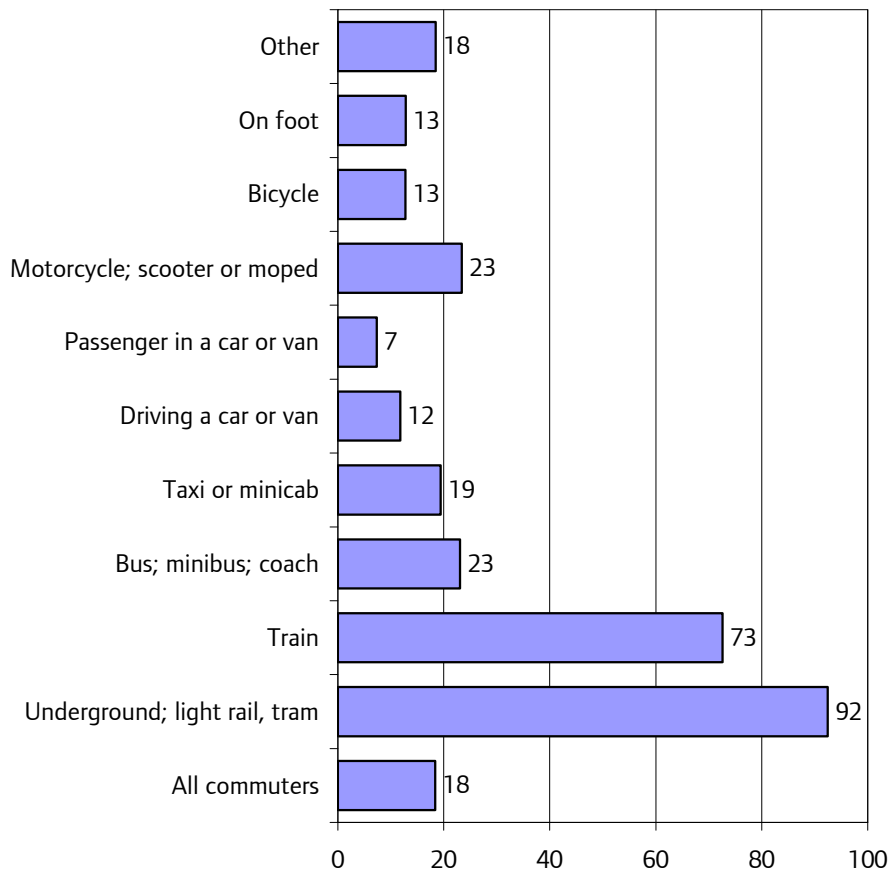
NB This data includes all people who live, work or live and work in Greater London

Source: 2001 Census, Theme Table TT010

3.1 London commuting a proportion of national commuting

Figure 17 shows that London accounts for the vast majority of all Underground, light rail and tram (92 per cent) and train (73 per cent) journeys to work in England. Given that London makes up 18 per cent of all commuters, only these plus bus and motorcycle (both 23 per cent) were above average. Despite high numbers of car drivers, London only makes up 12 per cent of all car commuters nationally and even fewer car passengers (seven per cent).

Figure 17 All commuters in London as a percentage of all commuters in England by method of travel to work

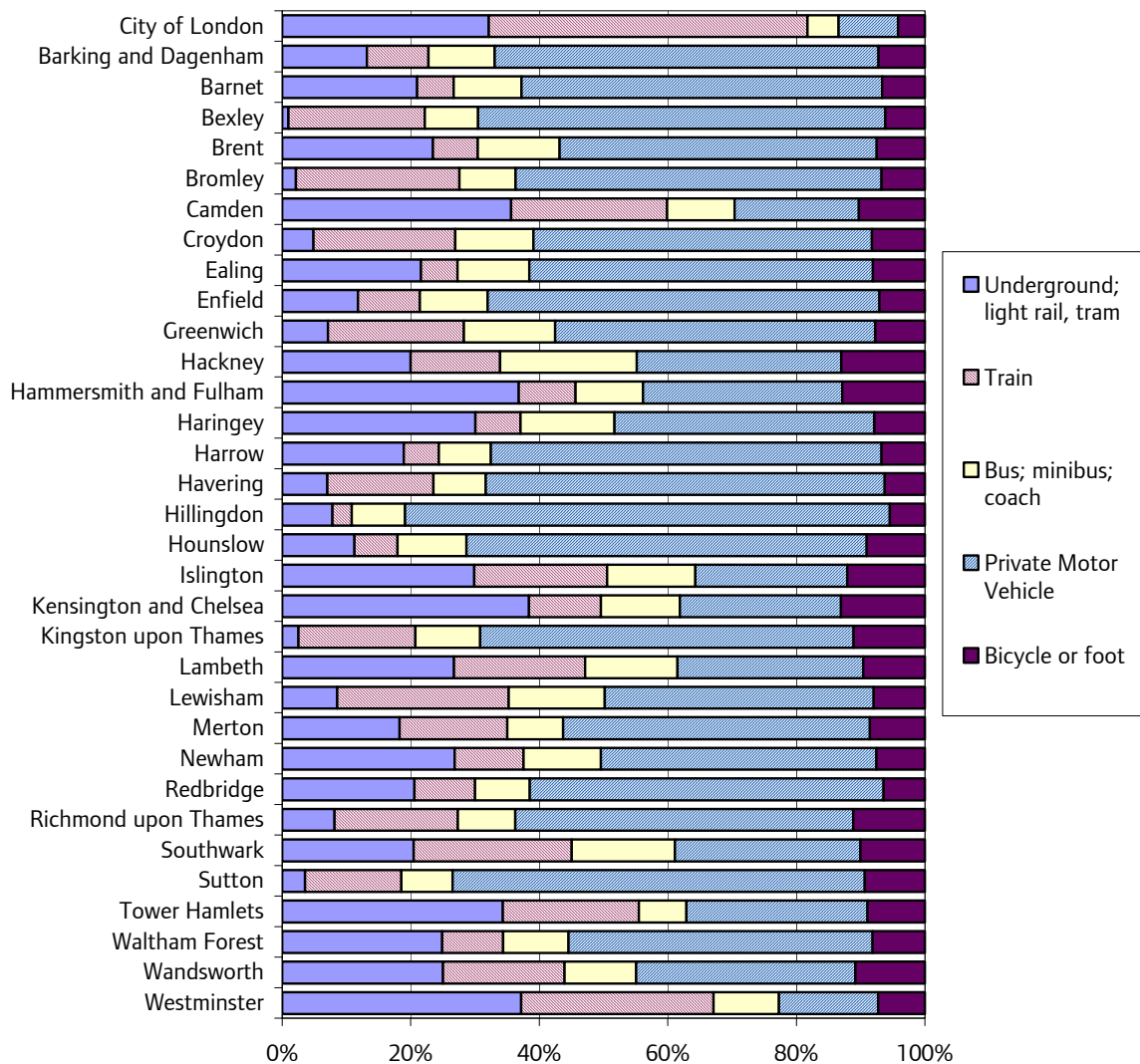


Source: 2001 Census, Theme Table TT010

3.2 Method of travel for workers by borough

Figure 18 shows the split of the different methods of travel in each borough. Kensington and Chelsea (38 per cent) had the highest percentage of underground commuters, followed by Westminster and Hammersmith and Fulham (both 37 per cent). The City of London (49 per cent) and Westminster (30 per cent) had the highest percentage of train users amongst commuters. Hackney (21 per cent), Southwark (16 per cent) and Lewisham (15 per cent) had the highest percentage of bus commuters, while Hillingdon (75 per cent), Sutton (64 per cent) and Bexley (63 per cent) were top for commuting by private motor vehicle.

Figure 18 Method of travel to work by London borough as a percentage of all commuters in a borough



Source: 2001 Census, Theme Table TT010

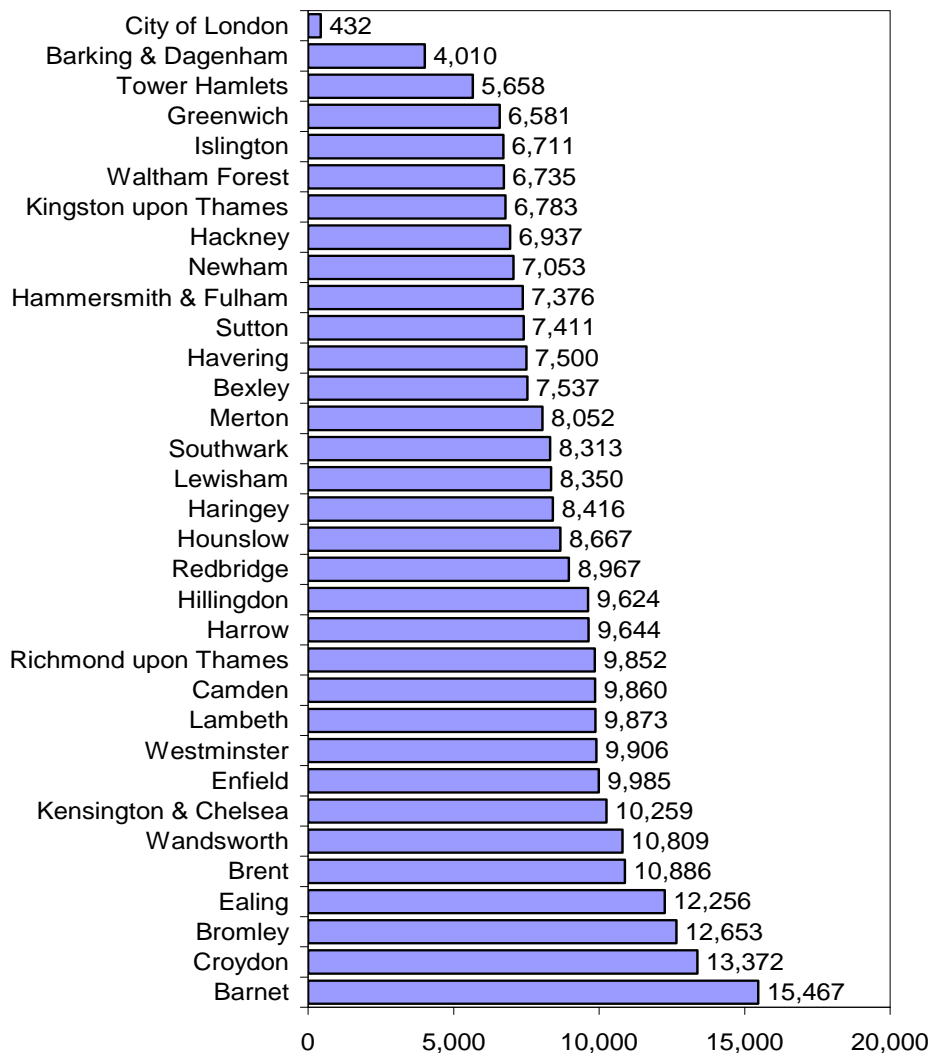
However, the percentages do not give any indication of the numbers involved so can be a little misleading. For example, Sutton may have had the second highest percentage of private motor vehicle commuters, but it was only thirteenth highest in terms of numbers (71,045), far fewer than even Westminster (83,495) or Croydon (101,028). The next section will focus further on the numbers of commuters.

3.3 Working from home

In London, 286,000 people work mostly from home, and this accounts for one in 12 workers in the capital. The highest number of 'home' workers in London was in Barnet (15,467). Croydon was second highest (13,372) and Bromley third (12,653). After the City of London, Barking and Dagenham had the lowest number of people who worked from home of any borough (4,010), which was almost four times lower than in Barnet. Around 11 per cent of the workforce in Barnet worked mostly from home. However, this was slightly lower than in Kensington and Chelsea (14 per cent) but the same as in Richmond-upon-Thames, Westminster and Camden. The lowest percentage of home workers was in Barking and Dagenham (six per cent), though Waltham Forest, Havering, Greenwich, Bexley and Lewisham all had seven per cent of workers based at home.

Table 8 shows that the percentage of people who worked mostly from home in London had doubled from 4.3 per cent to 8.6 per cent, though this was still slightly below the national average of 9.2 per cent. This was an increase in London from 122,000 in 1991 to 286,000 in 2001. Kensington and Chelsea had the highest percentage at 13.6 per cent, while Barking and Dagenham had the lowest with 6.1 per cent.

Figure 19 Numbers of people who mostly work from home by borough, 2001



Source: 2001 Census, Special Workplace Statistics SWS103

Table 8 Number and percent of people in employment who mostly work at or from home, 1991² and 2001

	1991		2001	
	Works at/from home	Percent	Works at/from home	Percent
City of London*	270	13.0	432	10.1
Barking and Dagenham	1,050	1.8	4,010	6.1
Barnet	8,260	6.5	15,467	10.6
Bexley	2,470	2.5	7,537	7.3
Brent	3,470	3.5	10,886	9.2
Bromley	5,960	4.4	12,653	8.9
Camden	6,510	9.3	9,860	10.7
Croydon	5,130	3.5	13,372	8.5
Ealing	4,770	3.9	12,256	8.5
Enfield	4,050	3.5	9,985	8.2
Greenwich	2,570	3.2	6,581	7.2
Hackney	2,600	4.6	6,937	8.8
Hammersmith and Fulham	3,690	5.7	7,376	8.9
Haringey	4,140	5.4	8,416	8.8
Harrow	4,600	5.0	9,644	9.9
Havering	2,950	2.8	7,500	7.2
Hillingdon	3,680	3.3	9,624	8.2
Hounslow	3,050	3.2	8,667	8.4
Islington	3,180	5.0	6,711	8.4
Kensington and Chelsea	5,890	10.5	10,259	13.6
Kingston upon Thames	3,070	4.7	6,783	9.1
Lambeth	3,550	3.9	9,873	7.6
Lewisham	2,810	3.0	8,350	7.3
Merton	2,880	3.7	8,052	8.5
Newham	1,780	2.5	7,053	8.2
Redbridge	3,520	3.5	8,967	8.5
Richmond Upon Thames	5,200	6.7	9,852	11.0
Southwark	3,030	3.9	8,313	7.7
Sutton	2,770	3.5	7,411	8.2
Tower Hamlets	1,160	2.4	5,658	7.7
Waltham Forest	2,880	3.3	6,735	6.9
Wandsworth	5,050	4.4	10,809	7.7
Westminster	6,430	8.9	9,906	11.1
London	122,420	4.3	285,935	8.6
East	110,910	4.8	243,485	9.4
East Midlands	83,180	4.8	173,308	9.0
North East	33,680	3.5	79,308	7.7
North West	117,710	4.3	242,474	8.4
South East	181,100	5.3	386,302	9.9
South West	136,040	6.8	251,408	11.0
West Midlands	96,290	4.4	208,823	8.9
Yorkshire and the Humber	90,440	4.5	184,181	8.4
England	971,770	4.8	2,055,224	9.2

* Caution, low numbers Source: 1991 Census Table SWSC05 and 2001 Census Key Statistics Table KS015

² The numbers for 'not stated' in 1991 have been proportionally re-distributed across the categories to make the figures comparable with 2001. See DMAG 2003/13, 2001 Census Key Statistics: Means of travel to work

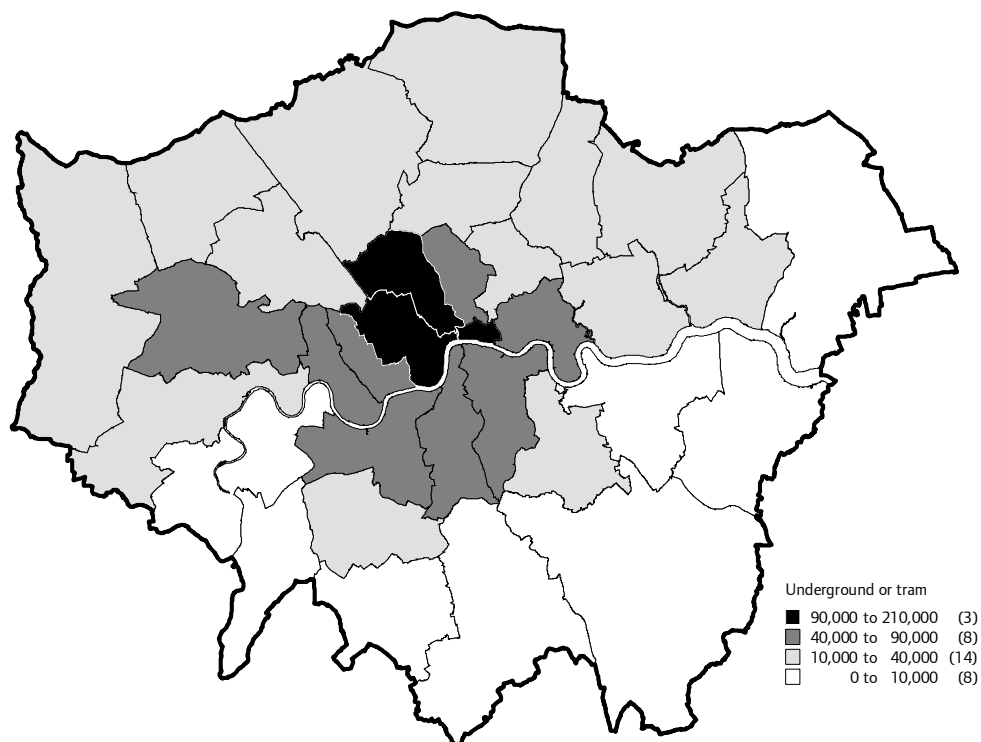
3.4 Underground or Tram

There were 655,000 people who were either residents or workers in London whose main method of travel to work was the underground or tram. The underground was the main method of travel to work for 16 per cent of workers in London. Inner London had around twice as many underground users as Outer London. The underground was the second most popular method of travel to work for London residents, behind car drivers. However, for people who both lived and worked in Inner London the underground was by far the most popular method.

There were 162,000 people who lived and worked in Central London and used the underground. This was far fewer than the 350,000 who lived outside and worked inside Central London who said it was their main method of travel.

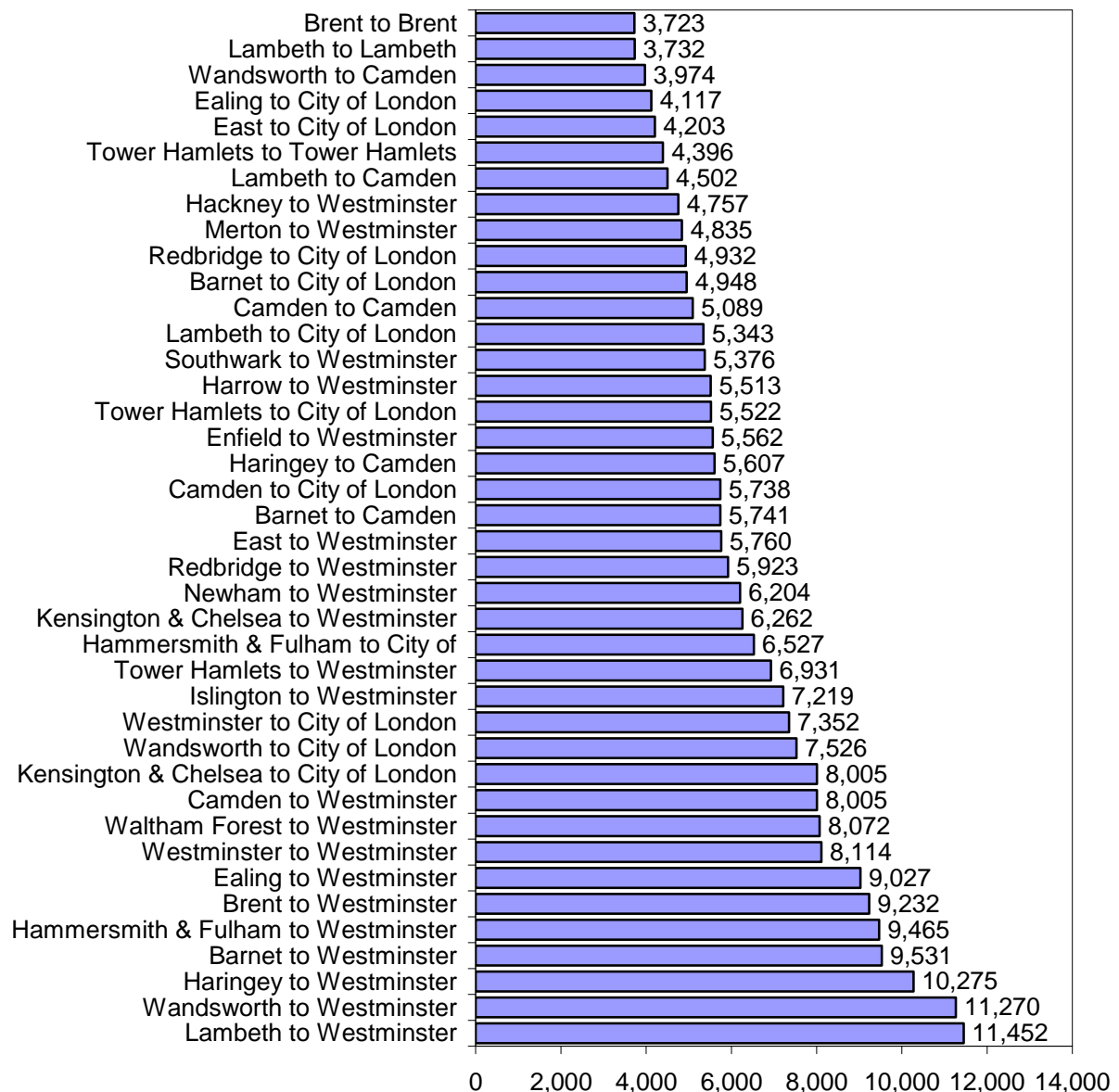
Westminster had by the far the highest number of underground commuters who were either residents or workers in London. Over 200,000 people used the underground in Westminster to get to work. This was twice as many as used the underground in the City of London, which was the second highest in London, though Camden was not far behind with 96,000. At the other end of the scale only 1,169 people who either lived or worked in Bexley stated their main method of travel as underground or tram. Map 13 clearly shows that Outer London boroughs in south London had far lower numbers of underground users. This is likely to be mainly due to the low numbers of underground stations in this part of London. As a percentage of all commuters, Kensington and Chelsea had the highest proportion of underground users (38 per cent), slightly in front of Westminster and Hammersmith and Fulham (37 per cent).

Map 13 Numbers of commuters who travelled by underground or tram by borough of workplace or residence, 2001



Source: 2001 Census, Special Workplace Statistics SWS103

Figure 20 The top 40 flows of commuters to London boroughs where the main method of travel to work was underground/tram, 2001



Source: 2001 Census, Special Workplace Statistics SWS103

The biggest single flow of commuters by underground was from Lambeth to Westminster (11,452), though this was only slightly higher than the flow from neighbouring borough Wandsworth to Westminster (11,270). Both of these boroughs are adjacent to Westminster but Haringey (10,275), which had the third highest flow, is not. All of the top 10 flows were into Westminster. Underground commuters who both lived and worked in Westminster represent the eighth highest flow.

The City of London had large flows from Kensington and Chelsea (8,005), Wandsworth (7,526) and Westminster (7,352). Indeed, the City had more underground commuters from Kensington and Chelsea than Westminster even though the City is not adjacent to that borough. The numbers of underground commuters from Kensington and Chelsea to Westminster may be lower because many commuters can walk or cycle to work.

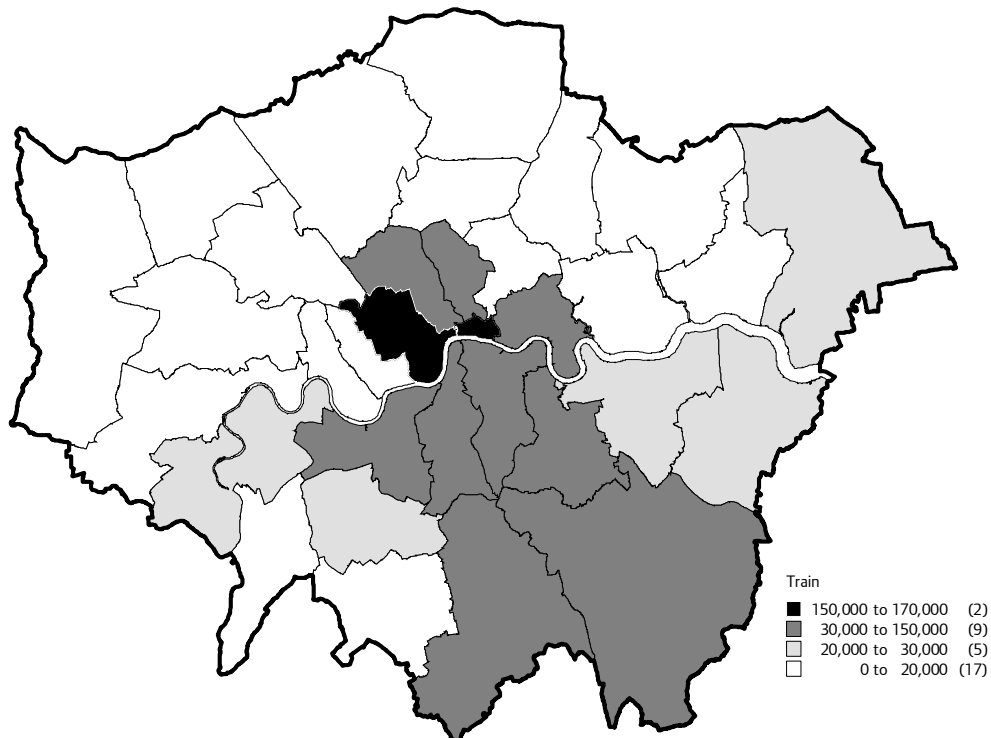
3.5 Train

London had a total number of 688,000 train commuters who were either resident or work there. This accounts for 17 per cent of all commuting in London. The train was the second most popular method of travel for commuters from outside London, behind car drivers. However, for workers in Inner London who lived outside Inner London, the train was by far the most popular method of travel. In terms of just Central London, there were 493,000 commuters who travel from outside Central London to Central London. This compares with just 34,000 people who lived in Central London and used the train; which is just seven per cent of all the people who used the train in Central London.

The highest number of train commuters was in Westminster (162,000). This figure takes account of all commuters whose journey starts or ends in Westminster, it does not necessarily mean the commuter uses a train station in Westminster. The City of London was slightly behind this (151,000) and considerably above the third highest of Camden (66,000). The fewest train commuters were in Harrow (6,423) and Hillingdon (6,574).

Map 14 shows that south London boroughs generally had higher numbers of train commuters than north London. This may reflect both the higher number of train stations and where there is no underground available in South London.

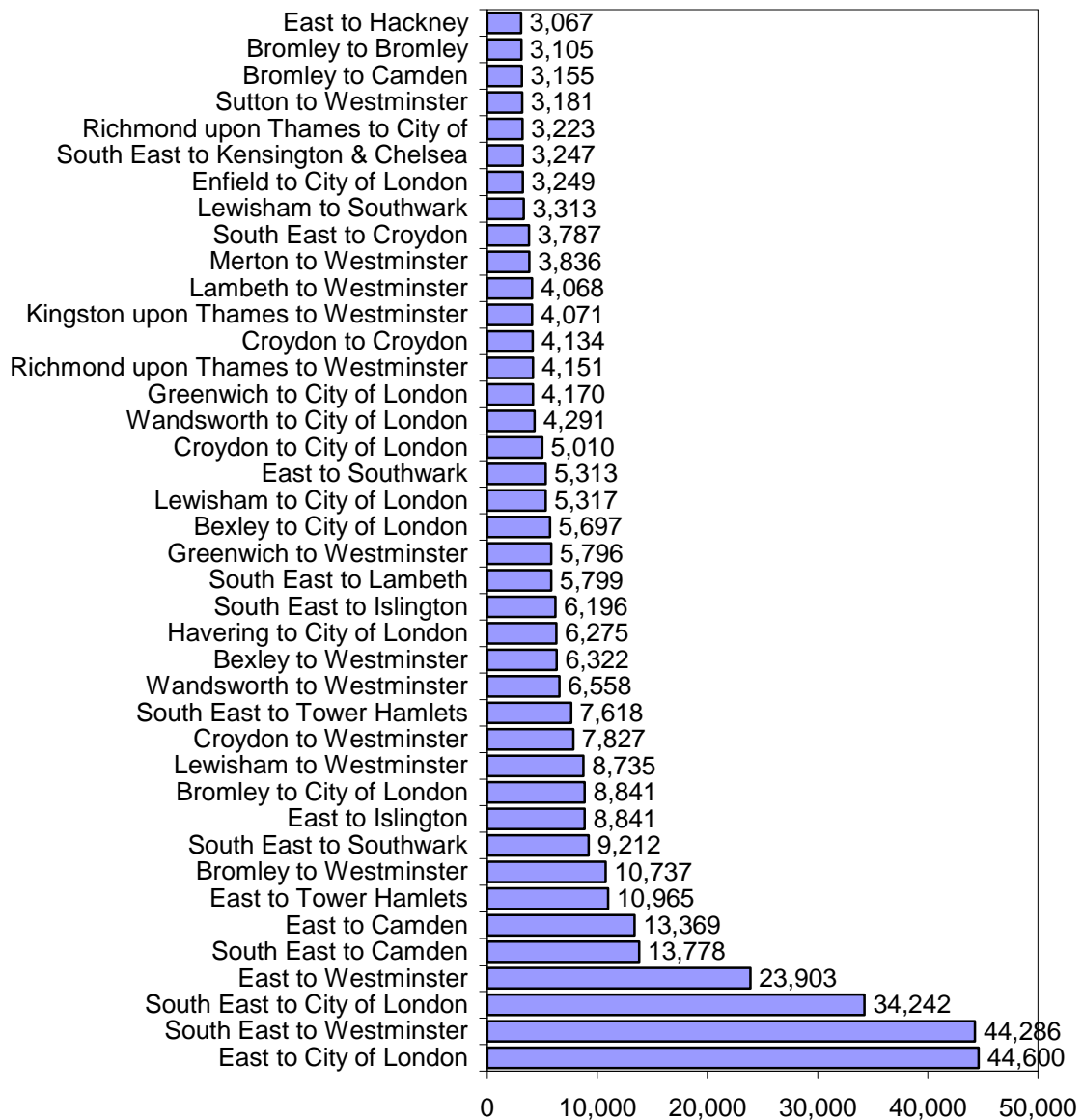
Map 14 Numbers of commuters who travelled by train by borough of workplace or residence



Source: 2001 Census, Special Workplace Statistics SWS103

As a percentage of commuters in a borough, the City of London was top (49 per cent), followed by Westminster (30 per cent) and Lewisham (27 per cent). All of the top 16 boroughs were either in Central London or south London.

Figure 21 The top 40 flows of commuters to London boroughs where the main method of travel to work was train, 2001



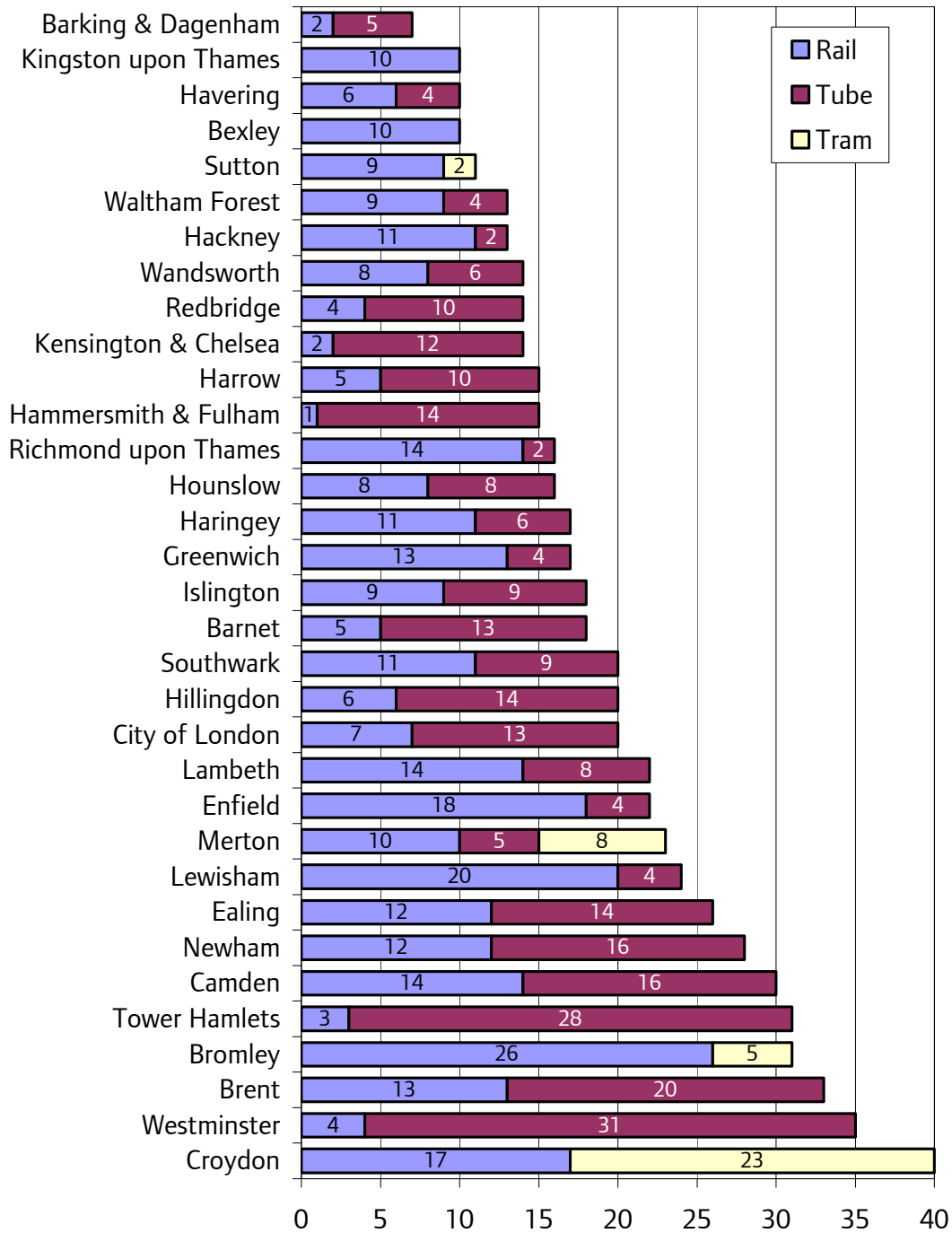
Source: 2001 Census, Special Workplace Statistics SWS103

Approximately the same number of commuters travelled from the East region to the City of London (44,600), as travelled from the South East region to Westminster (44,286). However, there were significantly more commuters who travelled from the South East to the City than travelled from the East to Westminster. Within London, the biggest flow of train commuters was from Bromley to Westminster (10,737), while the second biggest flow was from Bromley to the City of London (8,841).

3.6 Public transport stations

There is a clear link between the number of stations in a borough and the number of passengers who travelled from that borough. For example, Bromley has the highest number of train stations in London (26), while Westminster has the highest number of underground stations (31) see Figure 22.

Figure 22 Number of underground, tram and train stations by London borough, 2001



Source: Ordnance Survey

Croydon has the most public transport stations in London, though the majority of them are tram stops (23), which do not link into Central London but are used by commuters from within Croydon and neighbouring boroughs. At the time of the Census, the tram network had only been open around 11 months (since May 2000), and since then it is possible that tram commuting has increased. The Tramlink's only interchange with the underground system is at Wimbledon in Merton. Barking and Dagenham has the fewest stations with two rail stations and five tube stations. Only five Boroughs do not have any tube stations, Croydon, Bromley, Bexley, Sutton and Kingston-upon-Thames.

Table 9 People who used underground or train as main (furthest) method of travel to work for workers who either lived or worked in Central London or workers who lived outside Central London, 2001

	Underground	U/G Stations	Residents or workers per station	Train	Train stations	Residents or workers per station
City of London	100,700	13	7,746	155,312	7	22,187
Camden	96,980	16	6,061	65,919	14	4,709
Hammersmith & Fulham	54,634	14	3,902	13,140	1	13,140
Islington	55,048	9	6,116	38,077	9	4,231
Kensington & Chelsea	53,829	12	4,486	15,687	2	7,844
Southwark	41,704	9	4,634	50,129	11	4,557
Tower Hamlets	67,088	28	2,396	41,478	3	13,826
Westminster	200,993	31	6,484	161,771	4	40,443
Central London	511,624	132	3,876	513,474	51	10,068
	Underground	U/G Stations	Residents per station	Train	Train stations	Residents per station
Barking & Dagenham	10,170	5	2,034	6,802	2	3,401
Barnet	32,732	13	2,518	7,007	5	1,401
Bexley	860	0	-	23,905	10	2,391
Brent	30,070	20	1,504	6,545	13	503
Bromley	2,734	0	-	37,961	26	1,460
Croydon	6,358	0	-	30,614	17	1,801
Ealing	32,917	14	2,351	5,984	12	499
Enfield	15,400	4	3,850	11,760	18	653
Greenwich	6,860	4	1,715	21,404	13	1,646
Hackney	14,120	2	7,060	4,722	11	429
Haringey	32,789	6	5,465	5,365	11	488
Harrow	18,848	10	1,885	4,066	5	813
Havering	7,887	4	1,972	17,724	6	2,954
Hillingdon	10,946	14	782	3,178	6	530
Hounslow	12,666	8	1,583	5,066	8	633
Kingston	1,785	0	-	13,704	10	1,370
Lambeth	37,944	8	4,743	17,585	14	1,256
Lewisham	9,875	4	2,469	31,965	20	1,598
Merton	18,539	5	3,708	15,037	10	1,504
Newham	25,653	16	1,603	7,736	12	645
Redbridge	23,978	10	2,398	9,414	4	2,354
Richmond	7,287	2	3,644	15,813	14	1,130
Sutton	3,085	0	-	12,899	9	1,433
Waltham Forest	26,311	4	6,578	8,849	9	983
Wandsworth	39,125	6	6,521	23,566	8	2,946
Outside Central London	428,939	159	2,698	348,671	273	1,277
London residents	612,756	291	2,106	377,720	324	1,166

Source: 2001 Census, Special Workplace Statistics SWS103 and Ordnance Survey

Table 9 shows areas that are mostly origins *and* destinations (Central London) and areas that are mostly origins (outside Central London) of underground or train commuters. There were 2,106 Londoners in work per underground station and 1,166 workers per train station on average. However, the averages per borough outside Central London vary significantly from

782 in Hillingdon to 7,060 in Hackney, for underground stations, and 429 in Hackney to 3,401 in Barking and Dagenham, for train stations. These figures are based on residents in the boroughs who travelled by underground or train. In Central London most of the commuters at the stations are not resident in that borough, but they commute into Central London. In Central London there were 512,000 people who either lived or worked there and used one of the 132 underground stations. This is almost 3,900 passengers per underground station. There were 514,000 train users who either lived or worked in Central London and 51 train stations. This equates to an average of 10,000 passengers per train station.

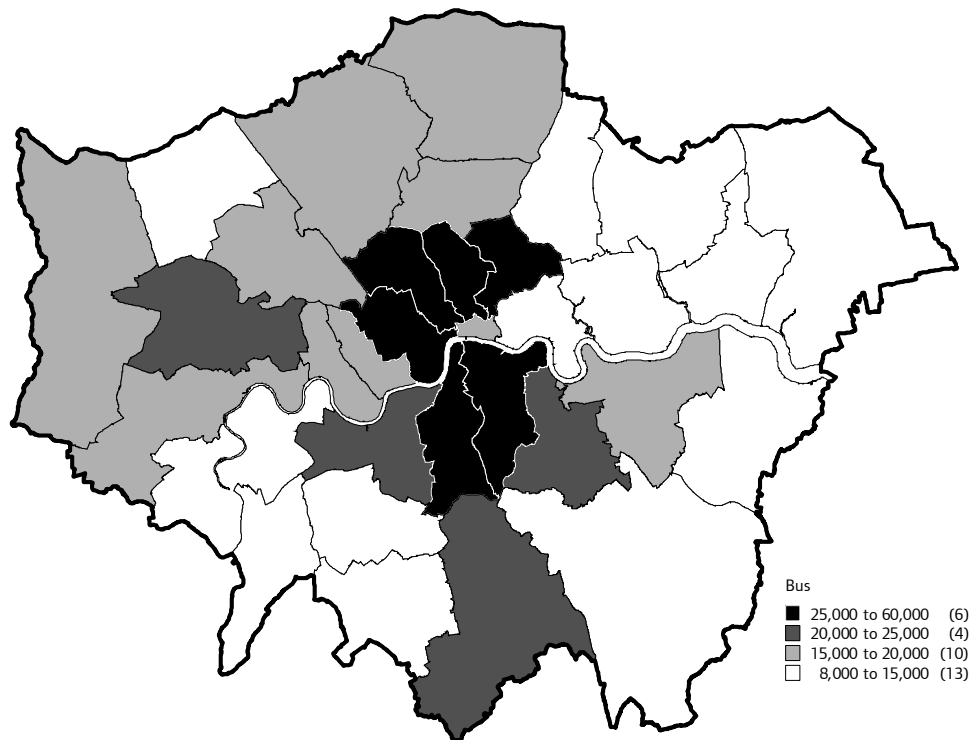
3.7 Bus

There were 389,699 commuters in London whose main method of travel was by bus. The total number of commuters who travel by bus in Inner London was slightly higher than Outer London (228,849 compared with 217,581). The bus was the main method of travel for just under ten per cent of commuters in London.

The borough with the most bus commuters was Westminster (54,930), followed by Southwark (32,691). The top six boroughs were in Inner London, and Croydon was the highest ranking Outer London borough. Neighbouring Sutton was the lowest ranking borough.

Hackney had the highest percentage of bus users (21 per cent of commuters), followed by Southwark (16 per cent) and Lewisham and Haringey (15 per cent). The City of London had the lowest percentage of commuters who used the bus (five per cent), while Tower Hamlets had the second lowest (seven per cent).

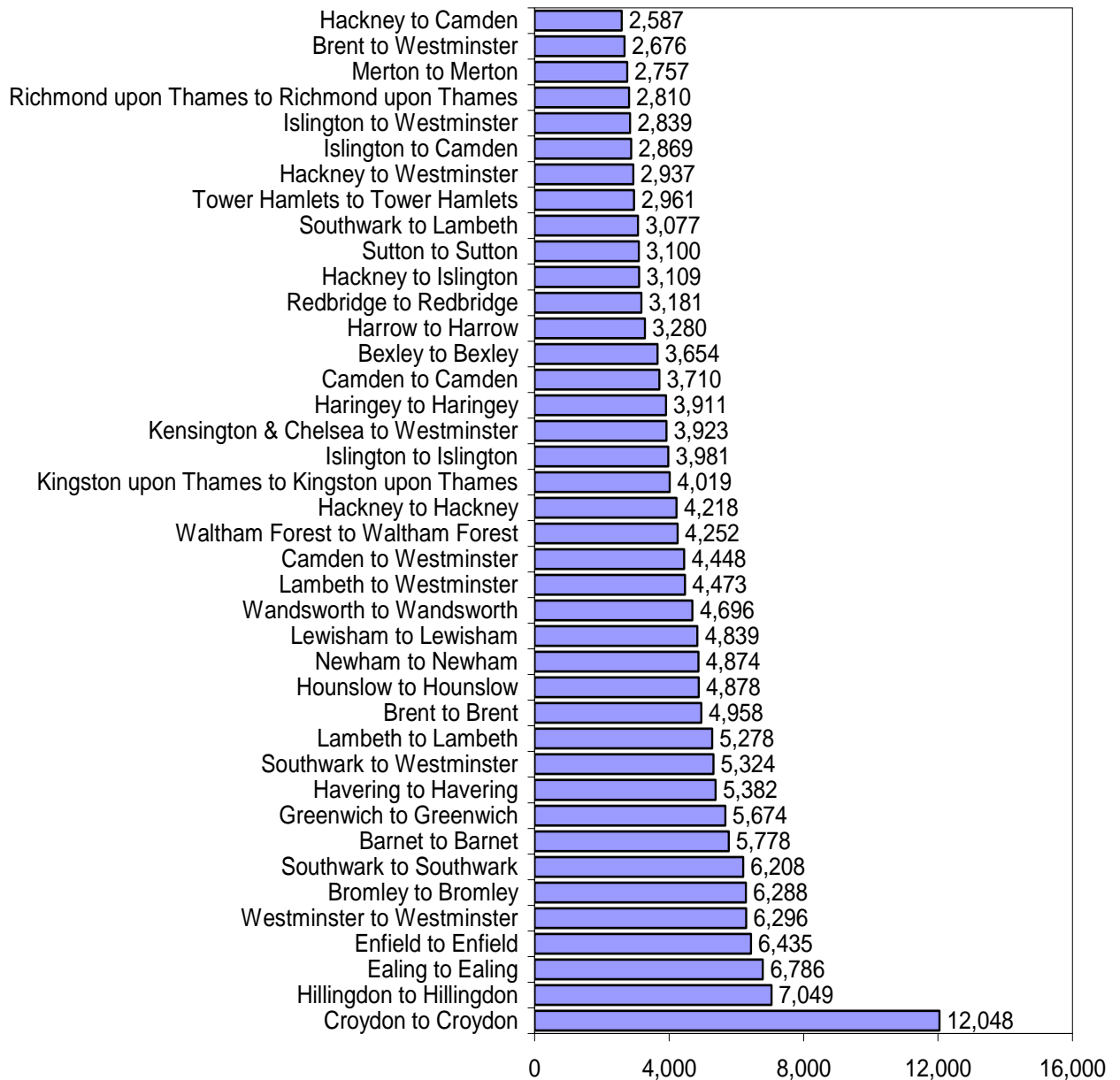
Map 15 Numbers of commuters who travelled by bus or coach by borough of workplace or residence



Source: 2001 Census, Special Workplace Statistics SWS103

By far the largest single flow of bus commuters was within Croydon (12,048) followed by commuters within Hillingdon (7,049). Furthermore, all of the top ten flows of bus commuters were within a borough rather than from one borough to another. The highest cross boundary flow was from Southwark to Westminster (5,324), followed by Lambeth to Westminster (4,473).

Figure 23 The top 40 flows of commuters to London boroughs where the main method of travel to work was bus, 2001



Source: 2001 Census, Special Workplace Statistics SWS103

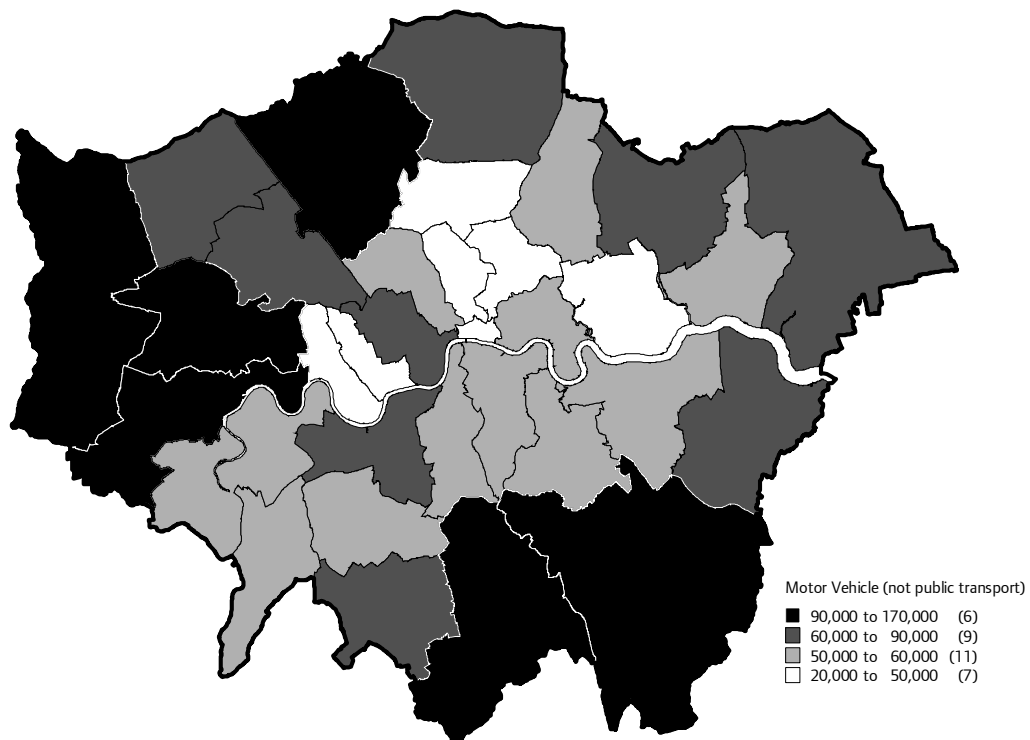
3.8 Car

There were almost 1.5 million commuters in London who drive a car or van to work (1,452,000). This was considerably more than the second most used method of travel, which was train (687,000). There were a further 101,000 commuters who were passengers in a car or van. The number of car drivers in Outer London was more than twice that in Inner London.

By far the highest number of commuters who drive to work was in Hillingdon (151,680). The area surrounding Heathrow Airport is a popular place of work for many workers and there may be little or no public transport to some of those workplaces. Furthermore, many of those commuters will be driving vehicles carrying goods. After Hillingdon there were four boroughs with similar numbers of car drivers, they were Hounslow (91,333), Croydon (90,731), Ealing, (90,309) and Barnet (90,056).

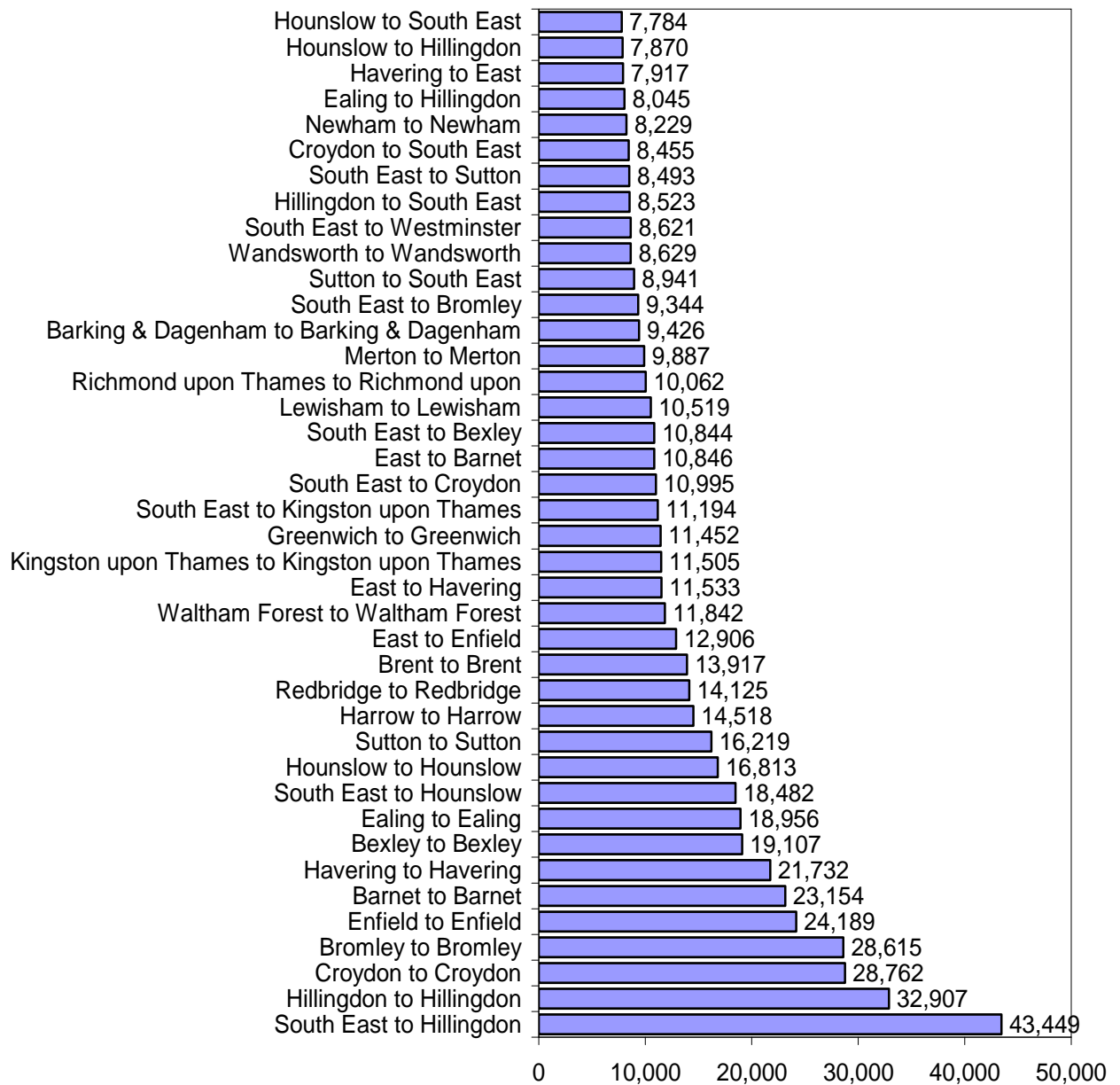
All the top 11 ranking boroughs as either origins or destinations for car drivers were in Outer London, with Westminster twelfth. Conversely, all of the bottom nine were in Inner London, with the City of London having the fewest (19,983) followed by Kensington and Chelsea (27,851). Westminster is a popular destination for drivers with over 60,000 people driving into the Borough to work, and even though most of the rest of Inner London is not so popular as a destination, those people driving to Westminster will have to pass through surrounding boroughs, which would increase the traffic flows in those boroughs.

Map 16 Numbers of commuters who travelled by car (driver or passenger), motorcycle or taxi by borough of workplace or residence



Source: 2001 Census, Special Workplace Statistics SWS103

Figure 24 The top 40 flows of commuters to London boroughs where the main method of travel to work was driving a car/van, 2001



Source: 2001 Census, Special Workplace Statistics SWS103

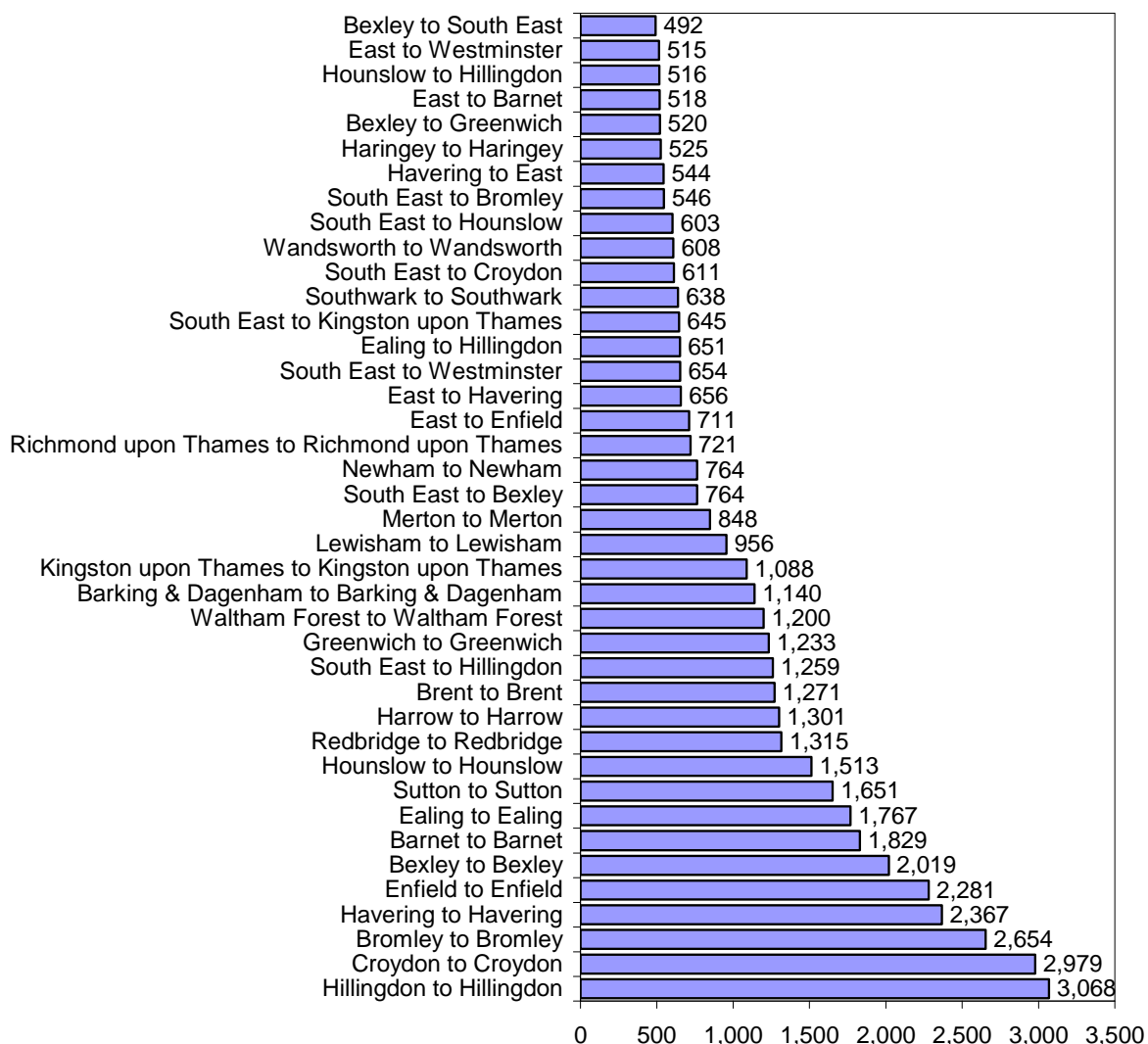
The two biggest flows of car drivers were to Hillingdon, with over 43,000 people from the South East region travelling to Hillingdon to work and almost 33,000 driving within the borough. Other than flows from either the South East or East region all of the top flows were within boroughs, indicating that many of the journeys by car were relatively short distances. Despite this only 28 per cent (414,000) of all journeys by car drivers in London were within the borough of residence. After Hillingdon come internal flows within the South East London boroughs of Croydon and Bromley, both with almost 29,000.

The top flow from one borough to another was Ealing to Hillingdon (8,045), the 37th highest flow overall, though Hounslow to Hillingdon was not far behind (7,870).

3.9 Car passengers

There is a very strong correlation between the flows of car drivers and flows of passengers within cars, though the number of drivers was more than 14 times higher than passengers, which means on average for every 14 vehicles carrying commuters in London, one of them will have a passenger in. The greatest flow of car passengers were within Hillingdon (3,068), followed closely by Croydon (2,979).

Figure 25 The top 40 flows of commuters to London boroughs where the main method of travel to work was passenger in a car/van, 2001



Source: 2001 Census, Special Workplace Statistics SWS103

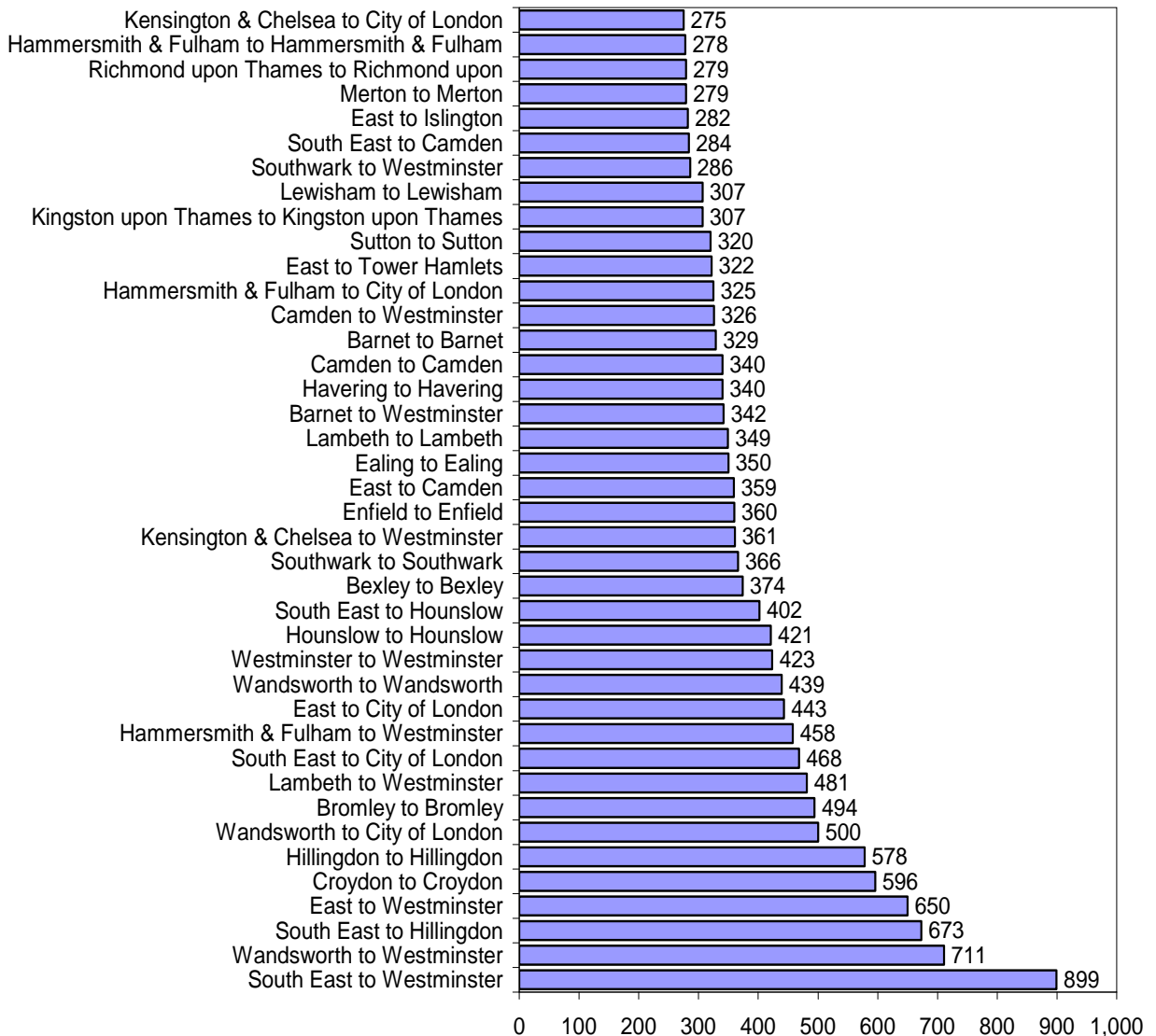
The ratio of passengers to drivers in flows to Central London were generally much higher than elsewhere. For example around one in five of vehicles from Hackney, Westminster, Kensington and Chelsea, Tower Hamlets, Islington and Southwark to the City of London contained a passenger, though the number of cars travelling into the City was relatively low.

Some boroughs had better car sharing rates than other. For example, one in eight car commuters within Barking and Dagenham had a passenger with them while Croydon, Bromley, Bexley, Greenwich, Havering and Waltham Forest the rate was one in ten. However, in Lambeth and Wandsworth it was closer to one in 14.

3.10 Motorcycle

The total number of motorcycle commuters in London was 58,333, with slightly more in Inner London than Outer London. The number of people who commute using a motorcycle was only four per cent of the number of car drivers in London. Despite this 23 per cent of motorcycle commuters nationally were in the capital, compared with 12 per cent of car drivers.

Figure 26 The top 40 flows of commuters to London boroughs where the main method of travel to work was motorcycle, scooter or moped, 2001



Source: 2001 Census, Special Workplace Statistics SWS103

By far the highest number of journeys by motorcycle were through Westminster (9,875), with the City of London (4,955), Camden (4,933) and Wandsworth (4,481) also having relatively high numbers.

Despite the relatively long distance, the largest single flow was from the South East region to Westminster (899), though Wandsworth to Westminster was the biggest flow within London (711). Many of the flows were between boroughs that are not adjacent to one another, again suggesting that motor-cyclists are likely to travel further than car drivers on average.

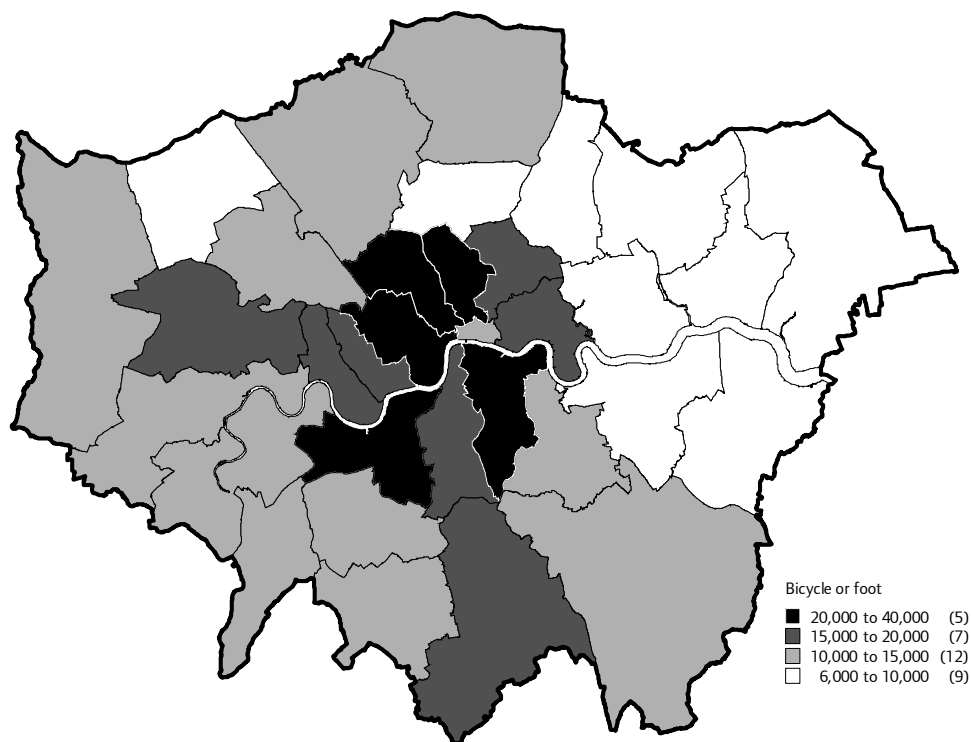
3.11 By bicycle or on foot

Over 80,000 people cycled to work in London, with the majority of those journeys in Inner London (58 per cent). The boroughs with the most cyclists were Westminster (11,951), Camden (8,277), Wandsworth (7,313) and Lambeth (7,190). The lowest ranking boroughs were Havering, Bexley, Redbridge and Bromley, all with fewer than 1,700.

There were over 285,000 people who walk to work in London. There was a very even split in numbers between Inner and Outer London. As with cycling, Westminster was top (27,366), followed by Camden (19,572) and Southwark (15,378). In Outer London, Croydon and Ealing had the highest numbers of walkers and cyclists (15,000). The boroughs of East London had fewer cyclists or walkers compared with West London (See Map 17).

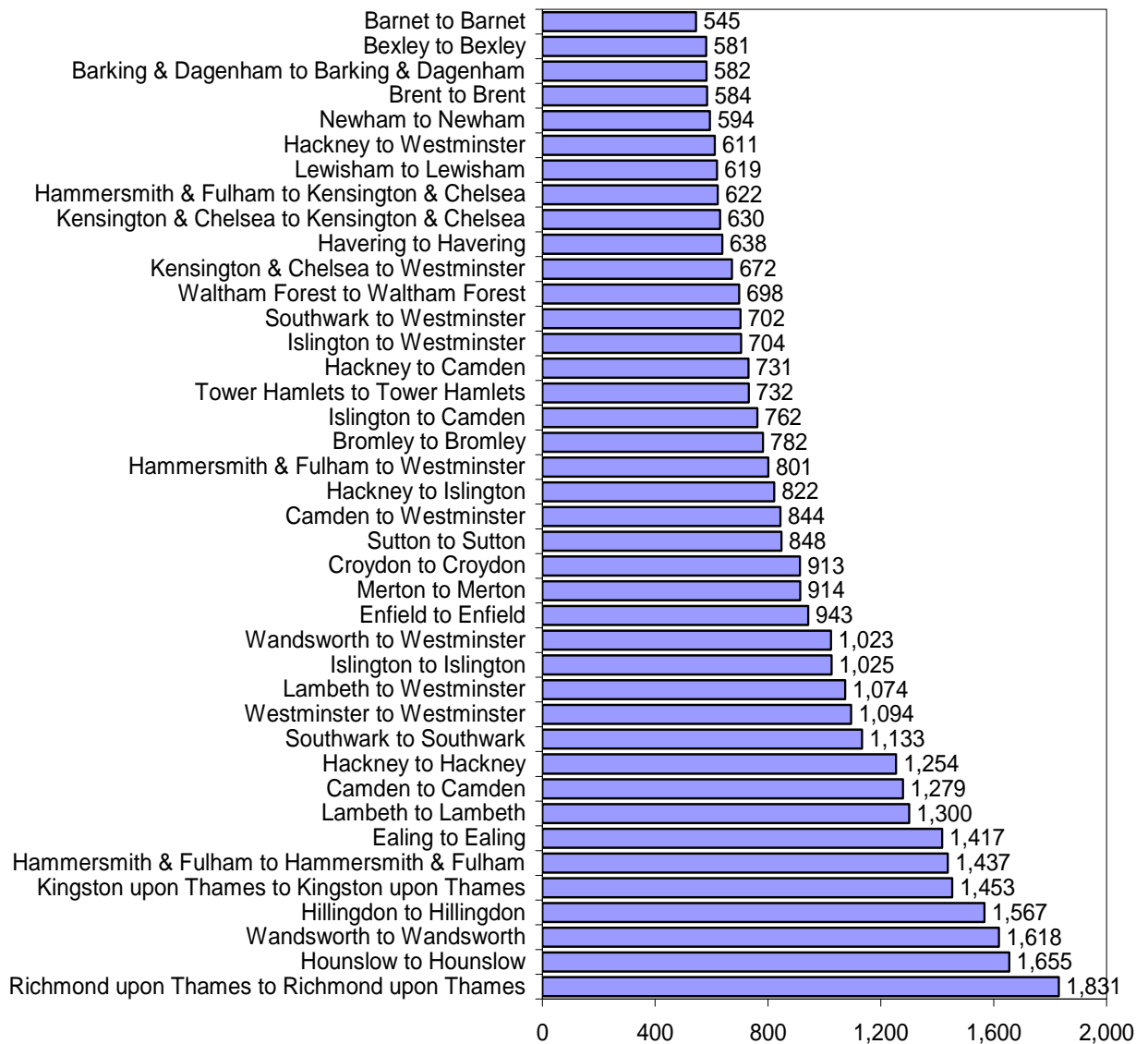
Although commuters on foot outnumber cyclists in every borough, the ratio in some was far closer than others. In five boroughs there was more than one cyclist for every two walkers. Hackney had the most cyclists per on foot commuter and Lambeth, Richmond, Wandsworth and Hammersmith and Fulham were also very high. Conversely some boroughs had around six times as many walkers than cyclists, including Harrow, Croydon, Havering and Bromley.

Map 17 Numbers of commuters who travelled by bicycle or on foot by borough of workplace or residence



Source: 2001 Census, Special Workplace Statistics SWS103

Figure 27 The top 40 flows of commuters to London boroughs where the main method of travel to work was bicycle, 2001

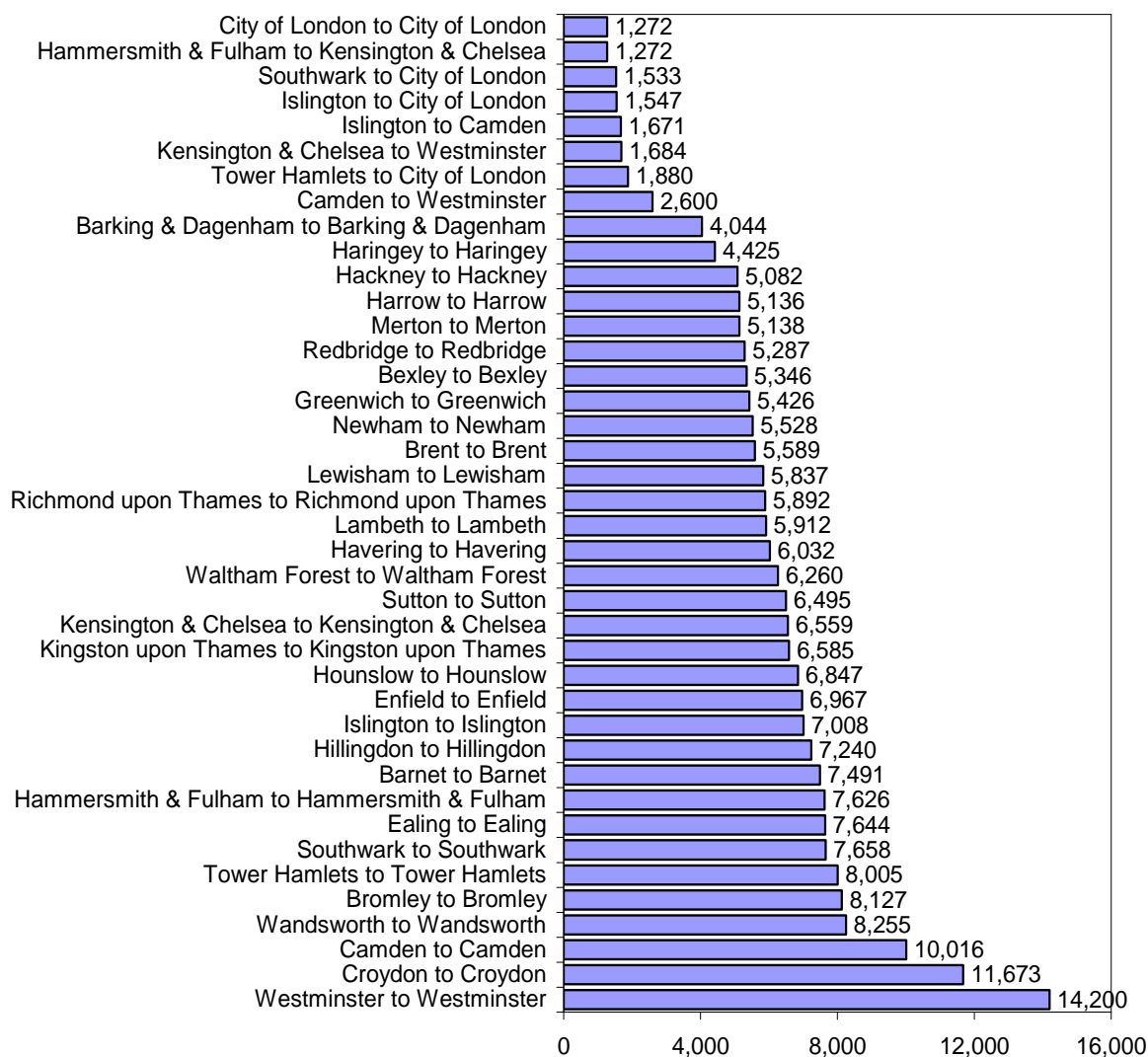


Source: 2001 Census, Special Workplace Statistics SWS103

The largest single flow of cyclists was within Richmond-upon-Thames (1,831). Most of the top flows were within boroughs. Numbers of commuters cycling to work within Hounslow (1,655) and Hillingdon (1,567) were also high. The highest number that was not within a borough was the thirteenth largest flow overall. This was Lambeth to Westminster (1,074), while Wandsworth to Westminster was the second highest flow for cross-boundary cyclists (1,023).

Westminster had the highest number of commuters on foot within it (14,200), though Croydon (11,673) and Camden (10,016) also stand out as having very high numbers. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the top 32 flows were all within boroughs. The only London Local Authority not in there was the City of London, due to the small number of residents in the City, though it still just about appears in the top 40 in the country. The numbers of flows between boroughs were considerably lower. The smallest flow within a borough was Barking and Dagenham (4,044), while the largest flow across a boundary was Camden to Westminster (2,600), which is significantly lower. See Figure 28.

Figure 28 The top 40 flows of commuters to London boroughs where the main method of travel to work was on foot, 2001



Source: 2001 Census, Special Workplace Statistics SWS103

3.12 Change in method of travel 1991 to 2001

There were around 330,000 more Londoners commuting (that is excluding working from home) in 2001 compared with 1991. The number of workers using the underground increased by 184,000 to 625,000, which was an increase of 42 per cent and an increase in share from 16 per cent to 21 per cent. The share of Londoners using the train increased by one percentage point, from 12 to 13 per cent. This was an increase of around 83,000 commuters (26 per cent) since 1991. Numbers using the bus increased by 39,000 over the period, but remained at 12 per cent.

The number of commuters driving cars fell slightly (-4,000) and its share fell from 41 per cent to 37 per cent. The numbers of London residents travelling to work as passengers in cars fell significantly (-20,000). However, this represents only a slight fall from four to three per cent of all Londoners who commute. The number of motorcyclists increased significantly, by 42 per cent (+14,000), though it still only represents two per cent of Londoners who commute, up from one per cent.

The number of cyclists increased by 18,000, (30 per cent) and in 2001 had a share of three per cent in London from two per cent. The number of people walking to work fell slightly (-3,000) in numbers and as a share of all commuters also fell from 10 per cent to 9 per cent (see Figure 29).

Since 1991, underground and train use have increased. For people who lived and worked within Inner London, underground was the main mode for 27 per cent in 1991, which increased to 34 per cent in 2001. Train use from outside London to London or from Outer London to Inner London has changed little proportionally, despite slight increases in numbers, though from Inner to Outer and from Outer London to outside London it has increased considerably. Numerically, Bus use increased but proportionally speaking in Inner London there was a slight fall, though there was an increase from Outer to Inner London and from Outer London to outside London. Proportionally, car use dropped even though numbers had increased. The number and percentage of people who travel as a passenger in a car had fallen. The use of a motorbike for travel to work has increased significantly and cycling within Inner London has increased though in Outer London has dropped a little. The number of walkers has increased though proportionally it has dropped in both Inner and Outer London.

Table 10 shows the changes in method of travel by workplace. The highest percentage of all methods of travel for men who commute to work in Inner London was for train commuters (30 per cent), the same as 1991. This was closely followed by underground, which increased from 21 to 26 per cent, and driving a car which fell from 32 to 24 per cent. Women working in Inner London were more likely to have used the Underground than men (30 per cent compared with 26 per cent), but less likely to have used the train (26 per cent compared with 30 per cent). Women were twice as likely to use the bus as men in Inner London, and even more so in Outer London. For workers in Outer London, driving a car was significantly the most likely mode of transport for both women and men. For men the percentage has dropped while more women were driving to work than in 1991. Women working in Outer London were more likely to walk to work or use the bus than in Inner London.

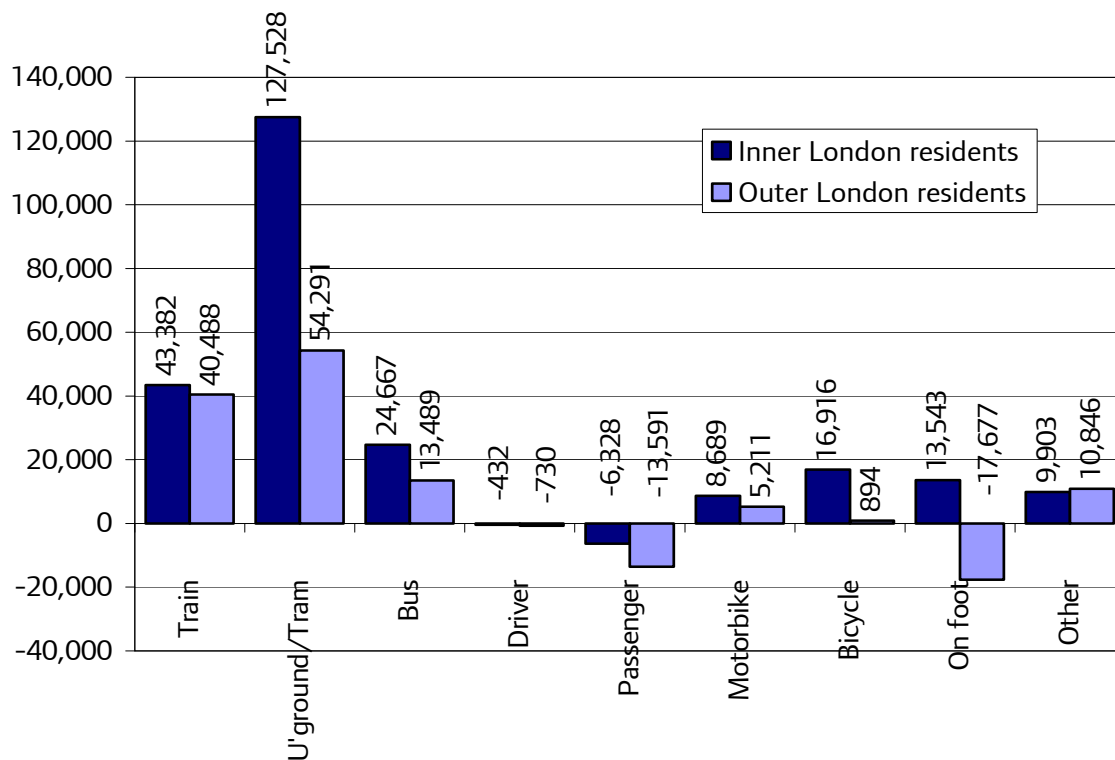
Table 10 Method of travel to work by sex and place of work 1991* to 2001

		U'ground / Tram	Train	Bus	Driving car	Passen- ger in car	Motor- cycle	Bicycle	On foot
Inner London									
Male	1991	21	30	7	32	2	2	2	5
Male	2001	26	30	7	24	1	3	3	6
Female	1991	26	28	14	17	3	0	1	10
Female	2001	30	26	14	17	2	0	2	9
Outer London									
Male	1991	4	5	7	69	4	2	3	7
Male	2001	6	7	8	64	3	2	3	7
Female	1991	4	4	17	49	7	0	2	17
Female	2001	5	5	16	54	5	0	1	13

*The numbers for 'not stated' in 1991 have been proportionally re-distributed across the categories to make the figures comparable with 2001.

Source: 1991 Census Table SWSb05 and 2001 Census Table ST129

Figure 29 Change in numbers of commuters 1991 to 2001 resident in Inner and Outer London by method of travel



Source: 1991 Census Table L82 and 2001 Census Table KS13

3.13 Change in travel to work 1991 to 2001 by borough of residence

At a borough level train use increased considerably for residents from Lambeth, Wandsworth, Croydon and Richmond, though it fell in Havering and Bexley. Numbers of underground or tram users increased significantly in Inner London (up by 128,000), while residents of Outer London were also using the underground/tram service more (up 54,000). The biggest increases were from Tower Hamlets, Lambeth, Wandsworth, Camden, Haringey and Southwark, though decreased for residents of Hillingdon. The biggest increases in bus users were in Hackney, Southwark and Lambeth, though Croydon saw a fall in the number of residents using the bus for travel to work.

Despite a fall in the number of car drivers in London, Ealing and Barking and Dagenham saw increases in numbers. The biggest falls were in Bromley and Wandsworth. All boroughs saw a drop in car passenger numbers though Croydon, Barnet and Enfield had the biggest falls. In contrast the numbers of motorcycle users increased in every borough other than Harrow and Newham where they remained about the same. The most significant increases of motorcyclist numbers were in Wandsworth, Lambeth and Hammersmith and Fulham. The numbers of cyclists stayed around the same in Outer London though it increased by 17,000 in Inner London. Cycling increased from Hackney and Lambeth most of all, though it fell most of all for residents of Hillingdon.

The number of people whose main method of travel was on foot increased in Inner London by 14,000 but decreased in Outer London by 18,000. The numbers on foot increased most of all in Tower Hamlets, Camden, Islington and Southwark, though fell in Enfield and Hillingdon.

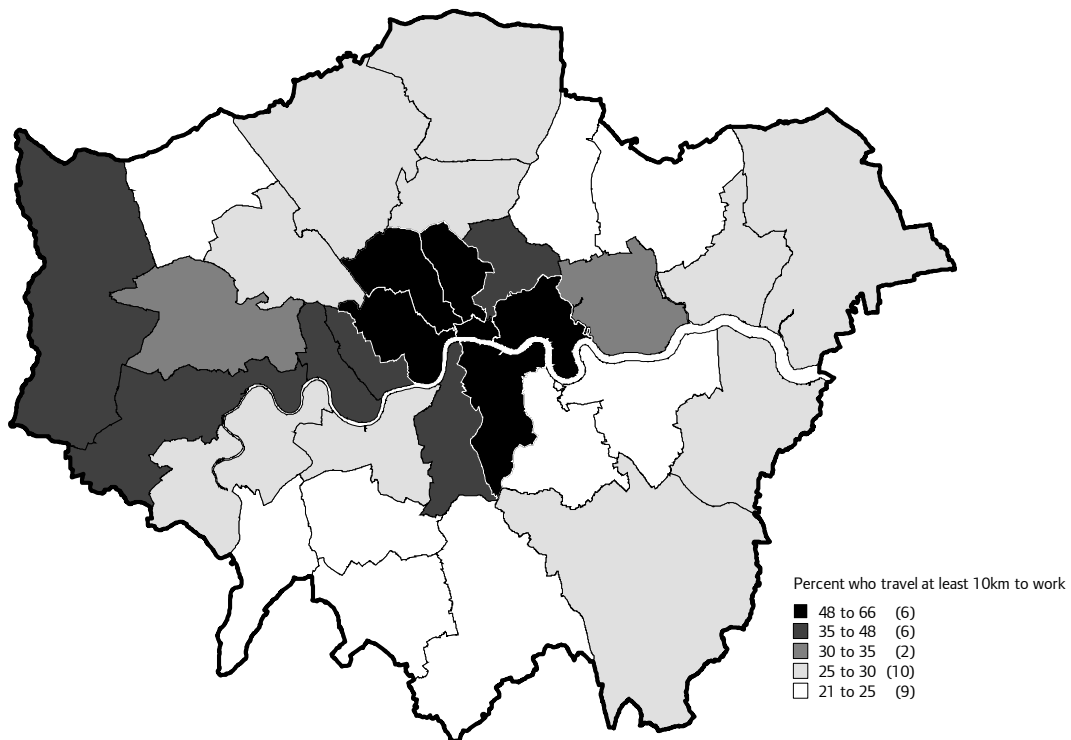
3.14 Distance Travelled to work

The average distance travelled for people who worked in London was 16.2km, which was greater than the national average of 12.2km. City workers travelled the furthest on average (25km) where one in five workers travelled over 40km compared with less than one in ten in London on average. Westminster was second highest with an average of 21km, though Tower Hamlets (20km) and Camden (19km) were only slightly less. Workers in Redbridge travelled the shortest distance to work (10km), though five other boroughs had the same average distance (Lewisham, Waltham Forest, Greenwich, Bexley and Enfield).

Around two-thirds (65 per cent) of workers in the City travelled over 10km. In Tower Hamlets 56 per cent of workers had a journey of over 10km. Sutton had the lowest percentage of workers travelling more than 10km (21 per cent). The London average was 42 per cent and the national average was 32 per cent.

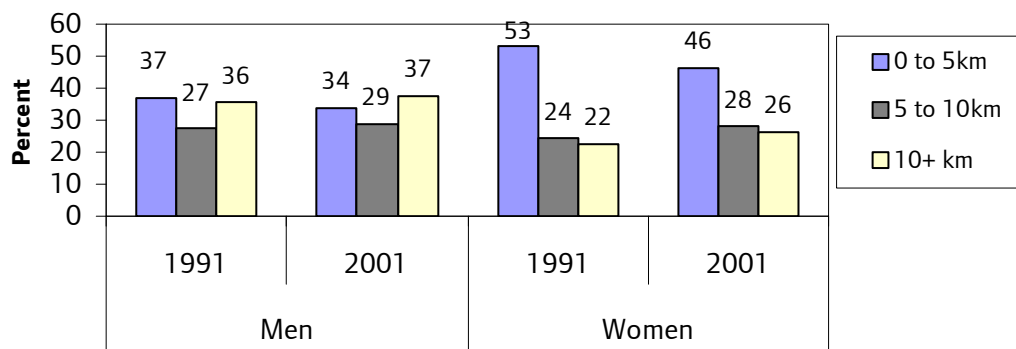
For workers resident in London, between 1991 and 2001 the percentage of women travelling short distances to work (less than 5km) decreased from 53 per cent to 46 per cent and among men from 37 per cent to 34 per cent. The percentage of women travelling over 10km increased from 22 per cent to 26 per cent, while the proportion for men increased slightly from 36 per cent to 37 per cent. Also, in Outer London 63 per cent of people travelled over 5km to work compared with 59 per cent in 1991, while in Inner London the figure was 55 per cent in 2001 compared with 48 per cent in 1991. So Londoners are travelling further to work.

Map 18 Percentage of workforce who travelled at least 10km to work, 2001



Source: 2001 Census, Standard Table ST129

Figure 30 Distance travelled to work of Londoners 1991 and 2001 by sex



Source: 1991 Census Table SWSA4 and 2001 Census, Standard Table ST129

3.15 Data limitations with the distance travelled to work data

There are two drawbacks with the Census data that have led to an over-estimation of the distances travelled to work. Firstly, the distance travelled is calculated between the main home residence and the main place of work. This means for people with a main place of residence that is not in London and a second home near to their place of work in London, the distance is calculated from their first home. Therefore, the Census records high numbers of people who walk a long way to work e.g. 35,000 people walk over 60km to work. In truth, they may only walk a short distance from their second home to work, but no data on second homes was collected in the Census. Also, some respondents filled in the Census incorrectly and stated their main method of travel as being the one that took them the longest time instead of the furthest distance. The results were never adjusted, despite some unusual patterns. These problems also affect all the other modes of transport, but not to the same degree as 'on foot'. Therefore, for the purposes of this report all people who were recorded to have walked over 10km to work have been taken out of the calculations, but none of the other methods of travel have been adjusted. However all of them may be slight over-estimates and any figures should be used for comparison purposes only.

3.16 Distance travelled by method of travel

On average commuters who worked in Inner London travelled around 50 per cent further than those who worked in Outer London (18.8km compared with 12.3km). This may be due to workers being more willing to travel further for better paid jobs.

Workers in London who commute by train travelled the longest distance on average (32km), though the average for Inner London (33km) was far greater than Outer (20km). It is worth noting that 87 per cent of all train commuters in London travelled to Inner London. This was very similar to the underground/tram where 88 per cent of London's commuters work in Inner London (see Figure 31). The average distance for a commuter whose primary method of travel was the underground was 12km.

Just over half of London's bus commuters work in Inner London (55 per cent), and the average distance travelled in Inner London was 8.9km compared with 6.6km in Outer London. The second longest distance travelled was by car. Car drivers who worked in London average a distance of 16km, slightly more than the national average (13km). Inner London drivers average 19km compared with 15km for those in Outer. However, car journeys by Outer London

residents outnumber those in Inner London by two to one. This is the same ratio for car passengers, though passengers travelled an average of 3km less than drivers.

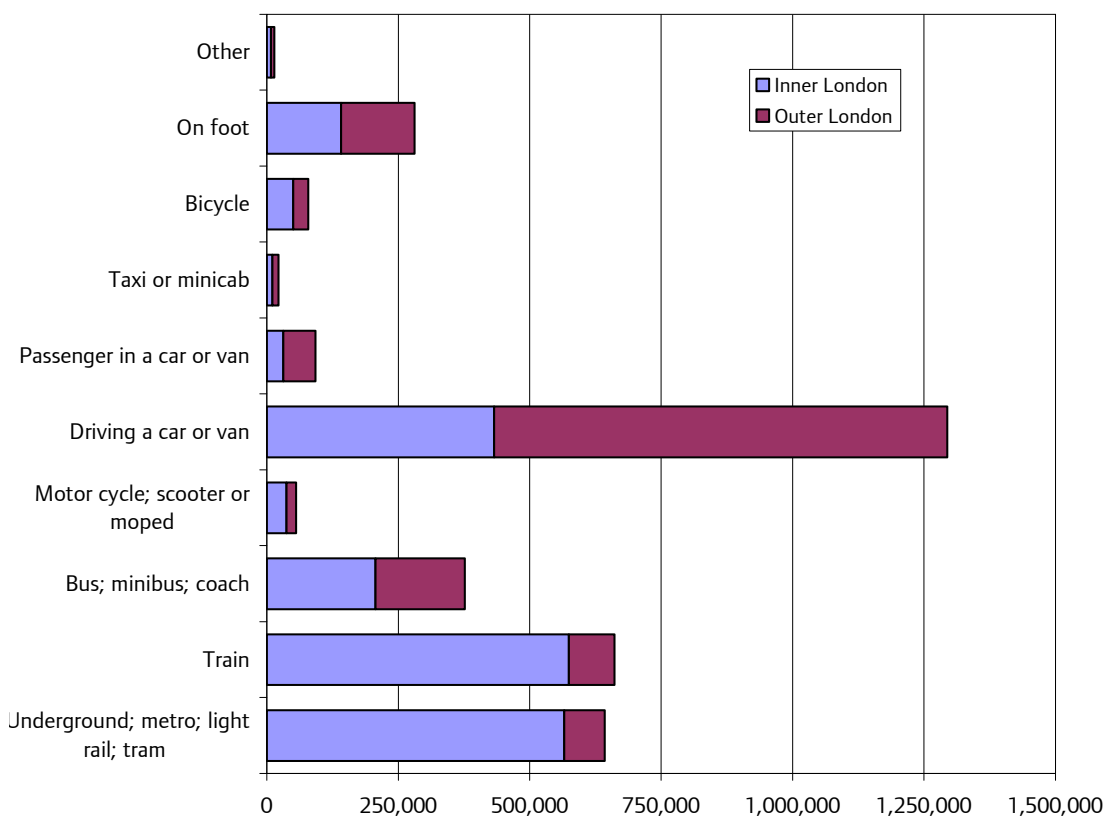
Table 11 Average distance travelled to work (km) by method of travel, by place of work, 2001

	London	Inner London	Outer London	Rest of E&W
All people	16.2	18.8	12.3	11.3
Underground; metro; light rail; tram	11.8	11.8	11.4	17.9
Train	31.9	33.4	20.1	25.2
Bus; minibus; coach	7.8	8.9	6.6	7.7
Motor cycle; scooter or moped	15.3	16.2	13.2	10.4
Driving a car or van	16.3	19.4	14.7	13.4
Passenger in a car or van	13.4	18.5	10.6	9.0
Bicycle	6.9	7.5	5.7	4.8
On foot	1.6	1.7	1.5	1.4

Source: 2001 Census, Standard Table ST129

The average distance travelled by cyclists in Inner London is 7.5km, which is further than Outer London (5.7km) and the national average (4.8km). Almost two thirds of cyclist commuters in the capital, work in Inner London. The average Londoner whose main method of travel is on foot, travels 1.6km, which was slightly further than the national average.

Figure 31 Split of commuters between Inner London and Outer London (workplace), by method of travel to work, 2001



Source: 2001 Census, Standard Table ST129

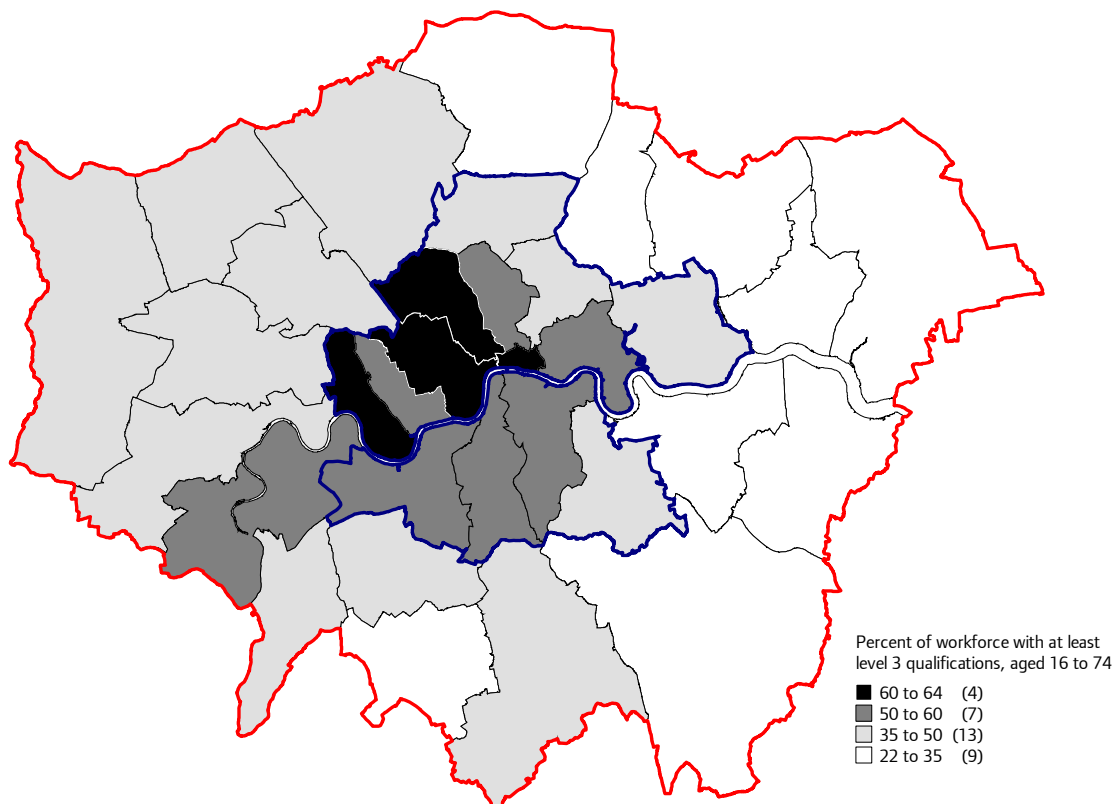
3.17 Qualifications and Socio-Economic Classification by distance travelled to work

If workers are more likely to commute further for better paid jobs, it seems likely that those commuters might also have higher levels of qualifications. Map 19 shows the percentage of workers in each borough with level 3 qualifications or higher (that is 2 A-levels or higher). There is a strong correlation between distance travelled and qualifications held - Spearman's co-efficient is +0.8 (where a perfect correlation is +1 and a no correlation is 0).

In London just under half (49 per cent) of workers hold level 3 qualifications or higher, though the percentage was considerably higher in Inner London (57 per cent) than Outer London (37 per cent). The national average was 33 per cent. City of London or Camden workers were the most likely to hold level 3 or higher qualifications (both 64 per cent), followed by Westminster (63 per cent) and Hammersmith and Fulham (62 per cent). The top nine boroughs were all in Inner London, with Richmond-upon-Thames tenth. In three boroughs less than a quarter (23 per cent) of workers hold level 3 or above qualifications, these were Barking and Dagenham, Havering and Bexley. The borough with the lowest percentage in Inner London was Newham (37 per cent).

Similarly, it seems more likely that people in higher socio-economic classifications would travel further to work. For example, 71 per cent of commuters from outside London to Inner London were in managerial or professional occupations compared with 58 per cent from outside London to Outer London. By way of comparison, 55 per cent of commuters who lived and worked in Inner London and 37 per cent within Outer London were in this category, compared with 58 per cent who travelled from Outer to Inner London.

Map 19 Percentage of workforce with at least level 3 qualifications, 2001



Source: 2001 Census, Standard Table ST131

3.18 Commuters to Inner London by NS-SEC

In order to give an indication of the type of workers who are commuting into London, it is useful to look at numbers by NS-SEC travelling into Inner London. Commuting from outside London to Inner London accounts for 58 per cent of all commuting to London, and 63 per cent of all commuting into London by people in managerial or professional occupations. Workers from the Home Counties to Outer London travelled shorter distances and were less likely to be in the top NS-SEC groups. Many of these people may be travelling very short distances just across the Greater London boundary. Therefore the commuting figures to Outer London reflect the proximity to the workplace rather than anything else. For example, flows for Kent to Bromley were high and Kent to Barnet were low, whereas Kent to anywhere in Central London is less affected by proximity factors.

Table 12 Percentage of people employed in broad NS-SEC groups in Inner London from counties in South East and East regions, 2001

Area	Total who worked in Inner London	Managerial & professional	Intermediate, small employers & lower supervisory	Routine, Semi-Routine & FTS*	Percent of the workforce who worked in Inner London	Percent of the workforce who worked in Outer London
Inner London	1,082,479	55	25	20	86	10
Outer London	667,189	58	28	14	32	59
Essex	97,089	62	31	8	16	7
Kent	61,982	64	29	7	10	6
Hertfordshire	60,283	73	22	6	12	9
Surrey	55,154	79	17	4	10	14
Buckinghamshire	17,990	80	16	4	7	7
Berkshire	15,026	80	15	4	4	6
Hampshire	14,219	81	15	4	2	1
East Sussex	13,156	78	17	4	6	2
West Sussex	13,039	79	17	4	4	2
Bedfordshire	12,039	71	23	6	6	3
Cambridgeshire	7,596	78	17	5	3	1
Oxfordshire	5,948	86	10	4	2	1
Suffolk	4,173	77	17	5	1	0.4
Norfolk	1,931	70	20	10	1	0.3
Isle of Wight UA	376	68	28	5	1	0.4
East Midlands	9,115	73	18	9	0.5	0.2
North East	1,795	52	24	24	0.2	0.1
North West	4,908	64	21	15	0.2	0.1
South West	10,470	76	17	7	0.5	0.3
Wales	2,173	65	22	13	0.2	0.1
West Midlands	5,896	71	17	12	0.3	0.2
Yorkshire & Humber	3,844	67	18	15	0.2	0.1

* FTS is full-time students

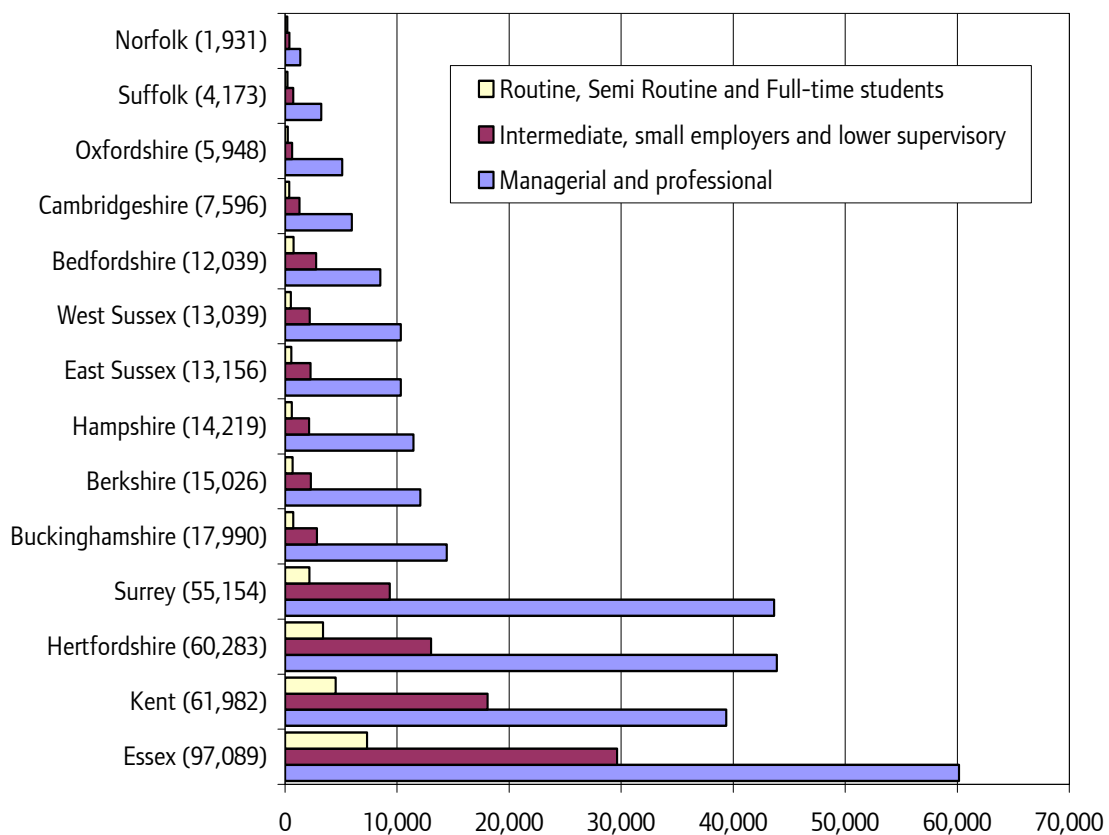
Source: 2001 Census, Table SWS104

There were 1,082,000 people who lived and worked in Inner London accounting for 86 per cent of all the people in employment resident in Inner London. Around 667,000 people from Outer London work in Inner London which makes up 32 per cent of those in employment. In comparison 16 per cent of all people in work from Essex work in Inner London (97,100). This was the highest of any county. Hertfordshire was second highest (12 per cent), while Kent and Surrey both had one in ten workers employed in Inner London.

Inner London had 36 per cent more commuters from the East and South East regions than Outer London. However, around 14 per cent of Surrey's workforce were employed in Outer London, considerably higher than any other county and more than work in Inner London. Hertfordshire (nine per cent), Essex and Buckinghamshire (seven per cent) were next highest. See Table 12.

Essex had the highest number of commuters in managerial or professional occupations (60,100), significantly more than from Hertfordshire (43,900) or Surrey (43,700), which were next highest. However, in percentage terms Essex had the lowest proportion in managerial or professional occupations of any county in the East or South East regions at 62 per cent. In contrast more than four in five commuters to Inner London from Oxfordshire, Hampshire, Berkshire and Buckinghamshire were managers or professionals.

Figure 32 Numbers of commuters to Inner London from counties in South East and East regions, 2001



Source: 2001 Census, Table SWS104

Around 31 per cent of workers from Essex were in Intermediate, small employers & lower supervisory occupations, the highest of any county. Given that the overall numbers from Essex were much higher than other counties, the numbers in this NS-SEC were considerably higher than for any other county at 29,700, though Kent was second highest (18,100). Given the high numbers of commuters it is no surprise that Essex had the highest numbers in routine, semi-routine and full-time student categories (7,300). This was eight per cent of the commuters though this was the second highest to Norfolk (ten per cent), where the numbers were far lower (see Figure 32).

4.0 Ethnic Group

The workplace commuting table (Table 13) shows data by aggregated ethnic group. The ethnic categories are 7 sub-groups rather than the usual 16 in the Census Standard Tables, because of small numbers and the risk of disclosure of information about individuals.

There were almost 3.1 million Londoners in work in London in 2001 and over 2.3 million (76 per cent) of these were in a White ethnic group. Around 290,000 (nine per cent) were in Black ethnic groups, 190,000 were Indian (six per cent) and 120,000 Pakistani and Other South Asian (four per cent). See Table 13.

The percentage of workers in the White ethnic group ranges from 53 per cent in Brent to 92 per cent in Havering. The highest percentage of Indian workers were in Brent and Harrow (20 per cent), while the highest percentage of Pakistani and Other South Asian workers were in Newham (11 per cent). People from Black ethnic groups were most likely to be employed in Lambeth (19 per cent), Lewisham and Hackney (18 per cent).

Table 13 shows that around a fifth of all the workers who worked outside their borough of residence work in Westminster. However, there are different figures across each of the ethnic groups. For the White group it was 20 per cent but the Asian ethnic groups in particular were lower than average. Around 14 per cent of Indians and 16 per cent of Pakistanis and Other South Asians were employed in Westminster. The Chinese (23 per cent) and 'Other' ethnic groups (25 per cent) had above average percentages commuting to Westminster.

There was a similar pattern in the City of London albeit with an overall lower percentage of London's workers employed there. On average 12 per cent of inter-borough commuters travelled to the City. Again the White, Chinese and 'Other' ethnic groups had greater than average proportions working there, while Black, Indian, Pakistani and other Asian groups had lower percentages.

An Indian worker was less likely than average to commute to Westminster and the City of London but more likely to travel to Hillingdon, Ealing, Brent and Harrow, while a Pakistani or Other South Asian worker was more likely than average to travel to Hillingdon and Ealing in particular. Lambeth was a more popular destination than average among Black people. However, in these three ethnic groups commuters were spread more evenly around London boroughs than commuters from White, Chinese and 'Other' ethnic groups, which were more concentrated in Central London workplaces.

Table 13 Numbers of London residents in employment by workplace and ethnic group, 2001

	All	White	Indian	Pakistan and Other South Asian	Chin'se	Carib'n African and Other Black	Mixed	Other
City of London	212,039	174,814	9,544	4,981	2,847	12,263	3,895	3,695
Barking and Dagenham	42,742	35,248	2,536	1,483	255	2,681	364	175
Barnet	90,299	66,424	9,312	3,312	1,336	6,494	1,736	1,685
Bexley	52,957	48,197	1,612	563	365	1,639	418	163
Brent	79,187	41,795	15,653	6,078	950	11,739	1,661	1,311
Bromley	88,845	80,119	1,599	1,279	601	3,745	1,075	427
Camden	184,336	143,485	7,749	6,699	2,333	16,817	4,265	2,988
Croydon	109,460	82,726	6,567	4,111	810	12,110	2,357	779
Ealing	96,288	60,506	15,777	6,534	995	8,555	2,105	1,816
Enfield	72,833	57,517	3,283	2,494	578	7,103	1,242	616
Greenwich	57,678	46,116	2,789	1,407	540	5,559	903	364
Hackney	63,719	43,771	2,657	2,485	787	11,545	1,575	899
Hammersmith & Fulham	86,997	68,162	3,408	2,492	893	8,518	2,095	1,429
Haringey	56,611	38,877	2,576	2,492	658	9,819	1,431	758
Harrow	55,764	35,924	11,140	3,270	633	3,297	996	504
Havering	60,557	55,702	1,416	856	338	1,506	525	214
Hillingdon	113,262	82,956	16,179	5,309	881	4,645	1,865	1,427
Hounslow	82,495	58,587	11,651	4,189	669	4,379	1,662	1,358
Islington	113,051	86,883	4,734	3,451	1,409	12,532	2,554	1,488
Kensington and Chelsea	90,289	69,278	3,079	3,064	1,217	8,332	2,259	3,060
Kingston upon Thames	50,431	42,714	1,886	1,952	581	1,600	835	863
Lambeth	97,956	68,310	3,231	2,674	970	19,068	2,625	1,078
Lewisham	59,532	43,384	1,530	1,562	594	10,761	1,254	447
Merton	57,222	45,334	2,280	2,982	653	4,262	1,092	619
Newham	59,151	34,069	6,506	6,627	511	9,621	1,127	690
Redbridge	58,691	42,534	6,241	3,961	467	4,250	832	406
Richmond upon Thames	57,139	49,750	2,434	1,330	521	1,533	931	640
Southwark	116,201	85,491	3,619	3,034	1,244	19,258	2,504	1,051
Sutton	54,848	47,528	1,703	1,417	406	2,561	823	410
Tower Hamlets	122,065	89,160	5,876	10,765	1,612	11,079	2,350	1,223
Waltham Forest	52,710	37,253	2,428	4,109	407	7,000	971	542
Wandsworth	87,989	65,822	3,231	3,628	869	11,151	1,967	1,321
Westminster	399,636	313,009	16,762	12,594	5,434	34,609	9,232	7,996
London	3,082,980	2,341,445	190,988	123,184	33,364	290,031	61,526	42,442

Source: 2001 Census, Special Workplace Statistics SWS106

Table 14 Percentage of all Londoners who worked outside their borough of residence employed in each borough, by ethnic group, 2001

	All	White	Indian	Pakist'ni & Other South Asian	Chinese	Caribb'n African & Other Black	Mixed	Other
Westminster	20	20	14	16	23	18	21	25
City of London	12	13	9	7	14	7	10	14
Camden	8	8	6	7	9	8	9	8
Tower Hamlets	5	5	5	7	5	5	5	4
Islington	5	5	4	4	5	6	5	4
Southwark	4	4	3	3	4	6	4	2
Kensington and Chelsea	4	4	2	4	5	4	4	7
Lambeth	3	3	2	3	3	6	4	3
Hammersmith and Fulham	3	3	3	3	3	3	4	4
Hillingdon	3	2	9	5	2	2	3	3
Wandsworth	3	2	2	3	2	4	3	3
Ealing	2	2	6	4	2	2	2	3
Hounslow	2	2	4	2	2	2	2	2
Hackney	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	2
Brent	2	2	5	3	3	2	2	2
Croydon	2	2	1	2	1	2	2	1
Barnet	2	1	4	2	2	2	2	2
Haringey	2	1	1	2	1	3	2	1
Newham	2	1	2	3	1	2	1	1
Merton	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bromley	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Lewisham	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1
Greenwich	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Richmond upon Thames	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Redbridge	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1
Enfield	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Harrow	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1
Barking and Dagenham	1	1	2	2	1	1	0	0
Waltham Forest	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1
Kingston upon Thames	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Sutton	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
Havering	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0
Bexley	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Percent of all Londoners in employment	100	75.9	6.2	4.0	1.1	9.4	2.0	1.4
Percent of all Londoners aged 16 to 74	100	72.6	6.3	5.5	1.2	10.4	2.2	1.7

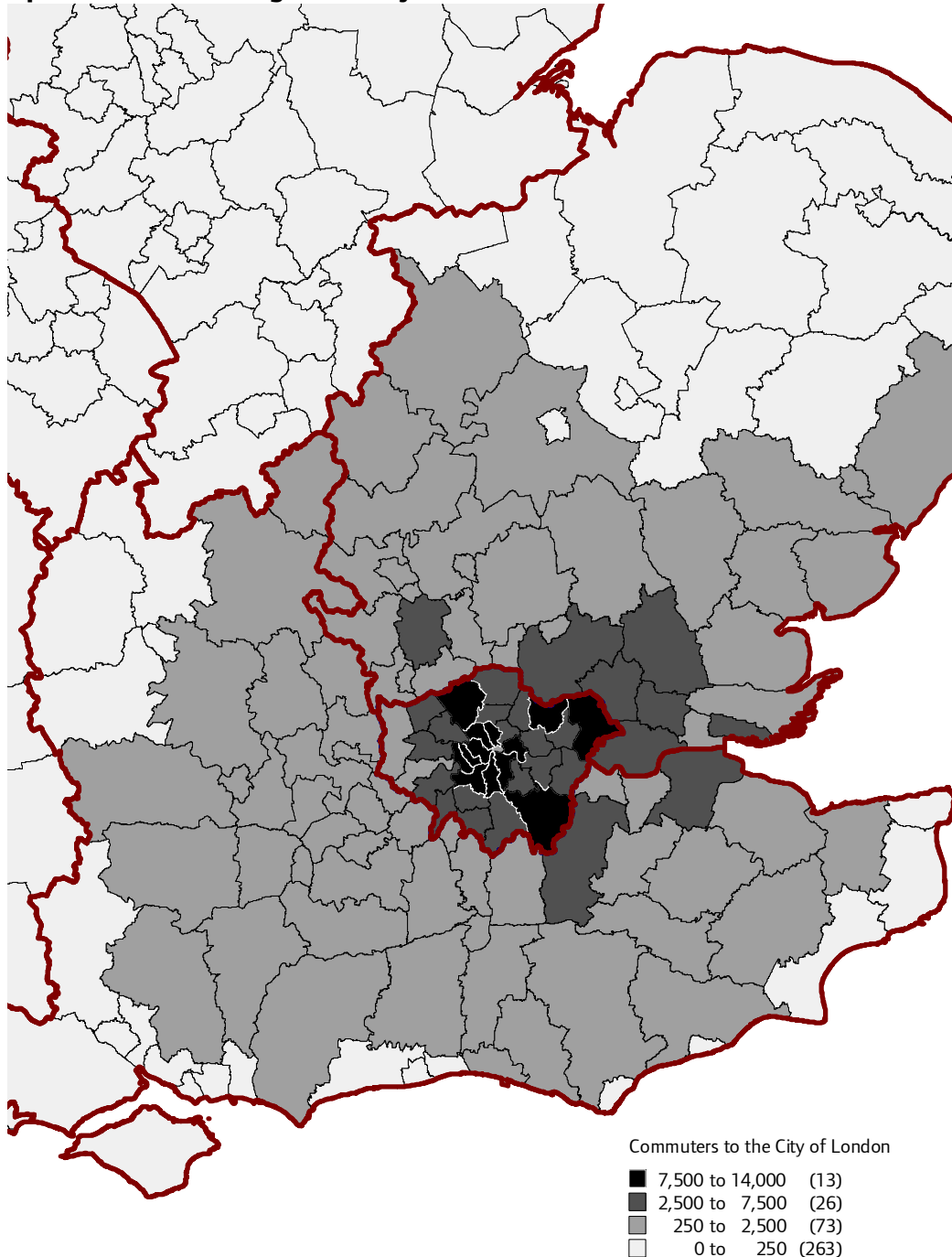
Source: 2001 Census, Special Workplace Statistics SWS106

5.0 Focus on commuters to the City of London and Westminster

5.1 District of residence for City of London workers

Just over two thirds (68 per cent) of City workers were resident in London. The biggest origin for City workers was Wandsworth, which was the borough of residence for 13,935 City workers. This accounts for 4.5 per cent of all workers there. Tower Hamlets (10,104), Kensington and Chelsea (10,098) and Bromley (9,855), all account for 3.2 per cent of the workforce in the City. The top 23 origins were all in London, and Basildon was the top district from outside London (4,968). Other top origins outside London were Chelmsford (4,189), Epping Forest (3,668) and St. Albans (2,895).

Map 20 District of origin for City of London workers

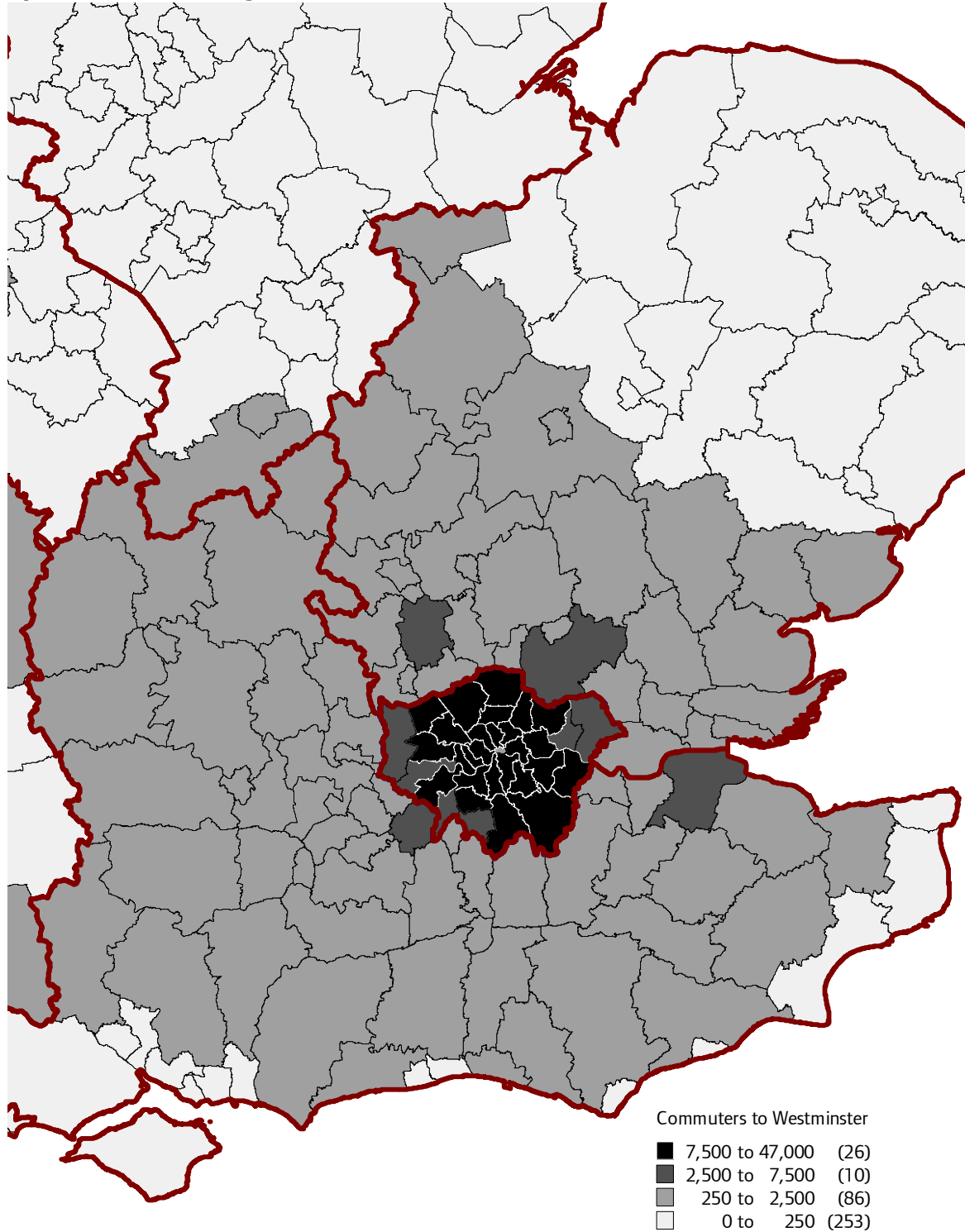


Source: 2001 Census, Special Workplace Statistics SWS103

5.2 District of residence for Westminster workers

Westminster itself was the main origin of workers in Westminster (46,254), and it accounts for over nine per cent of the total workforce. Second highest was Wandsworth (24,409), closely followed by Lambeth (24,349), both home to 4.8 per cent of Westminster's workers. The vast majority (78 per cent) of those employed in Westminster, come from London boroughs.

Map 21 District of origin for Westminster workers



Source: 2001 Census, Special Workplace Statistics SWS103

Table 15 The top origins for workers in the City of London, Westminster and the rest of Central London

	City of London		Westminster		Rest of Central London	
Wandsworth	13,942	Westminster	46,254	Southwark	52,551	
Tower Hamlets	10,112	Wandsworth	24,411	Camden	48,046	
Kensington & Chelsea	10,097	Lambeth	24,347	Islington	43,241	
Bromley	9,851	Camden	18,829	Tower Hamlets	39,649	
Lambeth	9,688	Southwark	16,503	Kensington & Chelsea	35,382	
Westminster	9,519	Brent	16,412	Lambeth	28,293	
Southwark	9,036	Barnet	16,330	Wandsworth	24,873	
Camden	8,798	Kensington & Chelsea	15,946	Haringey	24,552	
Havering	8,347	Hammersmith & Fulham	15,300	Lewisham	24,477	
Redbridge	8,201	Ealing	13,970	Barnet	23,996	
Hammersmith & Fulham	7,967	Lewisham	13,729	Hackney	23,411	
Islington	7,933	Haringey	13,477	Newham	19,257	
Barnet	7,718	Islington	12,835	Westminster	18,510	
Lewisham	7,250	Bromley	12,790	Brent	17,790	
Bexley	6,570	Croydon	10,579	Waltham Forest	17,744	
Waltham Forest	6,344	Waltham Forest	10,315	Bromley	16,562	
Merton	6,052	Merton	10,154	Redbridge	16,330	
Croydon	5,925	Hackney	9,981	Hammers'th & Fulham	16,189	
Greenwich	5,612	Tower Hamlets	9,307	Enfield	15,407	
Haringey	5,521	Enfield	9,054	Greenwich	14,542	
Enfield	5,224	Greenwich	8,849	Ealing	13,188	
Hackney	5,179	Newham	8,557	Croydon	13,007	
Newham	5,010	Richmond upon Thames	8,345	Bexley	12,114	
Basildon	4,966	Redbridge	8,118	Havering	10,712	
Ealing	4,864	Harrow	7,885	Merton	10,556	
Richmond upon Thames	4,831	Bexley	7,690	Barking & Dagenham	8,296	
Chelmsford	4,192	Hounslow	5,923	Harrow	8,106	
Brent	4,156	Kingston upon Thames	5,412	Richmond 'on Thames	7,664	
Thurrock	3,747	Hillingdon	5,063	Hounslow	5,732	
Epping Forest	3,669	Sutton	4,700	Epping Forest	5,429	
Barking & Dagenham	3,639	Havering	4,691	Sutton	5,295	
Southend-on-Sea	3,575	Elmbridge	3,372	Kingston 'on Thames	4,955	
Harrow	3,155	Barking & Dagenham	3,280	Basildon	4,429	
St. Albans	2,887	Medway	3,097	Hillingdon	4,414	
Kingston upon Thames	2,874	St. Albans	2,810	Thurrock	4,243	
Medway	2,695	Epping Forest	2,804	Medway	4,072	
Brentwood	2,694	Sevenoaks	2,468	St. Albans	3,800	
Sevenoaks	2,654	Hertsmere	2,356	Chelmsford	3,399	
Sutton	2,559	Three Rivers	1,967	Sevenoaks	3,191	
Elmbridge	2,423	Chiltern	1,949	Hertsmere	3,126	
Castle Point	2,375	Reigate and Banstead	1,906	Elmbridge	2,884	
Rochford	2,358	Basildon	1,778	Dartford	2,806	
East Hertfordshire	2,348	Epsom and Ewell	1,769	Southend-on-Sea	2,769	
Hounslow	2,339	Thurrock	1,746	East Hertfordshire	2,718	
City of London	2,064	East Hertfordshire	1,745	Broxbourne	2,543	
Braintree	2,026	Dartford	1,740	Brentwood	2,472	
Tunbridge Wells	1,806	Dacorum	1,739	Brighton and Hove	2,142	
Colchester	1,770	Brighton and Hove	1,731	Reigate and Banstead	2,107	

Source: 2001 Census, Special Workplace Statistics SWS103

The top 31 districts were all in London, though Barking and Dagenham, the lowest borough, is just behind Elmbridge, while the City of London was far lower down the ranking due to its relatively small resident population. In terms of commuters coming into Westminster from other London boroughs, there was almost a 50/50 split between Inner and Outer London – though on average there were more workers per Inner London borough because there are only 14 of them compared with 19 Outer London boroughs. Other top districts outside London include Medway (3,104), St. Albans (2,810), Epping Forest (2,800), Sevenoaks (2,460) and Hertsmere (2,358), all with over two thousand Westminster workers resident there.

5.3 Workers in the City by borough

The highest number of City of London workers come from Wandsworth (13,941) where one in ten people in work commute to the City. However, there were eight boroughs where at least one in ten workers were employed in the City. Despite Wandsworth having the highest number of City workers, the highest percentage (not including the City itself) was from Tower Hamlets (14 per cent), closely followed by Kensington and Chelsea (13 per cent). Both the lowest number and percentage of workers to the City were from Hillingdon where 1,664 workers were just one per cent of employed people in that borough.

5.4 Workers in Westminster by borough

More than one in five (21 per cent) workers from Kensington and Chelsea work in Westminster. This was just slightly more than from Camden (20 per cent). There were 20 boroughs where at least one in ten workers were employed in Westminster and 17 boroughs with at least 10,000 Westminster workers resident there. Hillingdon and Havering had the lowest percentage (four per cent), while the City (606) and Barking and Dagenham (3,283) had the lowest numbers (see Table 16).

5.5 Managers and professionals

The Census provides data on the NS-SEC (National Statistics-Socio-Economic Classification) for commuters by their borough of residence and their borough of work. The top classification in the NS-SEC is 'managerial and professional occupations'. There were large variations by borough of the proportions of workers who were managers and professionals working in the City and Westminster. For all Londoners who worked in the City, 71 per cent were managers or professionals. However, this varies from 41 per cent of City workers from Barking and Dagenham to 91 per cent from Kensington and Chelsea.

The data shows that not only do fewer people work in the City from certain boroughs, but also different percentages of those workers were in the top professions. For example, all of the boroughs with fewer than 70 per cent of workers in managerial and professional occupations also had less than ten per cent of their workforce employed in the City. On the other hand, five out of six boroughs with more than 84 per cent of their workforce in the top occupations had over ten per cent of their workforce employed in the City (the exception being Richmond).

Outside London, 80 per cent of City commuters from the South East were in managerial or professional occupations compared with 70 per cent from the East region, which was about the same as the London average.

Table 16 The percentage of employed people resident in each borough who worked in the City of London or Westminster, 2001

	City of London		Westminster	
	Workers	% working in City	Workers	% working in Westminster
City of London	2,065	48	606	14
Barking and Dagenham	3,641	6	3,283	5
Barnet	7,714	5	16,330	11
Bexley	6,577	6	7,691	7
Brent	4,152	3	16,412	14
Bromley	9,856	7	12,791	9
Camden	8,801	10	18,829	20
Croydon	5,919	4	10,581	7
Ealing	4,867	3	13,970	10
Enfield	5,218	4	9,057	7
Greenwich	5,617	6	8,850	10
Hackney	5,183	7	9,981	13
Hammersmith and Fulham	7,963	10	15,301	18
Haringey	5,521	6	13,477	14
Harrow	3,156	3	7,885	8
Havering	8,344	8	4,692	4
Hillingdon	1,664	1	5,063	4
Hounslow	2,349	2	5,922	6
Islington	7,925	10	12,835	16
Kensington and Chelsea	10,099	13	15,946	21
Kingston upon Thames	2,875	4	5,416	7
Lambeth	9,691	7	24,347	19
Lewisham	7,246	6	13,729	12
Merton	6,048	6	10,154	11
Newham	5,010	6	8,556	10
Redbridge	8,205	8	8,119	8
Richmond upon Thames	4,832	5	8,334	9
Southwark	9,039	8	16,503	15
Sutton	2,556	3	4,694	5
Tower Hamlets	10,111	14	9,307	13
Waltham Forest	6,343	6	10,313	11
Wandsworth	13,941	10	24,409	17
Westminster	9,519	11	46,254	52
London	212,047	6	399,637	12

Source: 2001 Census, Special Workplace Statistic SWS104

Table 17 Percentage of commuters to City of London and Westminster who were managers and professionals*, 2001

	City of London		Westminster	
	Managers and professionals	Percent of all workers from area in category	Managers and professionals	Percent of all workers from area in category
City of London	1,547	75	485	80
Barking and Dagenham	1,475	41	1,304	40
Barnet	5,921	77	10,430	64
Bexley	3,316	50	3,606	47
Brent	2,663	64	8,256	50
Bromley	6,988	71	7,746	61
Camden	7,430	84	11,991	64
Croydon	4,040	68	6,309	60
Ealing	3,649	75	8,918	64
Enfield	3,311	63	5,018	55
Greenwich	3,521	63	4,784	54
Hackney	3,106	60	5,479	55
Hammersmith and Fulham	6,805	85	10,438	68
Haringey	3,900	71	8,130	60
Harrow	2,287	72	4,853	62
Havering	4,259	51	2,330	50
Hillingdon	1,223	73	3,026	60
Hounslow	1,889	80	3,999	68
Islington	6,132	77	7,945	62
Kensington and Chelsea	9,186	91	10,702	67
Kingston upon Thames	2,360	82	3,988	74
Lambeth	7,250	75	14,515	60
Lewisham	4,401	61	7,267	53
Merton	4,839	80	6,849	67
Newham	2,320	46	3,348	39
Redbridge	4,734	58	4,274	53
Richmond upon Thames	4,273	88	6,708	80
Southwark	6,093	67	8,559	52
Sutton	1,841	72	3,003	64
Tower Hamlets	7,214	71	5,303	57
Waltham Forest	3,450	54	5,097	49
Wandsworth	11,767	84	17,480	72
Westminster	8,258	87	25,295	55
North East	117	66	338	60
North West	403	76	1,081	64
Yorkshire and the Humber	311	79	963	72
East Midlands	1,027	85	2,282	78
West Midlands	613	83	1,459	73
East	37,157	70	26,051	68
London	151,448	71	237,435	59
South East	33,554	80	44,284	75
South West	1,333	84	2,958	79
Northern Ireland	30	83	108	63
Wales	197	75	451	66
Total	226,190	72	317,410	62

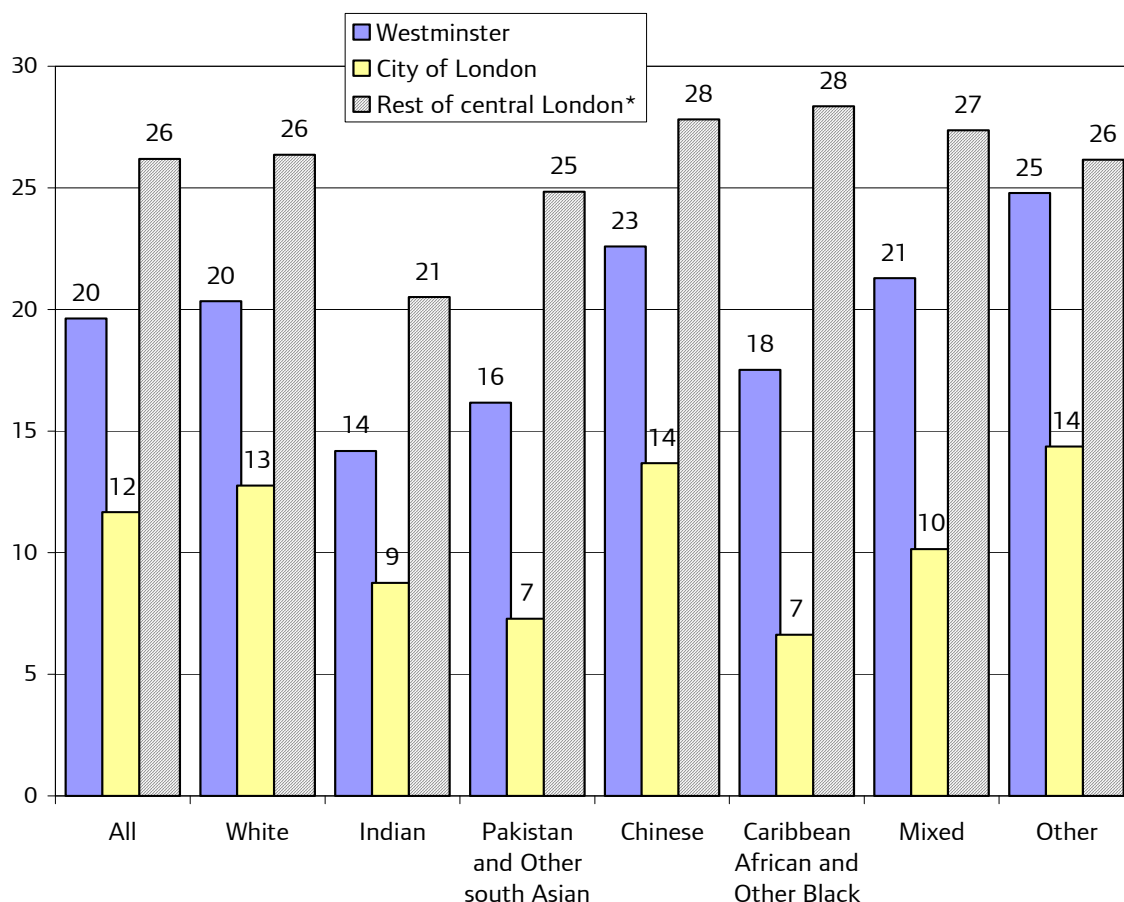
In Westminster, 59 per cent of workers who lived in London were managers or professionals, considerably lower than commuters from the South East (75 per cent) and the East (68 per cent) regions, while the South West (79 per cent) and the East Midlands (78 per cent) regions had even higher proportions.

Around 80 per cent of Westminster workers from both Richmond upon Thames and the City of London were in the topNS-SEC. There was a strong correlation in the proportion of workers in the top occupations across the 33 boroughs, between the City and Westminster. Newham (39 per cent) and Barking and Dagenham (40 per cent) were bottom for Westminster (see Table 17).

5.6 Commuters by ethnic group

An above average proportion of White, Chinese and 'Other' ethnic groups commute to the City and Westminster, while workers of Mixed groups were also very likely to commute to Westminster. The likelihood of workers in these same ethnic groups plus the Caribbean, African and Other Black groups of commuting to other parts of Central London was also above average. Only the Indian and Pakistani and Other South Asian ethnic groups were below average for commuting to boroughs in Central London (See Figure 33).

Figure 33 All people who commute to Central London as a percentage of those who worked outside their borough of residence by ethnic group, 2001

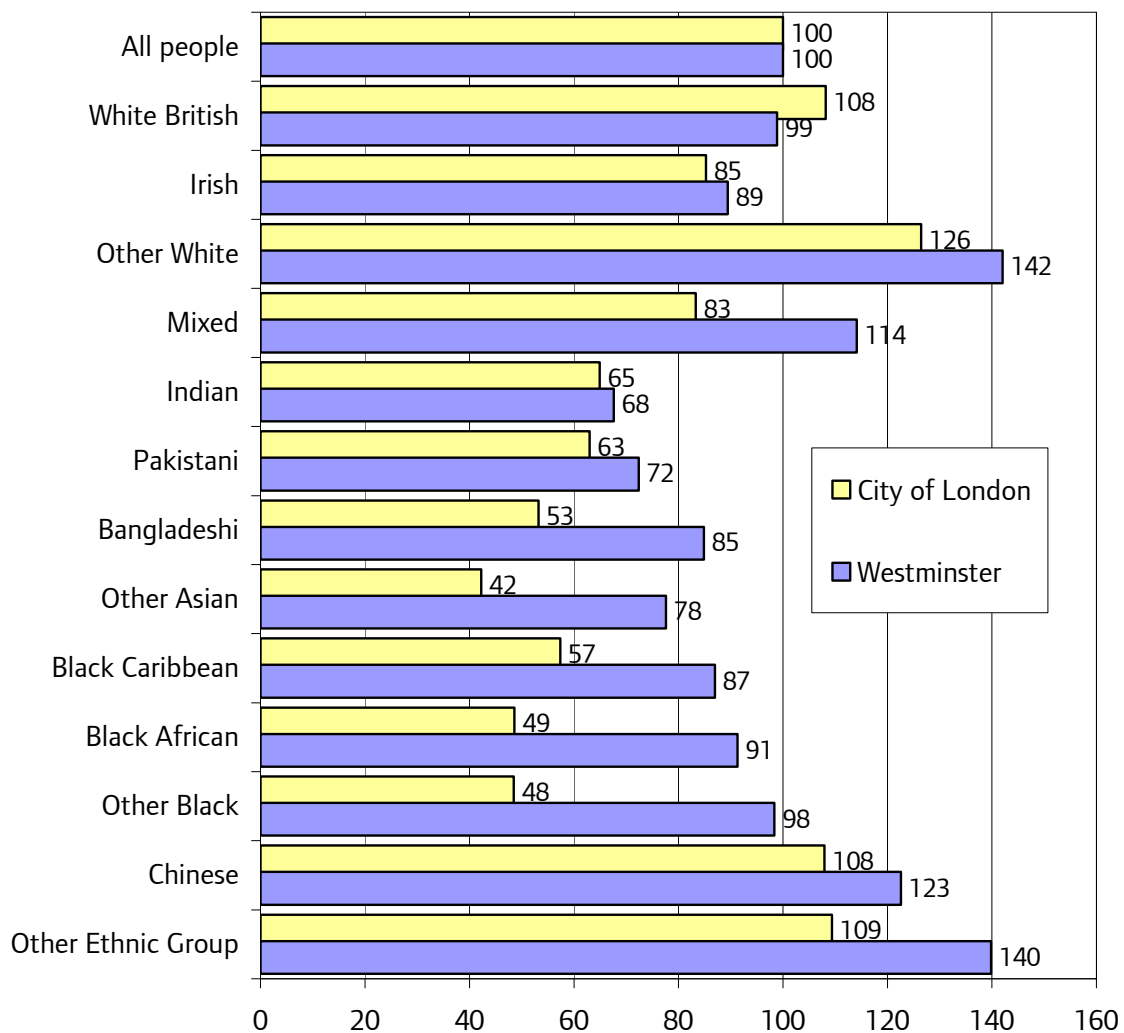


* Camden, Tower Hamlets, Islington, Southwark and Kensington and Chelsea
 Source: 2001 Census, Special Workplace Statistic SWS104

5.7 Propensity to commute to Central London by ethnic group

Figure 34 shows figures controlled for the different number of people employed in London between ethnic groups. The average for each area is 100 per cent and figures above this indicate that an ethnic is more likely to commute to that borough than average. Therefore this gives a good indication of the differences in the proportions of workers who commute to the City or Westminster not affected by the size of their ethnic group in work. The group most likely to commute to the City was the 'Other White' group (126 per cent), though 'Other' ethnic groups, Chinese and White British were also more likely to commute than average. The most under-represented groups in the City were 'Other Asian', 'Other Black', Black African and Bangladeshi.

Figure 34 Propensity of people in employment to commute, by ethnic group



Source: 2001 Census, Commissioned Table C0335

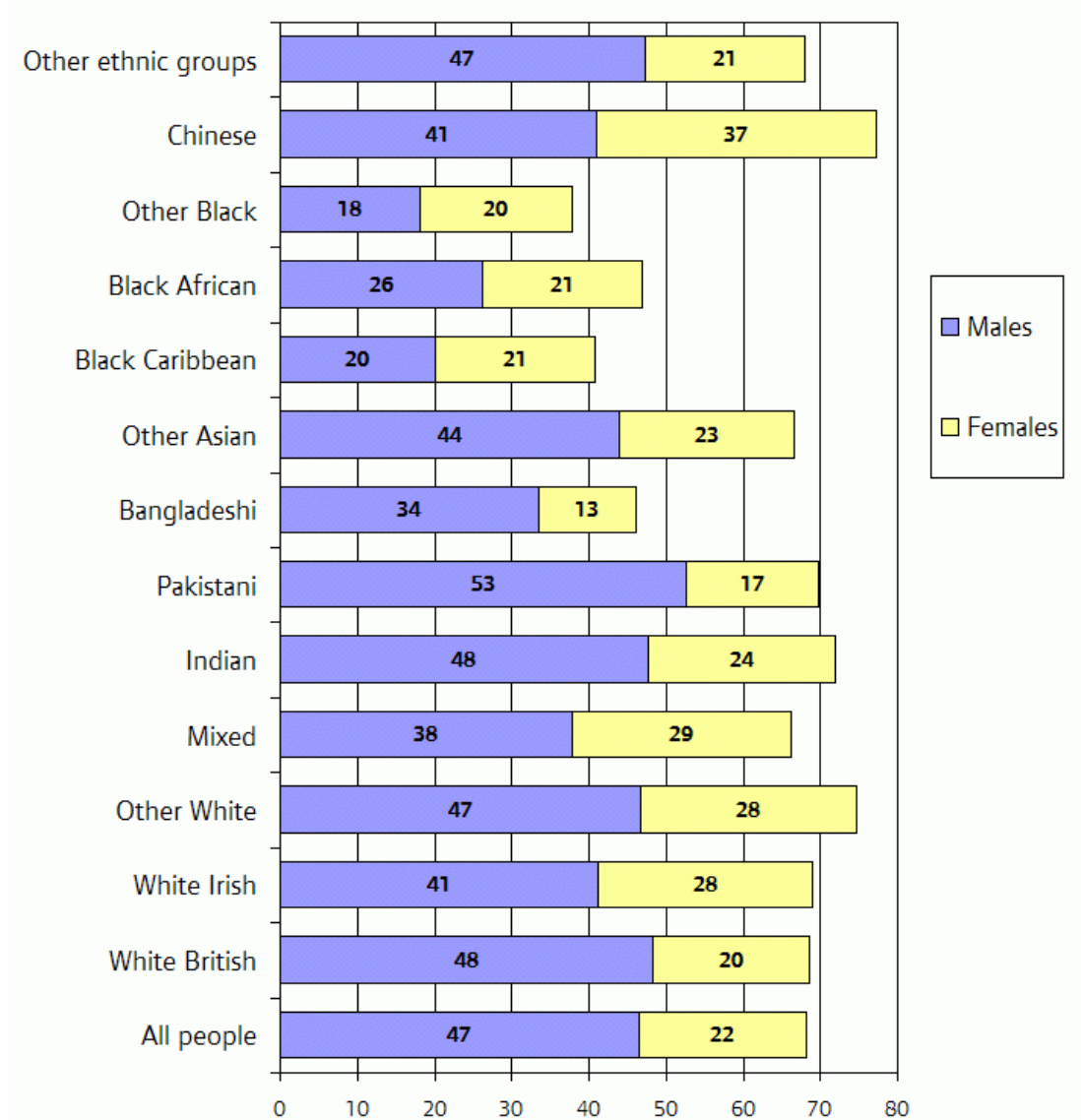
The 'Other White' ethnic group was the most likely to commute to Westminster (142 per cent), closely followed by 'Other' ethnic groups, then the Chinese and Mixed groups. All ethnic groups other than White British were more likely to commute to Westminster than the City of London. Workers in all the Black ethnic groups, plus Bangladeshi and 'Other Asian' were considerably more likely to commute to Westminster than the City.

5.8 Workers in managerial and professional occupations in the City of London

The percentage of people in managerial and professional occupations in the City of London varies considerably by ethnic group. For example, 78 per cent of Chinese and 75 per cent of people in the 'Other white' ethnic group were in these occupations compared with 38 per cent of people in 'Other Black' groups who were employed in the City (see Figure 35).

In some ethnic groups a relatively high proportion of women were employed in managerial or professional occupations. For example, only 20 per cent of people in the Black Caribbean men were in these top occupations, compared with 21 per cent of women. The highest percentages of women in the top SEC were in Chinese, Mixed, Other White and White Irish ethnic groups. The lowest were in Bangladeshi and Pakistani groups. The groups with the highest percentages of men in these occupations were Pakistani, Indian, White British, Other White and 'Other' ethnic groups.

Figure 35 Percentage of City of London workers from each ethnic group in managerial or professional occupations by sex, 2001



Source: 2001 Census, Commissioned Table C0335

Appendix Table A1 Resident and workplace populations by method of travel to work

		Inner London	Outer London	London
Works from home	C. Lives and works in area	109,953	175,982	285,935
	Resident' population aged 16-74 (A+B+C+F)	349,173	276,051	625,224
Underground; metro; light rail, tram	A. Lives in area and works outside area but within E&W	25,724	221,947	10,416
	B. Lives in area and works outside E&W	1,262	878	2,140
	C. Lives and works in area	322,187	53,226	612,668
	D. Lives outside area but within E&W and works inside area	243,480	23,583	29,808
	Workplace' population aged 16-74 (C+D+E)	565,667	76,809	642,476
Train	Resident' population aged 16-74 (A+B+C+F)	130,697	273,717	404,414
	A. Lives in area and works outside area but within E&W	27,185	224,435	25,443
	B. Lives in area and works outside E&W	511	725	1,236
	C. Lives and works in area	103,001	48,557	377,735
	D. Lives outside area but within E&W and works inside area	471,762	37,846	283,431
	Workplace' population aged 16-74 (C+D+E)	574,763	86,403	661,166
Bus	Resident' population aged 16-74 (A+B+C+F)	179,110	189,998	369,108
	A. Lives in area and works outside area but within E&W	21,417	46,861	11,547
	B. Lives in area and works outside E&W	687	539	1,226
	C. Lives and works in area	157,006	142,598	356,335
	D. Lives outside area but within E&W and works inside area	49,739	27,583	20,591
	Workplace' population aged 16-74 (C+D+E)	206,745	170,181	376,926
Driving or passenger in a car or van	Resident' population aged 16-74 (A+B+C+F)	268,246	926,894	1,195,140
	A. Lives in area and works outside area but within E&W	79,512	315,357	165,907
	B. Lives in area and works outside E&W	1,690	2,634	4,324
	C. Lives and works in area	187,044	608,903	1,024,909
	D. Lives outside area but within E&W and works inside area	276,821	314,132	361,991
	Workplace' population aged 16-74 (C+D+E)	463,865	923,035	1,386,900
Motorcycle; scooter or moped	Resident' population aged 16-74 (A+B+C+F)	19,454	27,693	47,147
	A. Lives in area and works outside area but within E&W	2,383	15,739	2,581
	B. Lives in area and works outside E&W	80	46	126
	C. Lives and works in area	16,991	11,908	44,440
	D. Lives outside area but within E&W and works inside area	20,408	6,445	11,312
	Workplace' population aged 16-74 (C+D+E)	37,399	18,353	55,752
Bicycle	Resident' population aged 16-74 (A+B+C+F)	43,494	33,836	77,330
	A. Lives in area and works outside area but within E&W	2,892	10,039	1,834
	B. Lives in area and works outside E&W	179	107	286
	C. Lives and works in area	40,423	23,690	75,210
	D. Lives outside area but within E&W and works inside area	9,888	4,803	3,594
	Workplace' population aged 16-74 (C+D+E)	50,311	28,493	78,804
On foot	Resident' population aged 16-74 (A+B+C+F)	137,384	141,956	279,340
	A. Lives in area and works outside area but within E&W	5,157	8,468	4,141
	B. Lives in area and works outside E&W	753	733	1,486
	C. Lives and works in area	131,474	132,755	273,713
	D. Lives outside area but within E&W and works inside area	9,849	7,260	7,625
	Workplace' population aged 16-74 (C+D+E)	141,323	140,015	281,338
Other	Resident' population aged 16-74 (A+B+C+F)	16,270	19,226	35,496
	A. Lives in area and works outside area but within E&W	1,040	3,066	1,319
	B. Lives in area and works outside E&W	901	1,105	2,006
	C. Lives and works in area	14,329	15,055	32,171
	D. Lives outside area but within E&W and works inside area	4,455	2,519	4,187
	Workplace' population aged 16-74 (C+D+E)	18,784	17,574	36,358

Source: 2001 Census, Theme Table 10

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