



# Who Cares?

Helping London's Unpaid Carers



December 2018 · Dr. Onkar Sahota AM

# Contents

Recommendations	3
Background	4
Who cares?	5
The value of unpaid care	7
The future rise in unpaid care	8
The cost to London carers	10
What this means for London's economy	12
References	14
Appendices	16

# Recommendations

## Employment

Unpaid carers need support to access appropriate work. The Mayor should:

1. Set an example by working with GLA family trade unions to design and implement carer-friendly policies in City Hall;
2. Write to the Department for Health and Social Care, DWP, and MCHLG asking them to clarify the status of the carers in the social care Green Paper.

## Health and wellbeing

Caring has serious consequences for the welfare of the carers. The Mayor should:

3. Use the Young Londoners Fund to support groups providing respite for young carers, and to connect young people with opportunities to volunteer supporting carers;
4. Task the GLA housing unit with conducting a study into the need for supported housing and the expansion of Homeshare and similar schemes, which co-house an older homeowner with younger tenants who provide company and some chores in return for reduced rent;
5. Work with the London Health Board to pilot a care readiness and sustainability programme. This would help family members of people with conditions that are likely to require care, supporting them at the earliest possible opportunity, and contacting those with existing conditions to ask if they have a carer;
6. Use his social prescribing vision to run carer help sessions at community centres involving information, advice and guidance, health checks, and activities.

## Finance and welfare

The current financial support system for carers is inadequate. The Mayor should:

7. Consider in the future, the feasibility of a carers' pass on TfL services, and liaise with London Councils to amend the freedom pass rules to allow the user to take one other designated adult;
8. Lobby the Government to reform carers allowance to be available at a lower level of weekly care and a higher level of income;
9. Lobby the Government to provide sufficient funding for social care to lessen the burden on unpaid carers, and to bring forward the social care Green Paper by the end of 2018;
10. Celebrate carers, for instance by participating in Carers Week, raise awareness of legal rights as they stand, and tackle the gender imbalance in caring through a publicity campaign and work with employers encouraging men to take on more caring responsibilities.

## Knowledge

We need to understand more about who London's unpaid carers are and their experiences. The Mayor should:

11. Establish a self-registration system for carers across London. The Mayor should also lobby the Government to register people receiving Carers Allowance onto the London scheme;
12. Task GLA Economics to publish annual reports into the number, characteristics and lives of London's carers;
13. Scope establishing a London carers co-operative, enabling carers to access support, training and pooled benefits.

# Background

Like the rest of the country, London runs on unpaid care. The 2011 census indicates that over 687,000 Londoners spend at least an hour a week caring for someone. That's 8.5% of the population. Largely because London has a younger population, a lower proportion of people here give unpaid care than in other regions. Nonetheless, London has the third highest number of unpaid carers among English regions.<sup>1</sup>

Across the UK, 5.4 million people, including more than 100,000 children, provide unpaid care.<sup>2</sup> These millions regularly help someone else, usually a family member, with washing, shopping, cleaning, cooking, and many more tasks to enable that person to get by. While nearly everyone helps family, friends or neighbours sometimes, an unpaid carer is someone who does this on a regular basis. Unpaid care as measured by the census, where most data comes from, does not include routine childcare.

According to the family resources survey, people who receive care tend to need it at least every day and two in five (40%) need round the clock care.<sup>3</sup> Just 9% of carers report being needed less than once a week. One in three carers look after a parent, and one in five look after a spouse or partner.

Overall, two thirds (63%) of London carers provide fewer than twenty hours of care a week, while one in five (22%) give more than fifty hours. Although the proportion of people giving unpaid care in London was stable between 2001 and 2011, the amount of time carers said they spent providing care has gone up.

As London's population ages in the coming years, more Londoners will need to provide unpaid care for someone. Between 2001 and 2015, the number of unpaid carers in London rose by 22.6%. If the same increase happens again up to 2029, there will be around 912,000 carers in London.<sup>4</sup> This is likely to be an underestimate given the city's aging population in this time frame. By 2024 there will be 24% more people aged over 65<sup>5</sup> - almost 1.2 million people, with inner London seeing the greatest increases in numbers of older people (appendix 1).<sup>6</sup> There is a strong correlation between the number of over-65s in a borough and the provision of unpaid care.

But policymakers, and Londoners themselves, are not ready for this. Pressures on care budgets are well documented. There is some evidence that the strain on formal social care has been balanced by an increase in unpaid care. But as this report will set out, that brings severe consequences for both the individuals giving care and the wider economy.

# Who cares?

## The unequal task of unpaid care

Between the ages of 25 and 64, around a third more women than men provide unpaid care, carrying extra responsibilities right through working life. On top of this, women tend to provide more hours of care than men, with consequences for their employment and health.

	All persons	Males	Females
All categories: Provision of unpaid care	8,073,700	3,984,561	4,089,139
Provides no unpaid care	7,386,317	3,692,142	3,694,175
Provides unpaid care: Total	687,383	292,419	394,964
Provides 1 to 19 hours unpaid care a week	433,443	193,043	240,400
Provides 20 to 49 hours unpaid care a week	105,046	44,980	60,066
Provides 50 or more hours unpaid care a week	148,894	54,396	94,498

Table 1 - provision of unpaid care in London by gender and hours given (census 2011)

Overall, in London 9.8% of women are carers and 7.4% of men highlighting that the work of looking after others is not shared equally.<sup>7</sup> Over 100,000 more women than men provide care in London (Table 1).

Concerningly, evidence from other regions suggests that the rise in the amount of unpaid care provided falls mainly on women.<sup>8</sup> This is connected to the rise of “sandwich carers”, working age adults looking after children and parents, who are overwhelmingly women. There is a clear correlation between caring and women’s careers as they often put employment on hold to carry out their caring responsibilities.

This picture begins to change for older people, with the gender gap narrowing for those aged over 74. Here we see 12% of men aged over 85 providing care, compared to 5% of women in that age group.

This may be explained by the fact that although women have a higher overall life expectancy, they

tend to spend more years in poor health compared to men. While looking after children and older parents tend to fall to women, older couples tend to look after each other which results in more men entering the unpaid care group.

Because Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) people in the UK are on average younger than white people, a lower proportion give unpaid care. That said, research indicates that controlling for age, BAME families are more likely to care for older or disabled family members. Care services are known to be insensitive to the needs and understanding of BAME communities, with the Care Quality Commission (CQC) noting that BAME people report being offered less guidance on care services when leaving hospital.<sup>9</sup> As in other matters concerning unpaid care, there is a lack of information on the prevalence and experience of caring at anything other than a surface level.

Outer London boroughs tend to have higher rates of unpaid care. Havering, Harrow, Bexley and Bromley all had more than 10% of residents providing unpaid care, while Wandsworth had the lowest rate in the country at 6.5%, which has been attributed to its low numbers of people with disabilities or long-term health problems.<sup>10</sup>

Poor health as well as age drives the need for unpaid care in a population, which underpins the predicted increase in deprived boroughs where many more people suffer ill-health than in affluent areas.

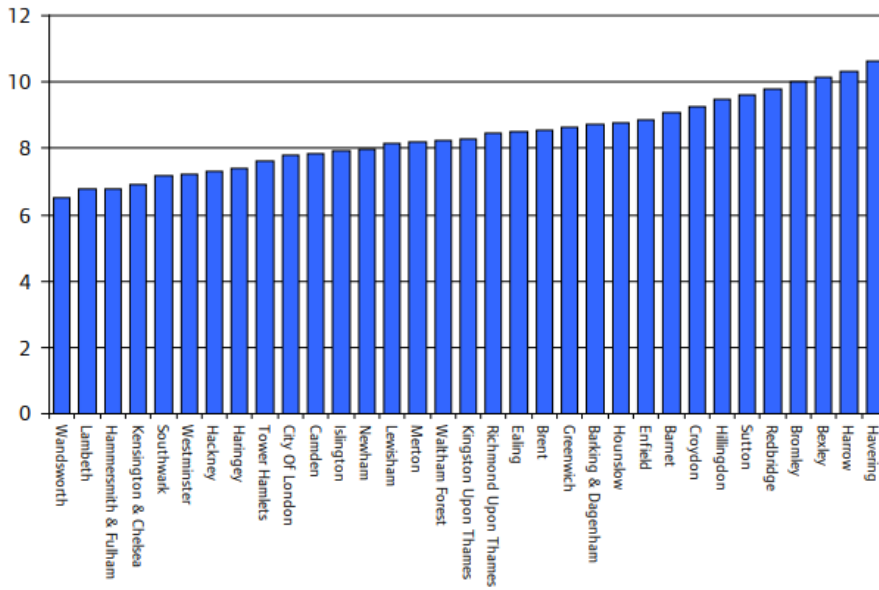


Figure 1 - proportion of residents providing unpaid care, London 2011

**Recommendation 1:** Set an example by working with GLA family trade unions to design and implement carer-friendly policies in City Hall.

**Recommendation 2:** Write to the Department for Health and Social Care, DWP, and MCHLG asking them to clarify the status of the carers in the social care Green Paper.

# The value of unpaid care

Unpaid carers may spend many hours looking after someone for compassionate and loving reasons. Most are supporting a family member. But the economic value of their work is obvious: if all or even most of that care had to be provided on a paid basis, the demands on public and personal finances would be overwhelming. Quantifying the economic value of unpaid care is not necessarily an argument for moving to a paid-for model in all instances, but it should illuminate the great contribution, often at financial and personal cost, made by unpaid carers.

A 2015 study for Carers UK puts the value of unpaid care at £132 billion per year. This sum nearly matches the entire health service spending in the country, leading Carers UK to call this “a second NHS”.<sup>11</sup>

The ONS calculates a different total for the value of care - £56.9 billion in 2015, UK-wide – an increase of 45.8% since 2005. This is because they do not include care for children with disabilities and other long term health conditions, and they also value each hour of care at the raw wage rate rather than the unit cost of care.<sup>12</sup>

The ONS use a more accurate population measure, being based on the more up to date Family Resource Survey, and makes a sensitive distinction between the kinds of care provided. It is a useful indication of the equivalent economic output of the carers. On the other hand, the Carers UK study includes childcare and by using the unit cost, makes a better

Across London, Carers UK estimate that unpaid care is worth £13.8 billion annually.<sup>13</sup> Tower Hamlets (15.9%), Islington (11.8%), Hackney, and Southwark (both 11.4%) have seen the most significant increases in the value of unpaid care provided since 2011.

estimation of what the cost to public finances would be if some of these carers were not able or willing to carry out their services any more.

Whichever estimate of the value of unpaid care is used, it is clearly an essential part of London's economy. Without the millions of hours put in by London's carers, a pillar of the city's social infrastructure would fall down.

# The future rise in unpaid care

Carers UK estimate there will be 9 million carers in the country by 2037. Because London is a relatively young city and many people still move here for work, boroughs' old age dependency ratios will stay relatively stable until the late 2020s, despite the growing actual number of older people.<sup>14</sup> However, in less than twenty years, thirty out of thirty three London boroughs will see the numbers of retired people relative to the working population (dependency ratio) going up. Despite the demographic shift, people and policy are not prepared for the likely increase in unpaid care this will cause.

Following national government cuts, local authority spending on social care has been reduced by 8.4% since 2009/10, only partly offset by the NHS diverting more and more money into care.<sup>15</sup> The problem is particularly serious in care for adults. AgeUK say cuts to social care have left one in seven pensioners - 1.4 million people - lacking the support they need to get dressed, wash or get out of bed.<sup>16</sup>

As the UN report on UK poverty described the welfare net - a "loss of institutions that would have previously protected vulnerable people, social care services that are at breaking point, and local government stretched far too thin".<sup>17</sup>

Government had promised a two-year programme to help carers, to be launched with the social care Green Paper in Autumn 2018. This would have built on the 2015-17 Carers in Employment project, set up an innovation fund, and established best practice in identifying and helping young carers.

## Increase in unpaid care value by Borough, 2011-15

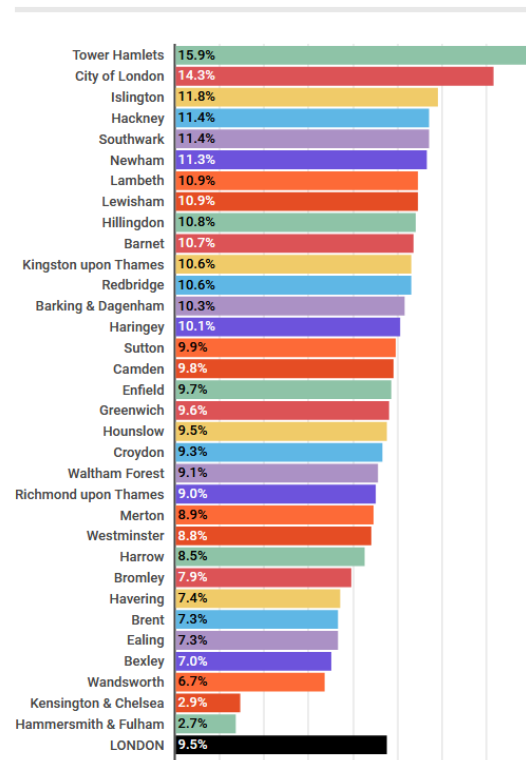


Figure 2 - Increase in the value of unpaid care, Carers UK

Unfortunately, the Government's failure to make progress on this Green Paper is also stalling any positive steps for carers.

Looking to the near future, policymakers must consider the Brexit-related shortfall of up to 28,000 social care staff in the next five years, as predicted by the Department for Health and Social Care. Their report noted that, "if we fail to meet social care needs adequately we are likely to see a decrease in labour market participation levels, especially among women, as greater numbers undertake informal care".<sup>18</sup> London has a heavy reliance on EU workers in



social care with 13% of the workforce being EU nationals, more than any other region.<sup>19</sup> In addition to well-documented shortage of accommodation for key workers and low pay, this will exacerbate this trend in the capital, placing additional stress on unpaid carers.<sup>20</sup>

As older people in London are more likely to live alone, they need more care from relatives other than their partner.<sup>21</sup> This increases the commitment needed from working-age adults – usually women. While co-housing or cross-generational housing schemes may be able to help with this, the trend towards older people living alone points to a need for far more supported housing in the next two decades. The Mayor’s Health Inequality Strategy pledged to make at least 10% of new homes wheelchair accessible, but this needs to be connected to a broader understanding of accessible living.

Despite higher numbers of older people, and less state support, 50% of people who currently don’t have caring responsibilities think it is unlikely they would ever become a carer.<sup>22</sup> Understandably, this figure is even lower among younger age groups. A worrying number of people do not realise that social care is not simply an extension of the NHS and that there are point-of-use costs to the individual.<sup>23</sup> Clearly, a gap is emerging between people’s expectations, public policy support, and the reality of life in an aging society in the coming decades. If Londoners are not aware of the likelihood of becoming a carer at some point in their life, they may not be enabled to make personal choices with all the information at hand.

Recommendation 3: Use the Young Londoners Fund to support groups providing respite for young carers, and to connect young people with opportunities to volunteer supporting carers.

Recommendation 4: Task the GLA housing unit with conducting a study into the need for supported housing and the expansion of Homeshare and similar schemes, which co-house an older homeowner with younger tenants who provide company and some chores in return for reduced rent.

Recommendation 5: Work with the London Health Board to pilot a care readiness and sustainability programme. This would help family members of people with conditions that are likely to require care, supporting them at the earliest possible opportunity, and contacting those with existing conditions to ask if they have a carer.

Recommendation 6: Use his social prescribing vision to run carer help sessions at community centres involving information, advice and guidance, health checks, and activities.

# The cost to London carers

Care may be given for laudable reasons and carers show great compassion and dedication every day, but the consequences for their health should not be underestimated.

London’s younger carers see the greatest difference in health and wellbeing from their peers who do not provide care. While the prevalence of ill health is relatively similar between carers and non-carers aged over fifty, for the 0-24 and 25-49 age groups rates of ill health are almost doubled (Table 2).

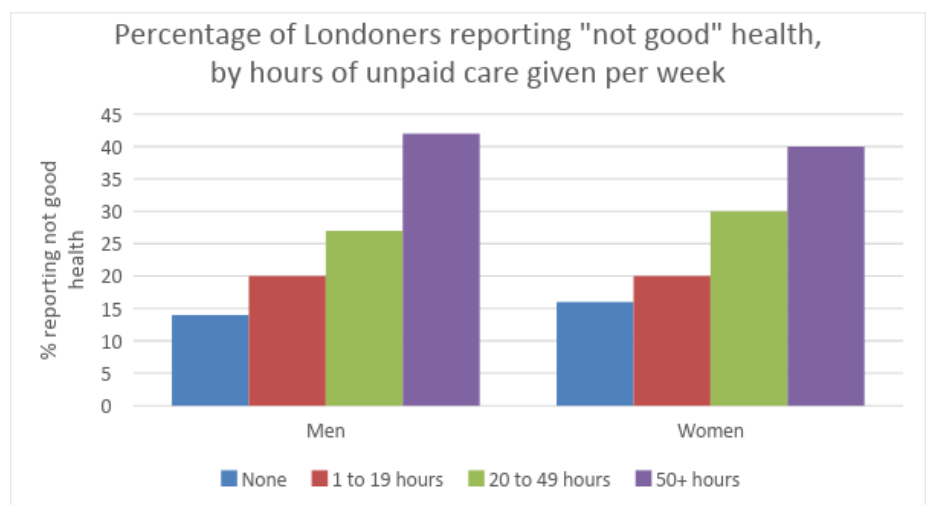
For young people, caring responsibilities can have consequences for the rest of their lives, in mental and physical health problems, lost earnings, and constrained choices.

When older people then wish to return to work, the poorer health they suffer as a result of caring can make this even harder. It is not clear London’s workers are fully informed of what leaving work to care means for their own retirement incomes. Though this may seem a distant prospect for many Londoners, carers are missing out on years of national insurance and occupational pension contributions. Combined with the increasing state pension age of 68 by 2039, carers who are currently in their thirties and forties may find themselves struggling to get by in their later working lives as they deal with ill-health, trying to re-enter the labour market, and potentially higher pension contributions to make up lost ground.<sup>25</sup>

	Percentage of age group with "not good" health <sup>24</sup>			
	0-24	25-49	50-64	65+
Provides no unpaid care	4	9.6	28.6	48.9
Provides some unpaid care (1-50+ hours a week)	8.2	16.8	29.1	50

Table 2 - "not good" health among carers and non-carers in London.

Figure 3 - percentage of Londoners reporting "not good" health by hours of unpaid care given a week, ONS<sup>19</sup>



It is easy to assume that caring is a matter of looking after dignified but grateful and silent older people, and that being looked after equals tactful and graciously given support.

This is of course not usually the case. Families can be toxic environments and being forced back to closer interdependence can re-ignite grudges or worse, abusive relationships.<sup>26</sup> Caring itself is a difficult and specialist task, which will become a more pressing matter as more people live with complex conditions for longer. The Government

may have chosen to class social care as unskilled for immigration purposes,<sup>27</sup> but this is more a reflection of low pay in the sector than the expertise required. Collapsing social care services, effectively privatising provision of this care into the home, does not reduce the difficulty of the tasks involved.<sup>28</sup> Although it is hard to measure, the stress and anguish that forced caring responsibilities create, falling mostly on women, are a vital reason to measure, analyse and act on the forthcoming rise in need.

Recommendation 7: Consider in the future the feasibility of a carers' pass on TfL services, and liaise with London Councils to amend the freedom pass rules to allow the user to take one other designated adult.

Recommendation 8: Lobby the Government to reform carers allowance to be available at a lower level of weekly care and a higher level of income.

Recommendation 9: Lobby the Government to provide sufficient funding for social care to lessen the burden on unpaid carers, and to bring forward the social care Green Paper by the end of 2018.

Recommendation 10: Celebrate carers, for instance by participating in Carers Week, raise awareness of legal rights as they stand, and tackle the gender imbalance in caring through a publicity campaign and work with employers encouraging men to take on more caring responsibilities.

# What this means for London's economy

Not only does caring have consequences for individual health (and thus for the NHS), but carers are also more likely to drop out of work. 315,000 people in the UK, mostly women, have left work because of their responsibilities. Women carers are four times more likely to give up work than men.<sup>29</sup> The cost to public finances in carers allowance and lost tax revenues is £1.3 billion a year.<sup>30</sup>

Only 62% of working aged women carers have a job, compared to 72% of men. As women are more likely to care for more hours per week, it is unsurprising that they leave work at higher rates than men. As many reports point out, this is most prevalent for women between the ages of 50-64, likely to be at the height of their experience, skills and earnings at work.<sup>31</sup>

Women carers suffer from a double-disadvantage. Sexist practices, attitudes and institutions already see women paid less and less likely to work full time, or at all. On top of this, the expectation that women will pick up caring responsibilities, often for young children and elderly relatives at the same time, means women are particularly likely to spend many hours caring and leave work as a result.

Women in London face strong headwinds to their incomes and careers in the coming decades, as they shoulder a disproportionate burden from more people needing care, insufficient public funding, and the pension age for women rising to meet that of men.

Nearly two in five non-retired carers are prevented from working or work less than they would like.<sup>32</sup> For all carers, there is a

gap of around ten percentage points in the employment rate compared to people without caring responsibilities. Carers are less likely to have a job or work full time, and their wages are 5% lower on average.

More than half (56%) of carers have an income of less than £300 per week.<sup>33</sup> Carers Allowance is remarkably low at £64.60 per week and is only available for people earning less than £120 per week and looking after someone with a disability for more than 35 hours per week. This is particularly striking given London's high cost of living which more than offsets the better salaries some workers gain. A swathe of carers in London are not eligible even for the minor support of CA, despite their reduced earning.

The level of care at which people begin leaving the labour market is around ten hours per week.<sup>34</sup> In this light, the rise in the number of carers in London giving longer hours of support is of particular concern for the city's economy. The cost of lost productivity from people leaving work to care is especially dear, because of the high gross value added (GVA) per worker in London – 30% higher per hour than the UK average.<sup>35</sup> There is also evidence that workers take on less skilled roles but ones which wrap around their caring requirements, leading to a misallocation of skills, training and experience.

A wealth of literature from unions and care support groups outlines how employers can be carer-friendly.<sup>36</sup> At a minimum, carers need to know their rights in law as they stand now.<sup>37</sup> This literature describes not only how to avoid forcing employees to choose between work and family, but also gaining the benefits of a

motivated, healthy workforce. The Government's own review of the retirement age in 2017 recommended that all employers have an eldercare offer and that statutory carers leave be introduced as soon as possible.<sup>38</sup>

However, Londoners tend to work longer hours than people in the rest of the UK, presenting a challenging culture for carers with pressing demands on their time.<sup>39</sup> Although some employers are drawing up carer-friendly policies, this is not yet widespread and whether these are adhered to in practice is another matter. Moreover, London's younger working population

may mean employers do not think they need carer-friendly policies, despite evidence that large numbers of people (particularly women) are carers from their thirties onwards.

London politicians and employers need to be ready for the greater numbers of carers they will be dealing with and adjust their policies accordingly. Otherwise the city will lose more and more workers to the demands of unpaid care, with knock-on effects on productivity, income and spending.

**Recommendation 11:** Establish a self-registration system for carers across London. The Mayor should also lobby the Government to register people receiving Carers Allowance onto the London scheme.

**Recommendation 12:** Task GLA Economics to publish annual reports into the number, characteristics and lives of London's carers.

**Recommendation 13:** Scope establishing a London carers co-operative, enabling carers to access support, training and pooled benefits.

# References

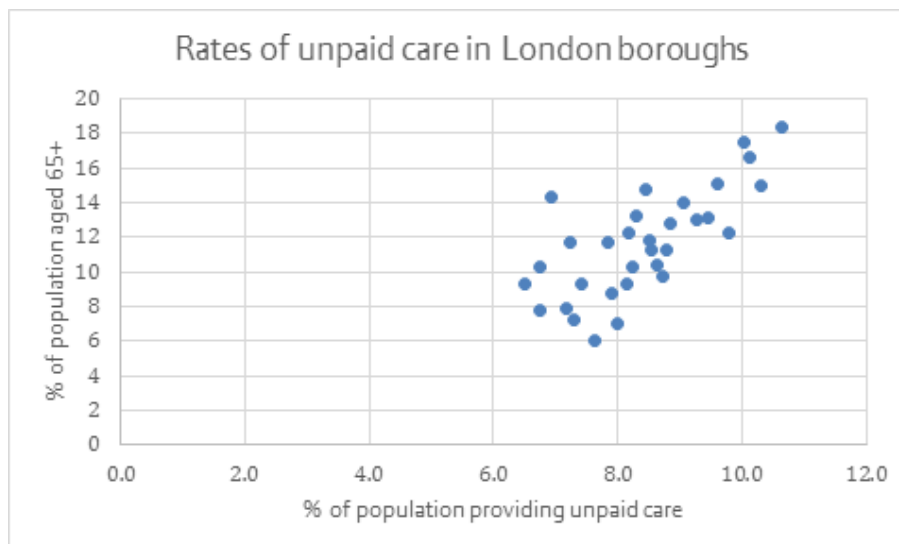
1. Office for National Statistics, Unpaid care in England and Wales, 2011 and comparison with 2001, 15 February 2013
2. Department for Work and Pensions, Family resources survey 2016/17, 22 March 2018
3. ibid
4. Office for National Statistics, How the population of England is predicted to change, 4 August 2016
5. Greater London Authority, The propensity for social exclusion of older people in London, December 2015
6. Office for National Statistics, Care home population stabilises as unpaid care population increases, 8 June 2015
7. Greater London Authority, 2011 census snapshot: health and unpaid care in London boroughs, December 2012
8. Office for National Statistics, Full story: the gender gap in unpaid care provision, 16 May 2013
9. Care Quality Commission, People from Black and minority ethnic communities, May 2016
10. Greater London Authority, 2011 census snapshot: health and unpaid care in London boroughs, December 2012
11. Carers UK, Unpaid carers save the UK £132 billion per year, 12 November 2015
12. Office for National Statistics, Home produced “adultcare” services, 7 April 2016
13. Valuing carers 2015, Carers UK, 12 November 2015
14. Greater London Authority, Ward Profiles and Atlas, 2015
15. Institute for Fiscal Studies, UK health and social care spending, 7 February 2017
16. The Guardian, A million older people “badly let down” by lack of social care funding, 9 July 2018
17. United Nations Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights, Statement on Visit to the United Kingdom, by Professor Philip Alston, 16 November 2018
18. Sky News, Women may have to quit jobs to fill care roles post-Brexit, report warns, 6 August 2018
19. Skills for Care, 2017, The adult social care workforce in London
20. ibid

21. London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Loneliness and isolation in older people, January 2016
22. Carers Week, Building a carer friendly society, 2017
23. The King's Fund, Attitudes to health and social care, 2014
24. Office for National Statistics, Full story: the gender gap in unpaid care, 16 May 2013
25. Carers UK, Walking the tightrope: the challenges of combining work and care in later life, 15 July 2016
26. Commission on Care, Unpaid care: the guilt trip that lets government off the hook, 15 February 2017
27. Nursing Times, Calls to classify social care staff as skilled to avoid Brexit crisis, 19 September 2018
28. New Economics Foundation, Where was social care?, 29 November 2017
29. Commission on Care, Towards a new deal for care and carers, 2016
30. Health and Social Care in the Community, Public expenditure costs of carers leaving employment, 14 September 2017
31. Department of Health and Social Care, Supporting working carers, 27 August 2013
32. Social Market Foundation, Caring for carers, July 2018
33. Department for Work and Pensions, Family resources survey: financial year 2016/17, 22 March 2018
34. London School of Economics, Overcoming barriers: unpaid care and employment in England,
35. Full Fact, Productivity in the UK workplace, 14 November 2016
36. University and College Union, UCU guidance: caring for the carers, June 2016
37. The Trade Union Congress, Time off and flexible working for carers, June 2015
38. Department for Work and Pensions, Smoothing the transition, 27 April 2017
39. BBC, Londoners work "three weeks a year more than rest of UK", 18 April 2017

# Appendices

## Provision of unpaid care by London borough, 2011 census data

Borough	Total provision of unpaid care	Provides no unpaid care	Provides 1 to 19 hours unpaid care a week	Provides 20 to 49 hours unpaid care a week	Provides 50 or more hours unpaid care a week	Total carers	% of people caring	Average age (2017)	% over 65
Barking and Dagenham	185,911	169,710	8,637	2,941	4,623	16,201	8.7	32.9	9.7
Barnet	356,386	324,066	21,487	4,586	6,247	32,320	9.1	37.3	14
Bexley	231,997	208,475	14,752	3,051	5,719	23,522	10.1	39	16.6
Brent	311,215	284,605	15,813	4,938	5,859	26,610	8.6	35.6	11.3
Bromley	309,392	278,380	21,274	3,439	6,299	31,012	10.0	40.2	17.5
Camden	220,338	203,032	11,551	2,437	3,318	17,306	7.9	36.4	11.7
Croydon	363,378	329,695	22,063	4,750	6,870	33,683	9.3	37	13
Ealing	338,449	309,676	17,668	5,033	6,072	28,773	8.5	36.2	11.8
Enfield	312,466	284,842	17,299	4,131	6,194	27,624	8.8	36.3	12.8
Greenwich	254,557	232,543	13,085	3,519	5,410	22,014	8.6	35	10.4
Hackney	246,270	228,322	10,734	3,094	4,120	17,948	7.3	33.1	7.2
Hammersmith and Fulham	182,493	170,159	7,936	1,867	2,531	12,334	6.8	35.7	10.3
Haringey	254,926	236,039	11,812	2,904	4,171	18,887	7.4	35.1	9.3
Harrow	239,056	214,436	15,889	3,947	4,784	24,620	10.3	38.3	15
Havering	237,232	212,018	16,094	3,285	5,835	25,214	10.6	40.3	18.4
Hillingdon	273,936	248,031	16,563	3,816	5,526	25,905	9.5	36.4	13.1
Hounslow	253,957	231,647	13,897	3,623	4,790	22,310	8.8	35.8	11.3
Islington	206,125	189,814	10,044	2,505	3,762	16,311	7.9	34.8	8.8
Kensington and Chelsea	158,649	147,671	7,472	1,552	1,954	10,978	6.9	39.3	14.3
Kingston upon Thames	160,060	146,772	9,331	1,611	2,346	13,288	8.3	37.1	13.2
Lambeth	303,086	282,609	13,035	3,172	4,270	20,477	6.8	34.5	7.8
Lewisham	275,885	253,364	13,931	3,502	5,088	22,521	8.2	35	9.3
Merton	199,693	183,366	10,531	2,408	3,388	16,327	8.2	36.7	12.2
Newham	307,984	283,380	13,094	5,191	6,319	24,604	8.0	32.1	7
Redbridge	278,970	251,679	17,182	4,405	5,704	27,291	9.8	35.8	12.2
Richmond upon Thames	186,990	171,188	11,816	1,605	2,381	15,802	8.5	38.8	14.8
Southwark	288,283	267,558	12,531	3,446	4,748	20,725	7.2	34.4	7.9
Sutton	190,146	171,848	12,436	2,242	3,620	18,298	9.6	38.9	15.1
Tower Hamlets	254,096	234,740	10,931	3,510	4,915	19,356	7.6	31.4	6
Waltham Forest	258,249	236,976	12,887	3,426	4,960	21,273	8.2	35.1	10.3
Wandsworth	306,995	287,010	13,132	2,876	3,977	19,985	6.5	35	9.3
Westminster	219,396	203,518	9,916	2,536	3,426	15,878	7.2	37.7	11.7





THIS PAGE IS INTENTIONALLY LEFT BLANK

