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LOCATION AND COMMUTING PROJECT PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS OF THE PILOT SURVEY IN A CENTRAL LONDON COMPANY

by

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ABSTRACT

JOHNSON, I. and R.L. MACKETT (1981) Location and Commuting Project. Preliminary analysis of the pilot survey in a Central London Company. Inst. Transp. Stud., WP 154, University of Leeds.

This paper contains preliminary analysis of the data collected during the pilot survey of a Central London company for the Location and Commuting Project. Self-completion questionnaires were distributed to all members of the staff to gather information about their residential and employment histories, together with facts about their characteristics, journey to work trips and the extent to which financial assistance was available to them to help with the cost of housing and travel.

A description of the characteristics of the respondents and their journey to work patterns is followed by analysis of residential and workplace mobility.

Age is found to be an important determinant of both residential and employment mobility with housing tenure and occupational classifications influencing home and job mobility respectively. Analysis of the journey to work trips for recent home movers suggests that the economic constraints of the journey to work may play an important role in locational decisions.

CONTENTS

1. Introduction

The survey described here was conducted as part of the Location and Commuting project,financed by the Social Science Research Council. The aim of this study is to investigate the impact increases in transport costs, and in particular, rail fares has on the locational decisions of individuals. To achieve this objective detailed information is required about residential and employment histories, together with facts concerning the characteristics of individuals. Since the majority of this data could not be derived from published sources, surveys of rail commuters to London and employees of Central London companies have been conducted.

This paper contains the preliminary analysis of the data collected from the pilot self completion questionnaire survey of employees in a large Central London company. No attempt is made here to go beyond a description of the data and preliminary analysis, since the sample size involved is limited.

A wide selection of information about both past and present transport and locational decisions has been amassed from the self completion questionnaires. It is intended that this data should be used to identify changes in residential or employment location prior to analysis to discover factors which have an influence on locational decisions.

The paper is divided into sections dealing with various aspects of the survey and the data. Section two of the paper describes the administration of the survey. Initial tabulations are presented in section 3 describing the character of the survey population to provide a foundation for further analysis. Journey to work patterns are then considered in detail in the following section indicating the dominance of commuting by rail in S.E. England and the differing spatial distributions of trips by various occupational groups.

The analysis turns finally to a consideration of factors affecting residential and workplace mobility, in particular identifying the influence of journey to work characteristics as a predictor of locational behaviour.

2. The Survey

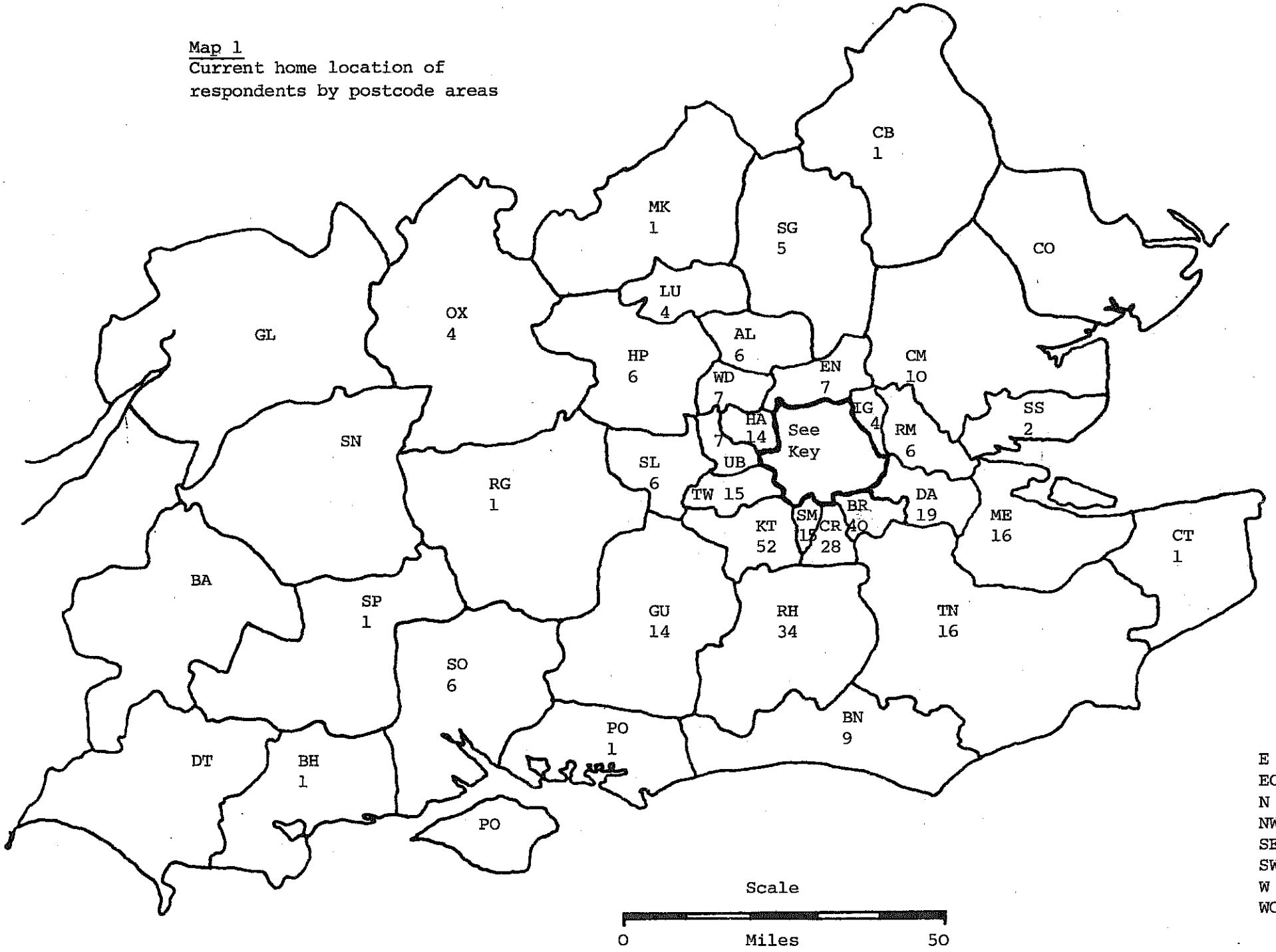
The survey strategy developed in the course of this project allowed for two separate methods of obtaining data from Central London employees about their residential, employment, journey to work characteristics and personal attributes. One approach involves the distribution of self completion questionnaires to British Rail season ticket holders at six stations in Hertfordshire and the subsequent follow up with in depth interviews of a sample of the respondents. This is reported in WP 153. A similar self completion questionnaire circulated amongst the staff of several large Central London companies formed the second approach. Since the questionnaires were to be in all essential respects the same, one pilot survey of the questionnaire was conducted using the companies approach. It is that survey which is reported here. A copy of the questionnaire is provided in appendix A which shows the categories for housing tenure and occupation from which respondents made their own classification.

The pilot survey was conducted at the head office of a major petroleum company in Central London. Questionnaires were issued to all members of the staff during August 1980, using the company's internal mailing system for both the distribution and collection. A semi structured management interview was also conducted to assist in interpretation of the self completion questionnaire and to provide a guide to the company's recruitment and location policies. Table 1 gives the response rates to the questionnaire and indicates the willingness of respondents to participate in a further in depth interview.

TABLE 1.
Response to the survey and aspects of the questionnaire.

Questionnaires	Valid responses	Willing to take part in a further interview
1220	491	280
	40.2%	57.0%

Map 1
Current home location of
respondents by postcode areas



As a guide to the types of journey to work trips which are likely the current residential locations of employees are shown in Map 1. The spatial distribution of employees' current residential locations is extensive as Map 1 shows. Many of the respondents live in areas south of London reflecting the company's location close to a British Rail Southern Region main line terminus and the advisability of gearing journey to work trips to avoid cross city travel.

3. Characteristics of the Respondents

Before detailed analysis of the survey data is carried out, it is advisable to consider the information gathered in a general form to determine the characteristics of the population as a whole. In this section tabulations are provided of the basic characteristics of the population involved - its age, sex, and occupational structure. From these tables it can be seen that considerable clustering of cases exists within some age groups and occupations. There is also a predominance of male respondents in the survey. These skewed distributions can, however, be explained by the character of the company involved. The management interview provided general information on the company's overall sex and occupational distributions which show that the returns are approximately proportional to those of the workforce, although males and professional staff are slightly over represented.

The age and sex distribution of the sample are shown in Table 2. The majority of cases are found in the 21 to 35 age range. It is in this age range that career development and lifecycle changes are likely to occur creating substantial workplace and residential mobility. This age distribution is particularly true of the females with over 69.8% of their number occurring in under 35 age groups compared with 45.5% amongst the males.

TABLE 2.

Age and sex distribution of respondents.
(column % in brackets)

Age range	Males	Females	TOTAL
16 - 20	5 (1.4)	4 (3.4)	9 (2.0)
21 - 35	152 (44.1)	77 (66.4)	229 (49.7)
36 - 45	81 (23.5)	21 (18.1)	102 (22.1)
45 - 65	107 (31.0)	14 (12.1)	121 (26.2)

A similar close clustering of cases exists when the occupational classification of the respondents is considered. Over half the respondents came from managerial and administrative personnel, with only a small number of secretarial, clerical and technical staff occurring. Such a situation might, however, be expected in the head office of a large multi-national company. Figures for the occupational distribution are presented in Table 3.

TABLE 3.
Occupation of the respondents.

Occupation	Number	Percentage
Managerial	95	19.5
Professional & Administrative	206	42.4
Clerical	81	16.7
Secretarial	41	8.4
Technical	49	10.1
Others	14	2.9

Car ownership patterns, as shown in Table 4, have interesting correlations with the occupational distribution in the sample. Ownership is highest amongst professional and managerial groups where multiple car ownership is common. The support staff on the other hand show a pattern of low car ownership with over a quarter of the secretarial staff having no car available.

TABLE 4.
Car availability by occupation.
(column % in brackets)

	Managerial	Professional & Admin.	Clerical	Secretarial	Technical
0	2 (2.1)	13 (6.3)	18 (22.2)	12 (29.3)	6 (12.2)
1	41 (43.2)	135 (65.5)	46 (56.8)	18 (43.9)	31 (63.3)
2	46 (48.4)	49 (23.8)	9 (11.1)	9 (22.0)	9 (18.4)
3	4 (4.2)	5 (2.4)	4 (4.9)	0 (0.0)	2 (4.1)
4	1 (1.1)	1 (0.5)	2 (2.5)	1 (2.4)	0 (0.0)
5+	1 (1.1)	3 (1.5)	2 (2.5)	1 (2.4)	1 (2.0)

As a final guide to the basic characteristics of the respondents their residential and employment mobility is considered. Residential and workplace mobility is high amongst this sample of Central London employees. Within the last 4 years over half the respondents changed their home location. In the last year the percentage who moved was particularly high with one person in five moving. This rate of turnover is high, as figures in the General Household Survey (1972) indicate annual migration is about 10 percent, but studies of Census data in America have shown similar proportions of home movers (Weinberg 1979).

With the high mobility rates found in Table 5 it is interesting to note that over a quarter of the respondents have not recorded a change of residence for over ten years.

TABLE 5.

Length of stay at present home.

Years	Number	Percentage
1	99	20.2
2	60	12.2
3	59	12.0
4	35	7.1
5	38	7.7
6	24	4.9
7	9	1.8
8	13	2.6
9	8	1.6
10	15	3.1
11+	131	26.7

Employment mobility although high is lower than residential mobility in the last year. Since the cost of changing jobs is less than that of moving home an adjustment in the journey to work might have been expected to be brought about by workplace changes in most cases. The greater rate of home mobility, however, might be explained by adjustments to housing created by lifecycle changes unrelated to the relative locations of home and work. At a head office there is inevitably a regular turnover of staff related to career development, with job changes occurring mainly within the company and only a core of workers actually remaining at Head Office for any great length of time. This regular pattern of job changes

is evident in Table 6 with approximately 13% of the respondents recording job moves in each of the last three years. The characteristics of movers requires more study and will be considered in more detail later.

TABLE 6.
Length of stay at present workplace.

Years	Number	Percentage
1	65	13.2
2	64	13.0
3	61	12.4
4	36	7.3
5	18	3.7
6	27	5.5
7	25	5.1
8	9	1.8
9	9	1.8
10	17	3.5
11+	160	32.6

4. Characteristics of the Journey to Work

We can see from the widespread distribution of residential locations shown in Map 1 that journey to work times vary considerably amongst the sample. Modal choice is also likely to vary in relation to residential location as commuters from long distances will probably only have rail or car modes available. Tables 7 to 10 provide evidence of modal split, journey times by occupation, and travel assistance.

The overwhelming dependence of commuters in South East England on rail transport is seen in Table 7. The majority of commuters use British Rail, with underground travel forming the second most popular choice. Cars constitute the only other dominant mode of transport.

Modal choice and journey time can be seen to be related. Those commuters with car trips tend to have relatively short journey times. Rail commuters on the other hand are concentrated amongst those with trip lengths in excess of an hour.

TABLE 7.

Main mode used and journey to work times.

Time (Minutes)	Bus	British Rail	Underground	Car	Motor Cycle	Bicycle	Walk
5							
10							1(20.0)
15			2(3.0)	2(3.8)		1(16.7)	
20				2(3.8)	2(18.2)	1(16.7)	
25		2(0.6)	1(1.5)	5(9.6)			
30	2(20.0)	16(4.7)	6(9.1)	5(9.6)	1(9.1)	4(66.7)	2(40.0)
35	1(10.0)	8(2.3)	1(1.5)	2(3.8)			1(20.0)
40		22(6.5)	8(12.1)	4(7.7)			
45		29(8.5)	15(22.7)	4(7.7)	3(27.3)		
50	2(20.0)	25(7.3)	5(7.6)	3(5.8)			
55	2(20.0)	19(5.6)	2(3.0)	3(5.8)			
60		63(18.5)	15(22.7)	10(19.2)	2(18.2)		
65		14(4.1)	4(6.1)	1(1.9)			
70		21(6.2)	1(1.5)	2)3.8)	2(18.2)		1(20.0)
75	1(10.0)	31(9.1)	2(3.0)	5(9.6)			
80		16(4.7)		1(1.9)			
85		13(3.8)					
90		24(7.0)	3(4.5)				
95		3(0.9)	1(1.5)				
100		4(1.2)					
105		10(2.9)					
110		4(1.2)					
115							
120		4(1.2)		1(1.9)			
120 +	2(20.0)	13(3.8)		2(3.8)	1(9.1)		
TOTAL	10(2.0)	341(69.5)	66(13.4)	52(10.6)	11(2.2)	6(1.2)	5(1.0)

Although British Rail is used by approximately 70% of each occupational category other modes appear to be occupationally specific, perhaps reflecting varying income and car availability levels. Managerial staff tend to depend on their cars as an alternative to rail travel, whilst in other occupations it is the underground that constitutes the second most important mode. A notable exception to this generalisation is the case of technical staff, some of whom are computer staff on shift work. In this group car travel is quite important, perhaps as a result of irregular working hours when public transport may not be available. Car usage, however, is low amongst secretarial and clerical staff who are the most likely group to use a bus as their alternative to rail travel. It should be noted though that bus travel is rarely recorded in this survey.

TABLE 8.
Modal Choice by Occupation
(Row % in brackets)

Occupation	Bus	B.R.	Underground	Car	Motor	Bicycle	Walk	TOTAL
Managerial	0 (72.6)	69 (8.4)	8 (18.9)	18	0	0	0	95 (100)
Professional & Admin.	3 (1.5)	144 (69.9)	28 (13.6)	17 (8.3)	6 (2.9)	4 (1.9)	4 (1.9)	206 (100)
Clerical	2 (2.5)	58 (71.6)	12 (14.8)	6 (7.4)	1 (1.2)	1 (1.2)	1 (1.2)	81 (100)
Secretarial	3 (7.3)	24 (58.5)	12 (29.3)	2 (4.8)	0	0	0	41 (100)
Technical	0	34 (69.4)	4 (8.2)	7 (14.3)	4 (8.2)	0	0	49 (100)
TOTAL	8 (1.7)	329 (69.7)	64 (13.6)	50 (10.6)	11 (2.3)	5 (1.1)	5 (1.1)	472

Journey to work times for the various occupational groups differ, see Table 9, indicating perhaps the particular residential location choices made by people of varying income levels. The differences in journey times for the various occupational groups may, however, simply reflect the influence of the main mode used. Overall only 7.4% of the sample live within 30 minutes of work, but this figures rises to 61.6% within an hours journey to work. Of those with short journeys to work

managerial and professional personnel constitute the majority. It is interesting, however, that the managerial group also comprise the majority of those with long journey times; 23.3% take over 1 hour 15 minutes compared with 17.0% for other professionals, 16.1% for clerical and 12.1% for secretarial. In fact the secretarial category is the only one to record no long journey times.

TABLE 9.
Journey to Work Times by Occupation
(column % in brackets)

Time (minutes)	Managerial	Professional & Admin	Clerical	Secretarial	Technical	Other
15	2(2.1)	2(1.0)	1(1.2)	0	0	0
30	4(4.2	30(14.6)	10(12.3)	2(4.9)	2(4.0)	1(7.1)
45	14(14.8)	46(22.4)	12(14.8)	11(26.8)	11(22.5)	0
60	32(33.9)	60(29.1)	26(32.0)	17(41.5)	10(20.4)	5(35.7)
75	21(22.1)	33(16.0)	19(23.4)	6(14.6)	6(12.2)	0
90	12(12.7)	22(10.6)	7(8.7)	4(9.7)	10(20.3)	1(7.1)
105	7(7.4	6(3.0)	2(2.4)	1(2.4)	0	2(14.3)
120	1(1.1)	1(0.5)	2(2.5)	0	4(8.2)	1(7.1)
120+	2(2.1)	6(2.9)	2(2.5)	0	6(12.2)	2(14.3)
TOTAL	95	206	81	41	49	14

An interesting aspect of journey times becomes evident in Figure 1. There is a remarkable increase in the number of arrivals recording times at quarter of an hour intervals with the situation being especially notable at one hour when between 17% and 25.9% of the sample for Managerial, Professional, Clerical and Secretarial occupations arrive. Presumably individuals are tending to round their estimates of journey times.

Figure 1. Journey to work times of all employees in 5 minute intervals

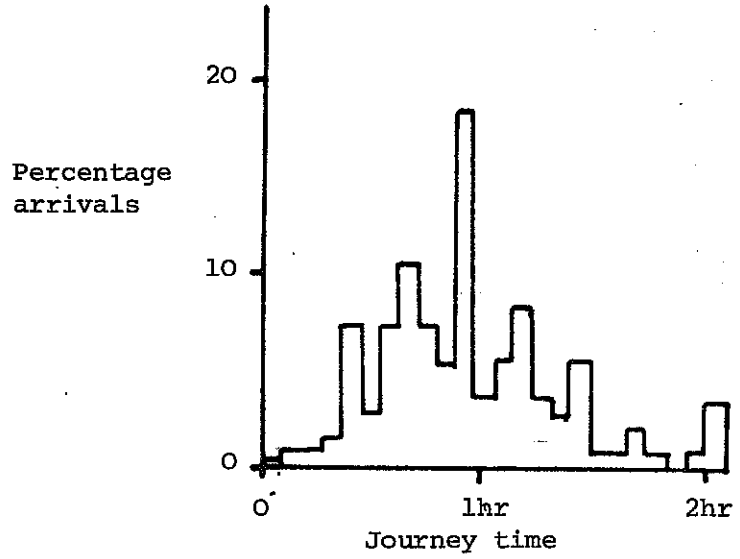


TABLE 10.

Assistance with the cost of the journey to work.

Aid	Number	Percentage
Free Public Transport	3	0.6
Subsidised loan for car	12	2.4
Subsidised loan for season ticket	254	51.7
Company Car	16	3.3
Free Car Parking	71	14.5
Other assistance	5	1.0
No assistance	169	34.4
TOTAL	530	108.5

Note: Percentages do not total 100% since some people receive two or more forms of assistance.

Assistance with transport costs related to the journey to work is offered to all employees and is in fact taken up in some form by two thirds of the staff (see Table 10). Interest-free season ticket loans are available to all staff, but company cars are only given to heads of departments and marketing staff. By far the most common form of assistance is a loan for season tickets used by over half the employees (51.7%). Occupational grouping appears to have little influence on the level of demand for this assistance as Table 11 shows. The majority of

season tickets are used by British Rail commuters, but it is interesting that a few people who obtain this form of assistance still choose to commute the major part of their journey by private transport (see Table 12 for evidence of this). Other forms of travel assistance represent only a small percentage of the sample and are mostly related to car usage with with free car parking representing the main form of assistance. Company cars are so few in number and almost exclusively used by the managerial staff that analysis of this information is impractical.

TABLE 11.

Season ticket loans by occupation.

Occupation	Number	Percentage
Managerial	47	18.6
Professional & Admin.	112	44.3
Clerical	38	15.0
Secretarial	23	9.1
Technical	27	10.7
Other	6	2.4

TABLE 12.

Season ticket loans by main mode of travel.

(Percentage in brackets)

Bus	British Rail	Underground	Car Driver	Car Passenger	Motor Cycle
2 (0.8)	214 (84.3)	33 (13.0)	3 (1.2)	1 (0.4)	1 (0.4)

5. Residential and Workplace Mobility

Both residential and workplace mobility were shown in Tables 5 and 6 to be considerable. A more detailed appraisal of this information is provided in Table 13 which shows a relationship between job changes and home moves. Of the people who changed job in the year prior to the survey over half also moved home at about the same time. This tendency to move home and job in the same year is borne out for those who moved job and home two and three years prior to the survey, with approximately a third and a quarter of the job movers making home moves.

The high proportion of job movers who also change home location may be explained by the nature of the company; 52.1 percent of the respondents last change of workplace was within the company and a further 16.5 percent were not previously employed. Many of these people, therefore, moved long distances and a change of home was necessary.

Although home moves in a given year do not appear to generate as much job mobility as job moves do in creating home mobility, there may be an explanation related to the type of company involved. In general employees are well paid so are likely to stay in their present job but make home moves in response to life cycle changes. It should also be remembered in considering these figures that a survey at a company precludes the gathering of data from people who changed job in response to a change of home if that job change involved leaving the company. The effects of home location changes on job mobility are, therefore, under-represented in this sample. Information gathered about residential and employment histories in the indepth interviews will enable these relationships to be better understood, as will data collected in the rail survey.

In this section the journey to work patterns and characteristics of movers and non-movers are considered in some detail. It is evident from the data that a distinction can be made between the characteristics of movers and non-movers which supports many of the findings of similar research to be found in the literature. There are, however, some interesting features of the journey to work for these groups that provide a guide to the nature of the population migration in South East England. It should, however, be remembered that any suggestions about trends which are made here are based on a small sample.

TABLE 13

Home and Job Moves in a Given Year

Years prior to survey	% of job movers who also changed home location	% of home movers who also changed job location	% of job movers who moved home in same year or since	% of home movers who moved job in same year or since
1	53.8	36.1	53.8	36.1
2	32.8	35.0	64.1	38.3
3	24.6	25.4	68.9	49.1
4	11.1	11.4	63.8	22.8
5	22.2	10.5	77.8	50.0

In order to obtain an insight into the locational behaviour of residential movers and non-movers three sub-sets of the data are defined; movers, non-movers and others:

1. Movers are defined as having moved home within one year of the date of the survey, but to have also held their current job for six months prior to the date of the residential move. This enables residential moves to be viewed within a known locational framework.

2. To qualify as a non-mover the respondent must have lived at his current address for over two years.

3. This long duration at the present home ensures a definite break between the two groups, but leaves some cases unaccounted for as they have moved home recently and also changed job, or they moved home between one year and two years ago. This residual group is disregarded in the analysis.

The journey to work time of movers and non-movers shown in Table 14 indicates an apparent preference by recent movers to reside at locations close to their place of work. The non-movers have an almost symmetrical distribution of journey times around an hour, whilst movers have a heavily skewed distribution with 19.4% of journeys under 30 minutes compared to 8.4% for the non-movers. It is possible that these significantly different distributions represent evidence of the changing pattern of commuting suggested by a recent analysis of British Rail figures by the Department of Transport, which show long distance commuting declining whilst commuting from inner areas has stabilized and may be rising. (DTp 1980) Such an hypothesis, however, must be set against the characteristics of the movers. It may be that the movers are comprised of the more mobile section of the population, and so tend to be renters and since rented accommodation is concentrated within London changes in their residential location do not dramatically affect their journey to work times. The simple analysis of home moves between and within regions presented in Table 15 supports this theory, although it should be remembered renters are a small percentage of the sample. Many of the

moves have occurred within the boundary of the Greater London Council (G.L.C.) with roughly equal numbers of in and out migrations. The geographical regions, however, are quite large and may themselves mask trends in locational behaviour.

TABLE 14

Journey to work times for home movers and non-movers

Time minutes	Movers		Non-movers	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
5	0	0.0	0	0.0
10	0	0.0	0	0.0
15	1	1.6	3	0.9
20	0	0.0	3	0.9
25	0	0.0	6	1.8
30	11	17.7	16	4.8
35	0	0.0	8	2.4
40	7	11.3	17	5.1
45	6	9.7	33	9.9
50	3	4.8	25	7.5
55	4	6.5	15	4.5
60	13	21.0	66	19.9
65	1	1.6	16	4.8
70	3	4.8	20	6.0
75	0	0.0	30	9.0
80	0	0.0	15	4.5
85	2	3.2	6	1.8
90	2	3.2	21	6.3
95	0	0.0	4	1.2
100	1	1.6	1	0.3
105	1	1.6	9	2.7
110	2	3.2	2	0.6
115	0	0.0	0	0.0
120	3	4.8	2	0.6
120+	2	3.2	14	4.2
Total	62	100.0	332	100.0

TABLE 15

Geographical description of recent home moves

Type of home move	Number	Percentage
Moved home within G.L.C.	28	41.8
Moved home into G.L.C.	9	13.4
Moved home out of G.L.C.	8	11.9
Moved home outside G.L.C.	22	32.8

G.L.C. - Greater London Council

Tables 16 to 19 help us to identify the attributes of home movers. By considering the information in these tables it is evident that the majority of moves are made by young couples and single people. As age and family size increase mobility decreases, with changes in household size rather than the absolute size initiating moves.

TABLE 16

Lifecycle stage of recent home moves

Lifecycle stage	Number	Percentage	Percentage in total sample
Single	15	24.2	15.1
Couples	26	41.9	26.9
Non-head of household with family	0	0.0	4.5
Head of household with a family	7	11.3	39.5
Multiple person households	14	22.6	14.1

Chi Squared = 27.05 Significant at 0.001 level

TABLE 17

Age of home movers

Age range	Number	Percentage	Percentage in total sample
16-20 years	0	0.0	1.8
21-35 years	49	79.0	46.6
36-45 years	5	8.1	20.8
46-65 years	2	3.2	24.6
Missing	6	9.7	6.1

Chi Squared = 32.76 significant at 0.001 level

TABLE 18

Current tenure of Home movers

Tenure	Number	Percentage	Percentage in total sample
Owner occupied	51	82.3	84.0
Council rented	2	3.2	3.1
Rented unfurnished	1	1.6	3.9
Rented furnished	7	11.3	7.8
Other	1	1.6	1.2

Chi Squared = 1.91 no significant difference

The tenure of the movers is concentrated amongst the owner occupiers in absolute terms, although a bigger proportion of renters of furnished accommodation are also movers. This is consistent with the view that many of the moves are made by single people or couples who may well be establishing new households. It should, however, be noted that the household tenure of movers cannot be shown to be significantly different from that of the population as a whole.

Only a small percentage of the respondents have any form of financial assistance towards housing costs, and the majority of those who do, have not moved home recently as shown in Table 19.

TABLE 19

Housing assistance for home movers and non-movers

Assistance	Movers		Non-movers	
	yourself	others	yourself	others
No assistance	60 (98.4)	34 (94.4)	296 (94.3)	204 (96.7)
Free dwelling	0	0	0	2 (0.9)
Subsidised loan for Mortgage	0	2 (5.6)	11 (3.5)	4 (1.9)
Other assistance	1 (1.6)	0	7 (2.2)	1 (0.5)

Consideration of the journey times of people who changed workplace but not home location suggests a reversal of the trend indicated by residential moves. The journey times of individuals who moved job location are greater than those of the non-movers. Table 20 shows 50% of movers have trips of 1 hr. or less compared with 60.2% of non-movers. The number of cases involved, however, is very small and the results presented cannot be shown to be statistically significant. It is worth noting though that as with residential movers age is very important, with 60.7% of job movers being between 21 and 35. Job movers appear to come from all occupational groups, but predominantly occur amongst the clerical and secretarial staff.

TABLE 20

Journey to work times of job movers and non-movers

Time (minutes)	Movers		Non-movers	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
5	0	0.0	0	0.0
10	0	0.0	0	0.0
15	1	3.6	3	0.8
20	0	0.0	3	0.8
25	0	0.0	4	1.1
30	0	0.0	24	6.6
35	1	3.6	10	2.8
40	3	10.7	23	6.4
45	5	17.9	35	9.7
50	0	0.0	28	7.7
55	1	3.6	18	5.0
60	3	10.7	70	19.3
65	0	0.0	17	4.7
70	3	10.7	22	6.1
75	2	7.1	30	8.3
80	0	0.0	15	4.1
85	1	3.6	8	2.2
90	4	14.3	20	5.5
95	0	0.0	4	1.1
100	0	0.0	2	0.6
105	0	0.0	9	2.5
110	0	0.0	4	1.1
115	0	0.0	0	0.0
120	0	0.0	4	1.1
120+	4	14.3	9	2.5
Total	28	100.0	362	100.0

6. Conclusions

The great wealth of information about location histories and journey to work patterns provided by the survey gives wide scope for analysis. There are indications that certain characteristics influence residential and workplace mobility. The differences in journey to work times between residential movers and non-movers cannot be dismissed as random chance, but require more information to enable sufficiently detailed analysis to be conducted in an attempt to unravel the complex interrelationships of the various factors affecting locational decisions. Age, tenure and household composition, however, appear to play important roles, with movers heavily concentrated amongst couples and people aged 21 to 35.

The addition of a few more questions in the final version of the questionnaire, will provide more information on the journey to work and employment history, enabling a more comprehensive analysis to be conducted with data from a broad cross-section of central London office workers. The follow-up indepth household interviews should also provide a unique set of data with which to analyse the complex interrelationships involved in locational decisions.

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