



Geographical Variations in Trade Union Membership: 2021 Edition

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1. Introduction

The main source of data regarding union membership within the UK is the Labour Force Survey (LFS) and official government statistics on trade union membership are based on this source. Recent estimates published by the UK Government reveal that between 1995 and 2019, the percentage of employees who are a trade union member (referred to as 'union density') declined from 32% to 24% (BEIS, 2020)¹. Some parts of the UK however remain more prone to unionisation than others. Official estimates for 2020 reveal that union density in England ranges from 19% in London to almost 30% across Northern England. Among the devolved nations of the UK, union density is highest in Northern Ireland (33%), followed by Wales (32%) and Scotland (29%).

Although a large survey, the LFS is limited in its ability to provide detailed information about geographical variations in union membership. Firstly, published estimates of union membership, presence and coverage are only presented for 20 broad regions. In the case of the devolved nations, data is only presented for Wales as a whole, whilst data for Scotland only distinguishes between Strathclyde and the Rest of Scotland. Secondly, official figures are only based upon a single quarter of LFS data which can contribute to significant year on year variation in estimates of union density.

To overcome these problems, this Research Note presents new estimates of trade union membership derived from the LFS² for detailed geographical areas. Based upon 20 years of data covering the period from 2000 to 2019, estimates of trade union membership are presented firstly at regional level based upon 3 year moving averages. Then, estimates are derived for the Unitary Authority and Local Authority Districts of Great Britain as they were prior to the reorganisation of local government in England that were effected in April 2009. There are over 400 such areas. Estimates are presented for each of the three main measures of union membership; union density, union presence and union coverage based upon place of residence.

Previous research³ has demonstrated that the LFS underestimates the number of people who are employed at workplaces which are covered by trade unions. It is expected that this is due to the wording of the question in the LFS (discussed below). This research note therefore also

¹ Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy (2021). *Trade Union Membership, UK 1995-2020: Statistical Bulletin*, <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/trade-union-statistics-2020>

² Office for National Statistics, Social Survey Division, Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, Central Survey Unit. (2021). *Quarterly Labour Force Survey, 1992-2021: Secure Access*. [data collection]. 24th Edition. UK Data Service. SN: 6727, <http://doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-6727-25>

³ Davies R. (2016) *Making Sense of Official Estimates of Trade Union Membership*, Cardiff: Wales Institute of Social & Economic Research, Data & Methods (WISERD), Cardiff University. <https://wiserd.ac.uk/publications/making-sense-official-estimates-trade-union-membership>

provides estimates of the coverage of collective bargaining derived from the Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings (ASHE)⁴ covering the period 2012-2019. Estimates are again based upon place of residence and are derived for both Government Office Regions and for the more detailed Unitary Authority and Local Authority Districts.

2. Why Does Geography Matter?

Previous research has demonstrated that regional variations in union density cannot simply be explained by differences in the types of jobs and working conditions that exist across different areas. It has long been recognised that within areas where there is an historical legacy of trade unionism, workers remain more likely to join trade unions due to the favourable attitudes towards union membership that persist. In the US, the economist Thomas Holmes⁵ has demonstrated how higher unionisation rates in care homes and grocery stores in West Virginia and Pennsylvania are linked to the unionisation of the old coal and steel sectors in those areas. Within the UK, colliery villages and towns located in areas once dominated by coalmining are regarded as among the strongest and most durable bases for the trade union movement. Martin et al (1996)⁶ emphasise the importance of “regional and local variations in the inherited and socialised traditions, customs and cultures” (p99) that influence both the propensity of individuals to join unions, the attitudes of employers towards unions in the workplace and the nature of trade union practice. Beaumont and Harris (1988)⁷ suggest that broad administrative areas (or aggregations thereof), with their sharply defined borders, are not the most applicable spatial unit of analysis to empirically identify the importance of historical and cultural factors influencing union membership within the contemporary period. Variation in such phenomena is more appropriately examined at a sub-regional level of analysis (Beaumont and Harris, 1988, p400).

⁴ Office for National Statistics. (2020). *Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings, 1997-2020: Secure Access*. [data collection]. 17th Edition. UK Data Service. SN: 6689, <http://doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-6689-16>

⁵ Holmes, T. J. (2006). ‘Geographic Spillover of Unionism’, Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis Research Department Staff Report 368.

⁶ Martin, R., Sunley, P. and Wills, J. (1996). *Union Retreat and the Regions: The shrinking Landscape of organised labour*, London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers Limited

⁷ Beaumont, P.B. and Harris, R.I.D. (1988). ‘Sub-Systems of Industrial Relations: The Spatial Dimension in Britain’ *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 26(3): 397-407.

3. Measures of Union Membership

The Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy (BEIS) is responsible for publishing official statistics on trade union membership via its annual Statistical Bulletin 'Trade Union Membership'⁸ and accompanying Tables. Estimates of trade union membership within the statistical releases produced by BEIS focus on 3 key measures:

- Union density: The percentage of those in employment who are a trade union member.
- Union presence: Whether or not a trade union or staff association is present within a workplace.
- Union coverage: Whether the pay and conditions of employees are agreed in negotiations between the employer and a trade union.

Official estimates of union membership are derived from the Labour Force Survey; the largest regular household survey conducted in the UK. An annual question on trade union membership was introduced into the LFS in 1989 and it has been asked in the fourth quarter (Q4) every year since 1992. Questions on trade union presence and recognition were added in 1993, and a question on collective agreements was introduced in 1996. The union questions were revised substantially from 1999 affecting the consistency of time-series data for trade union presence and collective agreements. In terms of union membership, respondents are asked "Are you a member of a trade union or staff association?". Trade union presence is established with a follow-up question which asks those who are not members of a union whether any of the people at their place of work are members of a trade union or staff association (it is assumed that if the respondent is a member then unions must be present at their workplace).

In terms of union coverage, the LFS asks respondents whether their pay and conditions are 'directly affected' by agreements between employers and trade unions. The wording of the LFS question on union coverage is different to other sources which simply ask whether or not unions and staff associations are 'recognised' by management for the purposes of negotiation and potentially explains why estimates of union coverage derived from the LFS are considerably lower than those derived from other sources (Davies, 2016)⁹, including data also collected by ONS via the Annual Survey of Hours of Earnings (see BIS, 2013)¹⁰.

The Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings is based on a 1% sample of employee jobs sampled via HMRC records. In addition to its large sample size, unlike the LFS the information collected

⁸ <https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/trade-union-statistics>

⁹ Davies R. (2016) *Making Sense of Official Estimates of Trade Union Membership*, Cardiff: Wales Institute of Social & Economic Research, Data & Methods (WISERD), Cardiff University.

¹⁰ https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/184693/13-733-Measuring-bias-in-the-LFS-for-Trade-Union-Membership.pdf

by ASHE is obtained directly from employers. ASHE data is therefore regarded as a high quality source of data and underpins many of the official statistics for earnings and hours produced by ONS¹¹. In terms of the coverage of collective agreements, employers are asked *was the employee's pay set with reference to an agreement affecting more than one employee? For example, pay may be agreed collectively by a trade union or workers' committee*. It should therefore be noted that the question in ASHE provides a broader indicator of whether collective agreements affect the pay of employees. The question in ASHE simply asks whether pay is set with reference to an agreement which may not necessarily involve trade unions. The awareness of employers of such arrangements would also be expected to be better than that of employees. The analysis of ASHE data covers the period 2012-2019. This shorter time frame reflects the availability of geographical identifiers in the ASHE data that allows data on pay agreements to be presented on a consistent geographical basis.

4. Regional Variations in Union Membership

Table 1 shows regional trends in trade union membership between 2000 and 2019. Figures are based upon 3 year moving averages to improve the robustness of results. Estimates for 2017/19 indicate that approximately one in four (23%) employees were trade union members, a decline of 6 percentage points since 2000/02. However, the rate of union membership has remained relatively stable in recent years. Significant variations in union density persist across the countries and regions of the UK. Union density is highest within the three devolved nations of the UK; 30% in Wales, 34% in Northern Ireland and 28% in Scotland. Within England, trade union membership is highest among employees in the North East (29%), North West (29%) and Yorkshire and Humberside (27%). However, there is also considerable variation within these regions. For example, within the North West, union density is highest among employees living in Merseyside at 36%, a figure higher than that observed across the devolved nations and 9 percentage points higher than that observed in the neighbouring metropolitan county of Greater Manchester. Likewise, within Yorkshire and Humberside, union density is estimated to be highest in South Yorkshire at 33%. Rates of union membership are lowest among those living in Inner London at just 15%. Across all countries and regions of the UK, there has been a decline in the proportion of employees who are members of trade unions. Overall, union density in the UK has declined by approximately a fifth between 2000/02 and 2017/19. South Yorkshire has exhibited the smallest proportionate decline in union density at just 7%. On the

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<https://www.ons.gov.uk/surveys/informationforbusinesses/businesssurveys/annualsurveyofhoursandearnings/ashe>

other hand, within the North East union membership has declined by approximately 28% in the North East and by approximately 30% in Inner London.

Table 2 repeats the analysis with respect to union presence – the proportion of employees who are at workplaces where trade unions or staff associations are present. Overall levels of union presence in the UK have declined from 56% in 2000/02 to 49% in 2017/19. Representing a reduction of approximately 13%, the decline in union presence has been lower than the fall in union membership. The highest rates of union presence are observed in South Yorkshire (62%) and Wales (56%). Union presence has remained relatively stable in South Yorkshire between 2000/02 and 2017/19. However, it is within Inner London where union presence has declined most sharply from 46% to 35%, a reduction of approximately 25%.

Table 3 considers trade union coverage based upon data from the LFS. The LFS defines trade union coverage as the proportion of employees who indicate that their pay and conditions are 'directly affected' by agreements between employers and trade unions. Levels of union presence in the UK have declined from 36% in 2000/02 to 26% in 2017/19, a reduction of more than a quarter. The highest rates of union coverage during 2017/19 are observed in Northern Ireland (44%) followed by Strathclyde (37%) and Tyne and Wear (36%). Union coverage is lowest among those living in London (19%), particularly Inner London (17%). Union coverage within London has declined by over a third between 2000/02 and 2017/19. Scotland and Northern Ireland have exhibited the smallest declines in union coverage.

Finally, Table 4 considers regional variation in the coverage of collective agreements based upon data from the Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings. Within ASHE, the coverage of collective agreements is defined with respect to the proportion of employees whose pay is set with reference to an agreement affecting more than one employee. No data is available for Northern Ireland. It can be seen that 39% of employees across Great Britain had their pay set with reference to a collective agreement in 2019 which is around 13 percentage points higher than the UK average derived from the LFS. Based upon data relating to region of residence, the coverage of collective agreements is observed to be highest in Scotland (51%) and Wales (48%) and lowest within London (32%). As most people live and work within the same Government Office Region, spatial variance in the coverage of collective agreements is similar when considered in terms of the location of workplaces (not presented).

Table 1: Union Density Labour Force Survey

	2000/ 02	2001/ 03	2002/ 04	2003/ 05	2004/ 06	2005/ 07	2006/ 08	2007/ 09	2008/ 10	2009/ 11	2010/ 12	2011/ 13	2012/ 14	2013/ 15	2014/ 16	2015/ 17	2016/ 18	2017/ 19	All
North East	39.8	38.9	37.6	36.9	37.3	37.0	36.6	35.6	34.6	34.2	33.2	32.6	31.8	30.9	29.8	28.6	28.2	28.9	33.8
Tyne and Wear	40.0	40.6	39.6	39.2	38.3	37.2	36.7	35.3	34.2	33.7	33.2	32.4	31.7	31.6	31.4	31.1	29.7	29.9	34.4
Rest of North East	39.6	37.6	36.0	35.1	36.5	36.8	36.5	35.9	34.9	34.7	33.3	32.7	31.9	30.4	28.5	26.6	27.0	28.1	33.3
North West	34.6	33.9	34.0	33.8	33.9	33.7	33.5	32.9	32.0	31.4	30.7	30.3	29.9	29.1	28.5	28.6	28.7	28.5	31.4
Greater Manchester	33.3	32.6	33.9	33.3	33.2	31.8	31.4	31.2	30.7	30.1	29.2	28.0	28.1	27.3	27.1	25.9	26.7	26.4	29.8
Merseyside	40.7	40.8	40.7	39.4	38.9	39.1	40.5	40.7	38.8	35.8	34.2	35.2	35.5	34.5	33.0	34.8	35.7	35.6	37.2
Rest of North West	33.0	31.9	31.2	31.8	32.4	33.1	32.4	31.0	30.2	30.6	30.5	30.1	28.8	28.1	27.8	28.3	27.4	27.2	30.3
Yorks & Humb	32.0	32.1	31.5	31.1	29.6	29.7	29.4	29.6	29.0	28.1	27.6	27.4	28.1	28.0	27.3	26.7	26.8	26.5	28.8
South Yorkshire	35.5	34.9	35.3	35.0	33.4	33.0	31.6	32.0	32.8	32.1	31.3	29.9	31.8	32.0	31.4	30.3	32.3	32.9	32.7
West Yorkshire	31.4	31.2	31.2	30.9	29.6	29.4	29.1	29.1	28.1	27.2	27.2	27.9	28.4	27.6	26.5	26.4	26.5	25.5	28.3
Rest of Yorks & Humb	30.1	31.1	29.2	28.4	26.8	27.6	28.3	28.6	27.5	26.5	25.4	24.8	24.8	25.3	25.3	24.7	23.0	22.5	26.5
East Midlands	28.6	27.8	27.4	27.9	27.4	27.4	26.8	26.7	26.5	26.0	25.5	25.5	24.5	23.8	22.6	21.7	21.4	21.7	25.4
West Midlands	29.9	29.9	29.3	29.2	28.7	28.6	27.6	27.6	27.3	27.3	26.5	25.5	24.9	24.7	24.4	23.7	22.6	22.7	26.4
WM Met County	31.3	31.6	31.2	30.7	29.6	29.1	28.5	29.0	28.5	28.6	27.1	26.5	25.4	25.6	25.3	25.0	23.9	24.1	27.5
Rest of West Mids	28.7	28.4	27.8	27.9	28.0	28.2	26.9	26.3	26.2	26.1	26.0	24.7	24.4	23.9	23.5	22.5	21.4	21.4	25.5
East of England	23.0	23.2	23.8	24.2	23.9	23.1	22.5	22.4	22.5	22.6	22.3	22.0	21.3	20.7	19.6	19.1	18.9	19.7	21.8
London	24.0	24.5	24.7	24.8	24.6	24.3	24.1	23.0	22.1	21.0	21.1	20.9	20.7	19.6	18.7	18.0	17.9	17.7	21.3
Inner London	21.3	21.2	20.5	20.2	21.0	21.9	22.0	20.3	19.5	18.4	18.8	18.0	18.0	17.1	16.1	15.0	14.8	14.8	18.4
Outer London	25.7	26.6	27.3	27.6	26.7	25.8	25.4	24.7	23.8	22.8	22.6	22.8	22.4	21.3	20.5	20.1	20.2	19.9	23.2
South East	22.2	21.8	21.8	21.9	21.9	21.3	21.2	21.4	21.5	21.2	20.9	20.6	20.1	20.1	19.5	19.4	18.6	18.6	20.6
South West	25.8	26.1	25.9	26.1	25.3	25.2	24.7	25.1	24.6	24.5	23.9	23.5	22.8	22.2	22.2	21.7	21.6	21.6	23.9
Wales	39.5	38.6	38.0	36.2	35.7	35.7	36.8	36.7	35.8	34.9	34.1	34.4	34.7	35.4	35.3	33.4	31.8	30.4	35.2
Scotland	34.7	34.5	33.8	33.7	33.7	33.6	33.2	32.4	32.3	31.2	31.1	31.0	31.2	31.4	30.5	29.7	28.5	28.4	29.7
Strathclyde	38.8	39.1	38.4	38.3	37.5	37.0	35.9	35.5	36.3	35.5	34.9	33.6	33.9	33.7	32.9	31.6	30.2	31.0	32.8
Rest of Scotland	31.7	31.1	30.3	30.4	31.0	31.2	31.3	30.2	29.6	28.3	28.6	29.2	29.4	29.8	28.9	28.4	27.3	26.8	27.6
Northern Ireland	40.2	40.6	40.3	40.0	40.0	40.1	38.4	38.5	37.1	36.5	35.4	35.3	35.7	35.0	32.9	32.5	32.7	34.2	36.5
Total	29.2	29.0	28.9	28.8	28.5	28.2	27.8	27.6	27.1	26.6	26.2	25.8	25.5	25.0	24.3	23.7	23.3	23.3	26.4

Table 2: Union Presence: Labour Force Survey

	2000/ 02	2001/ 03	2002/ 04	2003/ 05	2004/ 06	2005/ 07	2006/ 08	2007/ 09	2008/ 10	2009/ 11	2010/ 12	2011/ 13	2012/ 14	2013/ 15	2014/ 16	2015/ 17	2016/ 18	2017/ 19	All
North East	66.6	65.8	64.7	64.4	63.6	63.7	64.1	64.2	63.5	61.9	60.7	60.3	59.7	59.5	57.1	56.2	54.7	56.2	61.3
Tyne and Wear	67.5	67.4	66.7	66.9	65.1	64.5	64.5	64.8	63.3	61.5	60.8	61.6	60.4	59.5	57.8	58.3	56.6	58.4	62.2
Rest of North East	66.0	64.6	63.2	62.5	62.5	63.1	63.8	63.7	63.7	62.1	60.6	59.3	59.2	59.6	56.6	54.5	53.2	54.6	60.6
North West	60.9	60.3	60.0	60.1	59.6	60.3	60.4	60.5	59.6	58.3	56.9	55.9	56.0	55.4	54.8	53.8	53.5	52.7	57.5
Greater Manchester	58.2	57.7	58.3	58.7	58.3	59.0	58.8	59.5	58.9	58.0	56.7	53.9	54.4	53.7	53.5	50.9	50.6	50.4	55.8
Merseyside	66.0	65.6	64.7	63.8	62.3	63.5	65.2	66.0	64.5	61.3	59.4	61.2	61.0	60.2	56.8	57.3	57.3	57.1	61.5
Rest of North West	61.1	60.3	59.4	59.7	59.4	60.0	59.7	59.0	58.1	57.4	56.0	55.2	55.1	54.8	55.2	54.9	54.5	53.0	57.3
Yorks & Humb	59.3	59.8	59.4	59.1	57.3	57.9	58.3	59.5	59.1	58.2	57.3	57.1	57.0	56.5	54.7	55.1	53.9	53.4	57.1
South Yorkshire	60.4	60.6	61.5	62.2	59.6	59.8	58.7	61.2	61.6	61.1	60.6	59.6	60.4	61.6	60.6	62.2	61.1	61.9	60.7
West Yorkshire	59.9	60.3	59.9	59.4	58.1	59.0	59.4	59.7	58.9	57.5	57.1	57.8	58.7	56.9	53.5	52.6	51.2	50.3	56.8
Rest of Yorks & Humb	57.7	58.6	57.2	56.1	54.4	55.2	56.8	57.9	57.6	56.9	55.0	54.2	52.0	52.2	51.9	53.2	51.9	50.6	54.8
East Midlands	55.0	55.5	55.9	55.5	55.0	54.7	54.8	54.6	55.4	54.9	55.2	54.8	54.2	52.8	50.9	49.1	49.2	49.7	53.5
West Midlands	55.9	55.6	55.2	54.5	54.8	54.6	54.1	54.1	54.2	54.0	52.7	52.1	51.4	51.3	49.8	48.4	47.0	46.9	52.2
WM Met County	57.1	57.3	57.1	56.1	55.4	54.4	54.6	55.2	54.8	54.4	52.9	53.3	51.5	50.8	48.7	47.9	46.8	47.1	52.6
Rest of West Mids	55.0	54.2	53.7	53.3	54.3	54.8	53.6	53.2	53.7	53.6	52.5	51.1	51.3	51.6	50.7	48.9	47.2	46.7	52.0
East of England	49.9	50.4	50.8	51.3	50.5	50.3	49.6	49.5	49.3	49.3	48.9	48.6	47.9	47.2	45.5	44.2	43.1	43.6	48.0
London	49.7	49.7	48.9	49.2	49.0	49.0	48.7	48.2	48.0	46.8	46.1	45.3	43.8	42.0	40.7	40.4	40.1	39.8	45.3
Inner London	46.4	45.4	43.8	43.2	44.0	45.5	46.4	45.5	44.5	42.3	41.2	40.1	39.1	38.3	37.3	36.3	35.6	34.8	41.0
Outer London	51.7	52.4	52.0	52.9	52.1	51.2	50.3	50.0	50.3	49.6	49.2	48.5	46.8	44.4	43.1	43.4	43.3	43.3	48.1
South East	49.8	49.3	49.1	49.4	49.1	48.6	48.4	48.6	49.5	49.5	49.4	48.9	48.0	46.8	45.2	44.9	44.2	44.6	47.7
South West	55.6	55.9	55.7	55.5	54.9	54.9	54.1	54.6	54.6	55.0	54.3	53.0	52.7	52.7	53.0	51.6	50.0	49.0	53.4
Wales	64.2	62.8	63.4	62.4	62.5	62.2	63.3	64.1	64.0	63.6	62.8	62.8	61.9	61.9	61.3	60.2	57.6	55.9	61.7
Scotland	60.7	60.0	59.4	59.1	59.5	59.4	59.5	58.3	58.1	56.6	56.5	56.4	56.5	56.9	55.6	55.3	54.0	54.5	57.4
Strathclyde	61.5	61.9	61.5	61.4	60.9	60.5	60.0	59.4	59.9	58.9	58.1	57.0	56.8	57.4	57.1	56.4	54.9	55.0	58.7
Rest of Scotland	60.0	58.5	57.8	57.4	58.5	58.7	59.0	57.5	56.8	54.9	55.2	55.9	56.2	56.6	54.5	54.5	53.4	54.1	56.5
Northern Ireland	60.5	59.3	58.9	57.1	56.2	54.1	51.9	51.6	50.0	49.2	47.2	48.0	50.3	52.3	50.4	49.3	49.5	51.9	52.3
Total	55.9	55.7	55.5	55.4	54.9	54.9	54.6	54.6	54.5	53.9	53.2	52.6	52.1	51.6	50.3	49.4	48.5	48.5	52.8

Table 3: Union Coverage: Labour Force Survey

	2000/ 02	2001/ 03	2002/ 04	2003/ 05	2004/ 06	2005/ 07	2006/ 08	2007/ 09	2008/ 10	2009/ 11	2010/ 12	2011/ 13	2012/ 14	2013/ 15	2014/ 16	2015/ 17	2016/ 18	2017/ 19	All
North East	44.3	44.2	42.6	42.2	41.2	40.3	39.6	38.7	36.4	35.2	33.8	34.3	33.9	33.5	32.2	32.1	31.3	32.9	36.9
Tyne and Wear	45.6	46.8	45.8	44.8	42.5	41.6	41.3	40.3	37.2	34.5	33.9	35.1	34.5	34.2	33.6	34.6	33.3	35.6	38.3
Rest of North East	43.4	42.2	40.3	40.2	40.1	39.4	38.3	37.6	35.7	35.8	33.7	33.7	33.5	33.0	31.1	30.0	29.6	30.8	35.8
North West	40.7	40.2	39.9	39.4	38.4	38.7	38.6	38.0	36.1	35.2	33.8	33.0	31.7	31.5	31.1	30.9	30.4	29.7	35.1
Greater Manchester	38.0	37.1	36.9	36.7	36.8	37.7	37.7	37.1	35.7	34.7	33.1	31.0	30.1	30.1	30.0	28.5	28.8	28.3	33.5
Merseyside	47.0	47.8	48.5	46.6	43.5	43.3	44.4	44.6	40.3	38.1	35.8	37.5	36.1	36.8	33.9	35.2	33.0	32.8	39.7
Rest of North West	40.5	39.8	38.8	38.5	37.4	37.7	37.0	36.1	34.6	34.3	33.5	32.7	31.2	30.3	30.8	31.1	30.7	29.6	34.5
Yorks & Humb	38.1	38.3	38.1	38.2	36.4	36.8	36.4	36.7	35.5	34.1	32.0	30.7	29.7	29.8	28.9	28.5	27.6	27.2	33.2
South Yorkshire	40.9	40.1	40.3	40.1	37.2	38.7	37.7	39.6	38.0	35.6	32.2	29.2	29.8	30.6	30.9	30.1	30.2	30.9	35.0
West Yorkshire	38.1	39.0	39.1	39.5	37.7	37.9	37.4	36.8	35.6	34.3	33.3	32.6	31.7	30.8	29.3	29.3	28.4	26.7	33.7
Rest of Yorks & Humb	35.9	36.1	35.3	35.2	34.2	34.0	34.1	34.3	33.4	32.7	30.3	29.5	27.0	28.0	27.0	26.4	24.7	25.2	31.0
East Midlands	33.7	33.5	33.5	33.4	33.2	33.1	33.0	32.4	32.0	31.4	30.7	30.2	27.9	27.3	25.9	26.0	25.9	26.6	30.4
West Midlands	35.9	35.4	34.8	33.8	33.6	34.2	34.3	34.3	32.8	32.5	31.4	30.6	28.5	28.1	26.8	26.4	24.7	25.4	30.9
WM Met County	37.6	37.3	36.3	35.0	34.1	34.9	35.6	36.6	35.2	34.5	32.4	31.2	28.8	28.7	27.6	27.2	25.3	26.2	31.9
Rest of West Mids	34.5	33.8	33.5	32.8	33.2	33.7	33.4	32.4	30.9	30.8	30.5	30.1	28.2	27.5	26.1	25.7	24.2	24.6	30.1
East of England	30.0	30.1	30.4	31.3	30.1	29.2	28.3	27.9	27.5	27.3	26.5	25.7	24.1	23.5	22.3	21.4	20.9	21.0	26.1
London	29.4	29.6	28.9	29.0	28.4	28.6	28.2	27.7	26.3	25.0	23.8	23.5	22.2	21.1	19.7	19.2	18.6	18.9	24.3
Inner London	25.8	25.5	24.9	24.9	24.7	25.6	25.7	25.5	23.6	21.6	20.3	20.0	19.4	18.6	17.3	16.2	15.7	16.5	21.2
Outer London	31.7	32.1	31.3	31.5	30.6	30.5	29.8	29.1	28.0	27.2	26.0	25.8	24.1	22.8	21.4	21.3	20.7	20.6	26.3
South East	28.2	27.6	27.6	27.5	27.5	27.5	27.3	27.3	26.2	25.9	25.2	25.4	23.9	23.3	21.5	20.9	20.3	21.1	25.0
South West	33.6	33.5	33.9	34.7	33.7	33.9	32.7	33.8	32.0	31.4	29.6	28.8	28.0	27.4	27.4	26.0	26.0	25.2	30.2
Wales	42.8	42.2	43.3	42.7	41.4	40.3	40.8	41.6	41.0	39.6	38.4	38.1	37.9	37.7	37.5	35.2	32.9	31.5	38.7
Scotland	42.7	41.6	40.3	40.1	39.9	40.3	40.1	39.4	38.5	36.5	35.9	35.9	35.3	35.0	33.7	34.3	34.7	36.3	37.8
Strathclyde	45.2	44.7	42.6	41.6	40.2	41.2	41.0	41.1	41.0	39.2	37.4	36.4	35.7	36.3	35.9	36.7	36.3	37.4	39.5
Rest of Scotland	40.9	39.4	38.5	38.9	39.8	39.6	39.3	38.1	36.7	34.7	35.0	35.6	35.1	34.1	32.2	32.7	33.6	35.5	36.6
Northern Ireland	52.6	53.3	53.5	52.2	51.0	48.8	46.3	46.3	44.6	43.7	41.8	42.6	44.4	47.1	46.0	45.0	43.0	43.9	46.4
Total	35.5	35.3	35.0	35.0	34.2	34.2	33.8	33.6	32.3	31.5	30.4	29.9	28.7	28.3	27.2	26.6	26.0	26.2	31.0

Table 4: Collective Agreement Coverage: Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings

	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	Total
North East	53.4	52.9	52.2	50.7	50.4	46.4	45.0	42.9	49.2
Tyne and Wear	54.4	54.2	53.0	50.3	49.0	47.8	46.2	43.5	49.8
Rest of North East	52.7	51.8	51.7	51.0	51.4	45.3	44.2	42.5	48.7
North West	48.0	47.6	45.4	45.2	45.6	43.7	41.5	43.0	44.9
Greater Manchester	46.0	44.5	43.2	43.7	44.2	42.6	40.5	41.6	43.3
Merseyside	52.6	52.7	51.5	50.3	50.8	48.3	45.0	46.5	49.6
Rest of North West	47.7	48.0	44.6	44.4	44.6	42.7	40.9	42.7	44.4
Yorks & Humb	49.7	48.6	45.7	44.9	44.7	41.7	42.3	42.1	44.9
South Yorkshire	48.6	48.7	46.7	45.1	46.9	45.1	43.6	42.6	45.8
West Yorkshire	50.7	48.3	45.6	45.2	44.5	41.3	43.4	43.0	45.2
Rest of Yorks & Humb	49.3	48.8	44.9	44.4	43.2	39.9	39.8	40.6	43.8
East Midlands	44.8	43.2	40.6	41.0	40.1	38.5	38.8	37.8	40.5
West Midlands	46.7	44.7	43.2	41.1	41.7	38.1	38.2	37.4	41.3
West Mids Met County	47.6	43.9	43.0	41.1	42.3	38.2	38.5	37.3	41.4
Rest of West Midlands	46.1	45.4	43.3	41.1	41.3	38.0	38.0	37.5	41.3
East of England	40.2	40.5	38.6	37.1	37.9	36.4	35.4	35.1	37.6
London	36.5	36.4	34.3	33.5	34.2	30.7	30.8	32.3	33.5
Inner London	33.7	33.3	31.6	31.1	31.8	28.6	28.4	30.0	31.0
Outer London	38.3	38.5	36.1	35.1	35.8	32.2	32.4	33.9	35.2
South East	39.2	38.8	38.4	36.4	35.5	34.7	34.5	34.3	36.4
South West	44.2	44.5	43.0	40.9	41.0	39.4	38.0	38.1	41.1
Wales	55.6	56.3	55.6	50.5	53.4	50.7	51.2	48.1	52.6
Scotland	53.5	54.1	51.6	49.4	50.8	49.9	51.0	50.8	51.3
Strathclyde	54.5	54.0	51.3	46.8	50.2	50.3	51.5	52.3	51.3
Rest of Scotland	52.7	54.2	51.8	51.2	51.2	49.6	50.8	49.8	51.3
Total	45.0	44.5	42.8	41.4	41.6	39.5	39.2	39.1	41.5

5. Small Area Estimates of Union Membership

Table 5 shows estimates of union membership for the Unitary Authority and Local Authority Districts of Great Britain. Full results, including estimates for union presence and union coverage and respective ranks for these measures are presented in Annex 1. Due to the small sample sizes associated with individual areas within any single year, estimates derived from the LFS are based upon the full 20 years-worth of data covering the period 2000-2019. Eight areas are estimated to have rates of union density of over 40% based upon data from the Labour Force Survey. These areas are Copeland (54%), Eilean Siar (47%)¹², Barrow-in-Furness (45%), Neath Port Talbot (44%), Merthyr Tydfil (43%), West Dunbartonshire (43%), Rhondda Cynon Taff (42%) and Durham (40%). These high rates of union membership reflect both the composition of employment in these areas. For example, the high rates of union membership observed across the Scottish Isles reflect the dominance of employment in the public sector within these more rural areas. Elsewhere, high levels of union density reflect the presence of large unionised workplaces that dominate local labour markets. This is most clearly demonstrated in Copeland, where the Sellafield nuclear processing facility has provided an important source of employment for a highly unionised workforce since the 1950s. The importance of proximity to once highly unionised workplaces that have long since vanished in supporting favourable attitudes to trade unions is demonstrated by the persistence of union membership within ex-mining areas such as Durham and the Rhondda in South Wales.

The ability of join a trade union will be dependent on the availability of a union at the workplace. Table 5 demonstrates that high levels of union membership often coincide with high levels of union presence. However, in areas such as West Dunbartonshire and Blaenau Gwent levels of union presence appear to be relatively low compared to those observed in other highly unionised areas. This suggests that in these areas, workers exhibit a particularly high propensity to join unions where there is something available to join. Finally, rates of collective agreement coverage derived from ASHE are generally higher than those derived from the LFS reflecting the broader definition used within ASHE and the greater awareness among employers of pay setting arrangements. High levels of union coverage reported by respondents to the LFS generally correlate with high levels of collective bargaining coverage reported by employers within ASHE. However, given that the data are derived from different sample surveys and utilise different measures of collective agreement coverage that are open

¹² Also known as the Outer Hebrides, it is noted that this estimate is based upon a relatively small number of employees (approximately 150) and should therefore be treated with caution. Otherwise, the sample sizes for individual areas upon which estimates are based are generally over 1000.

to interpretation, differences do emerge in the rank position of some areas when comparing the ASHE and LFS data.

Table 5: Twenty Highest Areas for Union Membership

	Union Density		Union Presence		Union Coverage		Agreement Coverage	
	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank
16UE: Copeland	54.0	1	72.8	1	51.0	1	60.3	4
00RJ: Eilean Siar	46.7	2	72.3	2	43.3	7	67.2	1
16UC: Barrow-in-Furness	44.8	3	67.7	6	45.5	3	37.9	258
00NZ: Neath Port Talbot	43.6	4	68.1	4	44.3	5	56.3	14
00PH: Merthyr Tydfil	42.6	5	66.3	9	42.4	10	53.0	32
00QG: West Dunbartonshire	42.4	6	61.5	44	45.0	4	58.7	6
00PF: Rhondda, Cynon, Taff	41.6	7	66.6	8	41.6	14	54.6	22
20UE: Durham	40.3	8	69.1	3	43.0	9	56.1	17
00PB: Bridgend	39.6	9	65.0	10	42.4	10	48.7	72
16UB: Allerdale	39.3	10	63.5	15	38.9	39	50.0	54
00PL: Blaenau Gwent	39.1	11	59.3	71	34.0	108	54.0	25
20UB: Chester-le-Street	38.7	12	67.8	5	40.7	19	50.2	50
00BY: Liverpool	38.3	13	61.8	36	40.4	22	49.8	57
00QU: Inverclyde	38.2	14	63.5	15	41.9	13	58.6	7
00NA: Isle of Anglesey	37.9	15	62.4	25	40.4	22	58.9	5
00RD: Shetland Islands	37.8	16	63.0	21	37.8	53	63.5	2
00RA: Orkney Islands	37.7	17	67.7	6	46.5	2	63.1	3
35UG: Wansbeck	37.6	=18	63.9	13	40.2	26	58.6	7
00BX: Knowsley	37.6	=18	64.7	11	40.5	21	50.0	54
00QK: East Ayrshire	37.6	=18	60.3	54	39.0	35	52.2	38

Annex 1: Small Area Estimates of Union Membership

	Labour Force Survey						ASHE	
	Union Density		Union Presence		Union Coverage		Agreement Coverage	
Tyne and Wear	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank
00CH: Gateshead	35.2	32	60.5	51	38.7	42	47.9	81
00CJ: Newcastle upon Tyne	32.9	59	63.1	20	39.0	35	46.8	95
00CK: North Tyneside	34.0	48	62.3	28	39.5	31	50.0	54
00CL: South Tyneside	36.1	27	63.2	18	37.6	57	52.1	40
00CM: Sunderland	34.9	38	62.1	31	36.8	67	52.7	35
Total	34.4		62.2		38.3		49.8	
Rest of North East								
00EB: Hartlepool	35.0	36	61.6	40	35.6	87	50.5	47
00EC: Middlesbrough	32.7	61	59.4	68	34.9	96	48.6	74
00EE: Redcar and Cleveland	36.4	25	63.5	15	37.9	52	47.0	92
00EF: Stockton-on-Tees	31.9	72	61.9	35	37.5	59	46.8	95
00EH: Darlington	27.3	153	53.3	194	33.8	115	43.9	145
20UB: Chester-le-Street	38.7	12	67.8	5	40.7	19	50.2	50
20UD: Derwentside	29.9	102	57.8	97	30.7	180	48.8	69
20UE: Durham	40.3	8	69.1	3	43.0	9	56.1	17
20UF: Easington	33.8	50	59.8	60	36.5	71	53.6	30
20UG: Sedgfield	33.0	58	62.2	30	36.3	74	46.9	93
20UH: Teesdale	29.2	116	55.5	146	24.7	325	37.7	262
20UJ: Wear Valley	34.6	42	59.1	79	31.8	163	45.9	107
35UB: Alnwick	30.1	99	52.5	213	32.7	142	49.3	62
35UC: Berwick-upon-Tweed	21.9	285	42.1	374	22.6	359	41.2	203
35UD: Blyth Valley	33.4	57	59.8	60	34.1	105	50.2	50
35UE: Castle Morpeth	32.4	63	59.3	71	33.7	119	46.5	101
35UF: Tynedale	31.6	80	57.3	107	34.9	96	47.4	87
35UG: Wansbeck	37.6	18	63.9	13	40.2	26	58.6	7
Total	33.3		60.6		35.8		48.7	
Greater Manchester								
00BL: Bolton	31.9	72	56.4	129	36.3	74	44.0	142
00BM: Bury	29.8	103	55.0	163	34.3	104	48.4	76
00BN: Manchester	27.2	155	52.6	209	31.3	167	43.4	150
00BP: Oldham	29.7	104	55.4	150	32.6	148	44.9	120
00BQ: Rochdale	29.7	104	56.8	122	32.5	151	44.6	124
00BR: Salford	28.9	120	54.1	179	33.4	123	41.5	195
00BS: Stockport	29.0	117	55.4	150	33.2	128	40.9	208
00BT: Tameside	29.7	104	56.3	132	32.8	140	43.1	156
00BU: Trafford	26.9	158	55.5	146	32.0	158	41.4	199
00BW: Wigan	35.1	34	61.0	47	36.8	67	42.8	163
Total	29.8		55.8		33.5		43.3	

Merseyside

00BX: Knowsley	37.6	18	64.7	11	40.5	21	50.0	54
00BY: Liverpool	38.3	13	61.8	36	40.4	22	49.8	57
00BZ: St. Helens	34.1	47	58.9	83	36.2	77	48.9	66
00CA: Sefton	37.0	24	61.2	46	39.0	35	50.2	50
00CB: Wirral	37.5	21	61.6	40	41.2	15	49.0	64
Total	37.2		61.5		39.7		49.6	

Rest of North West

00ET: Halton	34.8	40	60.2	56	38.0	49	48.9	66
00EU: Warrington	29.0	117	56.9	116	32.8	140	41.6	193
00EX: Blackburn with Darwen	28.0	137	53.0	200	34.1	105	42.2	176
00EY: Blackpool	28.9	120	55.8	143	38.2	45	42.3	174
13UB: Chester	28.2	131	56.7	123	33.5	121	44.0	142
13UC: Congleton	24.6	217	55.3	153	30.6	181	39.1	238
13UD: Crewe and Nantwich	30.5	94	58.1	94	32.7	142	46.7	99
13UE: Ellesmere Port & Neston	30.0	100	59.1	79	37.7	56	48.2	79
13UG: Macclesfield	22.9	265	53.0	200	25.7	294	36.6	294
13UH: Vale Royal	25.6	193	56.0	138	32.9	138	41.8	187
16UB: Allerdale	39.3	10	63.5	15	38.9	39	50.0	54
16UC: Barrow-in-Furness	44.8	3	67.7	6	45.5	3	37.9	258
16UD: Carlisle	32.0	70	59.0	81	35.7	85	49.4	60
16UE: Copeland	54.0	1	72.8	1	51.0	1	60.3	4
16UF: Eden	24.0	229	51.6	231	25.2	307	32.2	375
16UG: South Lakeland	26.5	172	49.6	268	29.5	207	35.1	330
30UD: Burnley	33.6	51	55.0	163	34.0	108	41.9	183
30UE: Chorley	31.5	81	57.2	109	33.9	112	46.0	105
30UF: Fylde	30.5	94	62.9	22	37.5	59	48.9	66
30UG: Hyndburn	28.6	125	53.1	198	32.7	142	45.5	111
30UH: Lancaster	32.6	62	59.2	76	35.2	91	51.5	42
30UJ: Pendle	25.5	196	47.7	298	28.6	229	40.0	221
30UK: Preston	28.5	126	58.8	84	36.2	77	44.8	121
30UL: Ribble Valley	29.5	111	55.5	146	32.9	138	47.7	85
30UM: Rossendale	27.6	144	56.7	123	32.6	148	39.7	228
30UN: South Ribble	31.8	75	62.5	23	38.2	45	50.1	53
30UP: West Lancashire	30.7	91	53.0	200	35.3	89	44.2	136
30UQ: Wyre	30.9	89	59.4	68	36.5	71	48.8	69
Total	30.3		57.3		34.5		44.4	

South Yorkshire

00CC: Barnsley	34.5	43	61.6	40	35.4	88	47.9	81
00CE: Doncaster	32.1	68	59.3	71	33.5	121	42.0	181
00CF: Rotherham	31.3	84	59.7	63	32.3	154	42.8	163
00CG: Sheffield	32.8	60	61.6	40	37.0	65	48.3	78
Total	32.7		60.7		35.0		45.8	

West Yorkshire

00CX: Bradford	26.9	158	55.5	146	33.2	128	44.4	128
00CY: Calderdale	28.3	129	55.9	140	34.8	99	46.9	93
00CZ: Kirklees	28.7	124	56.2	135	33.2	128	45.0	118
00DA: Leeds	27.5	148	55.8	143	33.1	136	44.7	122
00DB: Wakefield	31.1	86	62.0	33	36.0	82	46.5	101
Total	28.3		56.8		33.7		45.2	

Rest of Yorkshire & Humberside

00FA: Kingston upon Hull, City of	26.3	177	55.3	153	32.0	158	48.4	76
00FB: East Riding of Yorkshire	28.5	126	57.5	102	33.2	128	44.6	124
00FC: North East Lincolnshire	28.4	128	60.6	50	30.3	192	44.3	131
00FD: North Lincolnshire	30.6	93	58.0	96	32.7	142	45.2	115
00FF: York	25.6	193	55.2	157	32.2	155	46.0	105
36UB: Craven	23.1	254	50.1	261	29.6	202	36.3	306
36UC: Hambleton	25.2	203	53.3	194	30.1	195	39.7	228
36UD: Harrogate	22.0	280	46.7	313	26.6	275	36.1	312
36UE: Richmondshire	22.2	279	41.2	381	24.4	330	44.2	136
36UF: Ryedale	19.9	339	46.8	309	25.4	302	31.3	383
36UG: Scarborough	26.8	162	53.5	191	32.5	151	46.8	95
36UH: Selby	27.3	153	57.4	104	31.1	170	43.2	153
Total	26.5		54.8		31.0		43.8	

East Midlands

00FK: Derby	32.3	64	61.7	37	39.6	29	45.2	115
00FN: Leicester	22.5	273	50.3	257	29.0	221	44.6	124
00FP: Rutland	20.3	326	52.1	220	25.4	302	32.2	375
00FY: Nottingham	26.2	180	56.1	136	33.8	115	47.2	90
17UB: Amber Valley	27.5	148	56.4	129	33.8	115	37.0	283
17UC: Bolsover	30.7	91	57.4	104	29.0	221	38.9	241
17UD: Chesterfield	32.3	64	60.5	51	37.6	57	35.1	330
17UF: Derbyshire Dales	24.1	226	53.4	192	29.6	202	33.2	359
17UG: Erewash	28.9	120	58.2	90	34.4	102	41.5	195
17UH: High Peak	27.8	140	56.1	136	32.7	142	37.5	268
17UJ: North East Derbyshire	29.3	113	56.9	116	33.4	123	41.1	206
17UK: South Derbyshire	30.3	97	57.5	102	31.2	168	40.7	211
31UB: Blaby	28.2	131	56.9	116	33.1	136	40.4	216
31UC: Charnwood	22.5	273	53.9	182	29.1	217	38.9	241
31UD: Harborough	21.0	308	46.5	316	25.0	315	36.4	303
31UE: Hinckley and Bosworth	24.1	226	52.2	218	30.4	189	39.6	231
31UG: Melton	20.6	320	48.0	294	25.2	307	42.2	176
31UH: North West Leicestershire	25.1	205	52.6	209	27.5	254	41.9	183
31UJ: Oadby and Wigston	26.7	166	57.1	114	30.8	178	37.9	258

32UB: Boston	23.2	252	47.4	304	26.7	271	42.5	170
32UC: East Lindsey	23.0	257	47.6	300	23.9	335	37.0	283
32UD: Lincoln	24.3	222	54.7	169	33.9	112	45.3	114
32UE: North Kesteven	23.3	247	53.9	182	30.8	178	41.8	187
32UF: South Holland	17.3	378	39.6	394	21.8	370	34.6	341
32UG: South Kesteven	22.6	271	51.3	236	25.7	294	36.6	294
32UH: West Lindsey	27.6	144	55.7	145	31.0	174	42.2	176
34UB: Corby	25.9	185	57.2	109	26.1	283	32.7	366
34UC: Daventry	20.5	322	46.2	323	25.7	294	37.0	283
34UD: East Northamptonshire	19.3	350	46.7	313	22.8	355	37.5	268
34UE: Kettering	25.0	209	52.0	222	30.1	195	37.4	273
34UF: Northampton	22.7	268	49.7	266	29.5	207	38.4	248
34UG: South Northamptonshire	18.9	355	44.9	340	21.6	373	33.0	362
34UH: Wellingborough	18.2	369	43.8	354	22.6	359	37.6	265
37UB: Ashfield	25.9	185	51.2	240	30.5	185	40.9	208
37UC: Bassetlaw	30.5	94	54.8	167	32.1	156	45.9	107
37UD: Broxtowe	25.9	185	58.2	90	34.0	108	44.3	131
37UE: Gedling	31.8	75	59.5	65	35.0	95	44.3	131
37UF: Mansfield	27.8	140	53.9	182	30.5	185	43.5	149
37UG: Newark and Sherwood	24.6	217	52.9	205	28.1	245	42.5	170
37UJ: Rushcliffe	24.3	222	57.2	109	31.6	165	42.6	167
Total	25.4		53.5		30.4		40.5	

West Midlands Metropolitan County

00CN: Birmingham	29.7	104	55.3	153	33.8	115	39.2	237
00CQ: Coventry	26.6	168	58.7	86	39.0	35	45.0	118
00CR: Dudley	24.8	213	47.3	305	28.4	236	40.5	215
00CS: Sandwell	24.5	219	45.7	331	25.9	289	43.9	145
00CT: Solihull	26.8	162	56.9	116	32.5	151	39.4	233
00CU: Walsall	27.4	151	49.0	277	28.2	244	44.5	127
00CW: Wolverhampton	28.3	129	49.2	274	30.9	176	41.4	199
Total	27.5		52.6		31.9		41.4	

Rest of West Midlands

00GA: Herefordshire, County of	22.0	280	44.9	340	25.0	315	38.3	251
00GF: Telford and Wrekin	24.4	220	52.9	205	28.7	227	43.2	153
00GL: Stoke-on-Trent	31.9	72	55.1	159	31.9	160	45.8	110
39UB: Bridgnorth	23.0	257	49.5	269	26.1	283	36.2	310
39UC: North Shropshire	21.3	301	47.9	297	25.4	302	48.2	79
39UD: Oswestry	27.6	144	55.4	150	31.1	170	42.9	161
39UE: Shrewsbury and Atcham	29.3	113	57.6	99	36.6	70	44.2	136
39UF: South Shropshire	18.6	359	41.9	377	21.5	375	42.1	179
41UB: Cannock Chase	26.8	162	49.8	265	31.7	164	41.7	192
41UC: East Staffordshire	25.0	209	54.9	165	29.0	221	38.3	251

41UD: Lichfield	25.1	205	49.5	269	27.9	247	39.6	231
41UE: Newcastle-under-Lyme	31.5	81	60.0	57	36.1	81	46.8	95
41UF: South Staffordshire	26.8	162	57.6	99	33.2	128	43.0	159
41UG: Stafford	34.7	41	62.4	25	37.5	59	47.5	86
41UH: Staffordshire Moorlands	31.7	79	58.4	89	33.2	128	43.1	156
41UK: Tamworth	26.6	168	48.4	284	26.7	271	35.6	318
44UB: North Warwickshire	28.8	123	55.9	140	34.4	102	39.0	239
44UC: Nuneaton and Bedworth	26.6	168	56.6	126	34.0	108	42.8	163
44UD: Rugby	21.6	293	50.3	257	30.2	193	42.3	174
44UE: Stratford-on-Avon	19.5	346	45.2	336	27.6	252	35.4	322
44UF: Warwick	20.0	335	50.9	247	30.5	185	43.2	153
47UB: Bromsgrove	25.4	199	50.5	253	27.5	254	40.0	221
47UC: Malvern Hills	20.5	322	44.7	343	23.6	341	38.8	243
47UD: Redditch	21.5	295	46.2	323	27.5	254	30.8	391
47UE: Worcester	25.9	185	53.6	190	33.3	126	41.2	203
47UF: Wychavon	18.1	371	40.0	389	22.1	366	36.6	294
47UG: Wyre Forest	21.8	287	44.4	347	26.1	283	37.5	268
Total	25.5		52.0		30.1		41.3	

East of England

00JA: Peterborough	23.0	257	52.6	209	28.4	236	35.3	327
00KA: Luton	23.4	244	48.3	287	28.1	245	41.5	195
00KF: Southend-on-Sea	24.1	226	52.0	222	29.1	217	35.5	319
00KG: Thurrock	26.3	177	50.3	257	28.5	233	36.0	313
09UC: Mid Bedfordshire	20.2	330	48.0	294	25.9	289	34.5	345
09UD: Bedford	25.1	205	53.2	196	31.1	170	39.8	226
09UE: South Bedfordshire	21.7	291	46.8	309	27.9	247	36.8	289
12UB: Cambridge	21.2	302	51.8	226	26.3	277	45.4	112
12UC: East Cambridgeshire	16.2	391	41.0	383	21.7	371	34.1	349
12UD: Fenland	23.0	257	46.7	313	26.1	283	35.8	315
12UE: Huntingdonshire	20.8	312	49.1	275	26.7	271	36.8	289
12UG: South Cambridgeshire	18.9	355	51.0	244	25.8	292	36.6	294
22UB: Basildon	22.3	276	43.8	354	24.9	320	35.0	332
22UC: Braintree	16.7	385	38.6	398	19.8	392	34.9	338
22UD: Brentwood	18.6	359	42.0	375	22.0	367	33.0	362
22UE: Castle Point	26.4	176	49.1	275	27.9	247	38.0	254
22UF: Chelmsford	20.3	326	46.0	326	25.9	289	36.5	301
22UG: Colchester	23.3	247	47.6	300	29.3	213	43.0	159
22UH: Epping Forest	21.8	287	44.3	348	23.4	349	31.6	379
22UJ: Harlow	27.5	148	51.4	235	29.6	202	37.9	258
22UK: Maldon	22.9	265	48.9	279	27.1	263	37.1	280
22UL: Rochford	25.2	203	51.2	240	29.6	202	39.3	235
22UN: Tendring	23.1	254	47.0	308	26.2	279	41.9	183
22UQ: Uttlesford	17.0	381	42.2	373	20.6	381	29.5	399
26UB: Broxbourne	22.6	271	48.1	292	28.6	229	33.6	352

26UC: Dacorum	18.3	366	42.4	371	20.3	387	35.9	314
26UD: East Hertfordshire	18.6	359	48.3	287	23.9	335	32.3	374
26UE: Hertsmere	18.3	366	43.5	358	20.3	387	31.4	381
26UF: North Hertfordshire	19.6	345	49.4	272	26.0	287	39.0	239
26UG: St Albans	20.3	326	48.1	292	23.6	341	37.1	280
26UH: Stevenage	23.0	257	51.3	236	25.0	315	38.4	248
26UJ: Three Rivers	20.9	310	45.8	330	22.8	355	34.1	349
26UK: Watford	23.5	240	49.4	272	27.1	263	35.4	322
26UL: Welwyn Hatfield	21.5	295	46.8	309	25.0	315	40.7	211
33UB: Breckland	19.1	352	45.7	331	23.5	344	37.3	276
33UC: Broadland	26.6	168	56.9	116	33.7	119	38.8	243
33UD: Great Yarmouth	22.7	268	47.6	300	27.2	260	38.1	253
33UE: King's Lynn and West Norfolk	19.8	342	45.9	327	25.2	307	45.4	112
33UF: North Norfolk	20.7	314	44.3	348	22.7	357	36.3	306
33UG: Norwich	27.9	138	56.5	128	33.2	128	42.6	167
33UH: South Norfolk	23.0	257	53.0	200	29.0	221	41.5	195
42UB: Babergh	20.7	314	44.6	345	24.8	324	35.3	327
42UC: Forest Heath	13.3	404	32.8	403	16.3	402	35.4	322
42UD: Ipswich	23.2	252	51.0	244	25.7	294	42.9	161
42UE: Mid Suffolk	21.0	308	43.6	357	21.9	369	36.3	306
42UF: St Edmundsbury	22.0	280	48.7	280	26.0	287	36.4	303
42UG: Suffolk Coastal	24.0	229	50.4	255	29.0	221	40.1	219
42UH: Waveney	23.5	240	51.3	236	29.3	213	42.0	181
Total	21.8		48.0		26.1		37.6	

Inner London

00AA: City of London	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.		
00AG: Camden	18.1	371	42.6	369	22.2	365	31.4	381
00AM: Hackney	22.7	268	45.2	336	23.5	344	32.0	377
00AN: Hammersmith and Fulham	14.7	402	35.1	402	16.2	403	28.4	402
00AP: Haringey	22.3	276	45.0	339	26.2	279	31.6	379
00AU: Islington	18.4	363	40.5	386	21.7	371	29.0	401
00AW: Kensington and Chelsea	9.8	406	29.8	406	13.2	406	23.5	406
00AY: Lambeth	20.9	310	43.3	360	23.1	354	30.7	393
00AZ: Lewisham	23.6	236	53.7	188	28.3	241	37.7	262
00BB: Newham	18.6	359	38.4	399	19.9	390	35.0	332
00BE: Southwark	21.7	291	45.2	336	23.9	335	33.6	352
00BG: Tower Hamlets	15.0	400	32.7	404	16.8	401	29.3	400
00BJ: Wandsworth	15.4	398	39.7	391	18.5	398	28.0	404
00BK: Westminster	11.2	405	31.4	405	15.5	405	25.2	405
Total	18.4		41.0		21.2		31.0	

Outer London

00AB: Barking and Dagenham	27.8	140	49.9	262	27.7	251	40.7	211
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00AC: Barnet	21.2	302	46.3	321	24.7	325	32.9	365
00AD: Bexley	25.7	191	54.5	174	30.1	195	38.8	243
00AE: Brent	19.8	342	39.7	391	23.5	344	32.4	372
00AF: Bromley	21.8	287	49.0	277	24.9	320	33.6	352
00AH: Croydon	25.5	196	54.6	170	29.4	211	37.5	268
00AJ: Ealing	23.1	254	48.7	280	26.8	269	33.2	359
00AK: Enfield	26.2	180	54.0	181	30.5	185	37.9	258
00AL: Greenwich	23.6	236	50.8	250	28.4	236	37.2	278
00AQ: Harrow	21.4	298	44.1	350	25.2	307	34.5	345
00AR: Havering	27.4	151	49.9	262	29.3	213	37.0	283
00AS: Hillingdon	23.0	257	45.4	335	24.3	331	36.6	294
00AT: Hounslow	19.8	342	44.1	350	25.2	307	32.4	372
00AX: Kingston upon Thames	18.3	366	41.9	377	21.6	373	33.6	352
00BA: Merton	21.2	302	46.5	316	23.6	341	32.7	366
00BC: Redbridge	25.4	199	46.2	323	25.2	307	36.6	294
00BD: Richmond upon Thames	19.1	352	42.9	365	20.7	378	30.8	391
00BF: Sutton	25.3	201	54.3	178	29.1	217	36.8	289
00BH: Waltham Forest	24.9	212	46.3	321	27.2	260	35.4	322
Total	23.2		48.1		26.3		35.2	

South East

00LC: Medway	24.8	213	55.3	153	28.5	233	38.6	247
00MA: Bracknell Forest	16.2	391	38.2	400	19.9	390	32.7	366
00MB: West Berkshire	15.0	400	39.4	396	19.0	396	31.1	387
00MC: Reading	16.4	387	40.2	387	20.4	386	36.7	292
00MD: Slough	19.9	339	40.8	384	20.7	378	34.0	351
00ME: Windsor and Maidenhead	15.8	395	39.5	395	18.4	399	29.8	398
00MF: Wokingham	15.3	399	39.7	391	20.8	377	31.0	389
00MG: Milton Keynes	18.4	363	46.5	316	24.7	325	31.1	387
00ML: Brighton and Hove	28.2	131	56.9	116	32.6	148	44.2	136
00MR: Portsmouth	24.8	213	54.9	165	31.6	165	44.4	128
00MS: Southampton	25.9	185	53.7	188	30.6	181	41.3	202
00MW: Isle of Wight	26.9	158	52.0	222	30.1	195	44.0	142
11UB: Aylesbury Vale	20.1	332	47.1	307	23.9	335	35.0	332
11UC: Chiltern	16.0	393	42.9	365	19.6	393	30.7	393
11UE: South Bucks	16.0	393	41.3	380	19.6	393	31.3	383
11UF: Wycombe	15.8	395	40.2	387	19.1	395	29.9	397
21UC: Eastbourne	23.0	257	50.7	251	27.5	254	43.7	148
21UD: Hastings	29.3	113	57.6	99	31.2	168	40.8	210
21UF: Lewes	23.5	240	51.5	232	27.0	267	36.4	303
21UG: Rother	23.7	234	50.3	257	25.6	299	34.6	341
21UH: Wealden	19.5	346	44.0	352	23.9	335	35.5	319
24UB: Basingstoke and Deane	18.9	355	47.2	306	25.1	314	39.9	225
24UC: East Hampshire	18.9	355	41.7	379	20.5	385	33.3	358

24UD: Eastleigh	22.0	280	52.7	208	29.8	200	36.7	292
24UE: Fareham	22.9	265	54.8	167	29.7	201	42.5	170
24UF: Gosport	22.0	280	52.2	218	28.6	229	41.1	206
24UG: Hart	16.4	387	43.4	359	22.0	367	32.5	369
24UH: Havant	20.7	314	51.0	244	27.1	263	41.8	187
24UJ: New Forest	20.5	322	48.5	282	25.4	302	35.7	317
24UL: Rushmoor	14.4	403	40.6	385	24.9	320	30.9	390
24UN: Test Valley	20.7	314	54.6	170	27.3	259	40.0	221
24UP: Winchester	20.6	320	50.7	251	26.7	271	41.4	199
29UB: Ashford	21.2	302	51.2	240	24.5	329	33.5	357
29UC: Canterbury	26.0	184	54.6	170	29.4	211	42.8	163
29UD: Dartford	26.1	182	51.3	236	26.2	279	38.0	254
29UE: Dover	27.7	143	53.4	192	31.0	174	46.3	104
29UG: Gravesham	24.0	229	49.7	266	28.3	241	37.4	273
29UH: Maidstone	20.3	326	46.5	316	24.3	331	36.5	301
29UK: Sevenoaks	17.7	375	41.1	382	18.9	397	30.5	396
29UL: Shepway	23.9	232	51.8	226	26.4	276	35.3	327
29UM: Swale	23.3	247	49.5	269	25.3	306	36.6	294
29UN: Thanet	26.9	158	55.2	157	27.2	260	39.4	233
29UP: Tonbridge and Malling	20.0	335	48.0	294	23.4	349	35.4	322
29UQ: Tunbridge Wells	16.8	383	40.0	389	16.0	404	33.6	352
38UB: Cherwell	19.9	339	48.4	284	26.3	277	35.5	319
38UC: Oxford	24.4	220	58.1	94	33.4	123	50.8	46
38UD: South Oxfordshire	19.1	352	44.7	343	23.9	335	37.5	268
38UE: Vale of White Horse	20.4	325	50.5	253	27.9	247	36.9	288
38UF: West Oxfordshire	16.6	386	42.0	375	22.4	362	36.3	306
43UB: Elmbridge	17.0	381	42.7	367	20.0	389	31.8	378
43UC: Epsom and Ewell	20.8	312	47.7	298	23.2	353	38.0	254
43UD: Guildford	17.1	380	42.5	370	20.6	381	33.0	362
43UE: Mole Valley	18.4	363	45.9	327	23.5	344	28.3	403
43UF: Reigate and Banstead	21.4	298	45.6	333	23.4	349	34.8	339
43UG: Runnymede	19.5	346	44.0	352	22.4	362	37.3	276
43UH: Spelthorne	23.4	244	48.3	287	25.7	294	33.2	359
43UJ: Surrey Heath	15.7	397	43.1	362	21.2	376	34.6	341
43UK: Tandridge	18.2	369	42.4	371	23.5	344	34.4	347
43UL: Waverley	16.3	389	39.2	397	17.2	400	30.6	395
43UM: Woking	17.4	376	44.5	346	23.4	349	31.3	383
45UB: Adur	23.4	244	51.1	243	27.0	267	42.1	179
45UC: Arun	20.2	330	46.8	309	27.5	254	32.5	369
45UD: Chichester	17.4	376	43.1	362	22.7	357	37.1	280
45UE: Crawley	21.6	293	48.3	287	25.8	292	31.2	386
45UF: Horsham	20.1	332	48.4	284	24.0	334	32.5	369
45UG: Mid Sussex	21.1	307	48.2	291	25.2	307	34.4	347
45UH: Worthing	22.4	275	54.4	176	29.5	207	36.2	310
Total	20.6		47.7		25.0		36.4	

South West

00HA: Bath and North East

Somerset	26.5	172	57.0	115	35.2	91	41.9	183
00HB: Bristol, City of	26.3	177	56.7	123	33.3	126	40.6	214
00HC: North Somerset	24.8	213	52.3	216	31.9	160	40.4	216
00HD: South Gloucestershire	25.5	196	56.6	126	34.7	100	42.6	167
00HG: Plymouth	30.2	98	63.6	14	35.1	93	47.3	89
00HH: Torbay	23.3	247	52.3	216	30.2	193	41.2	203
00HN: Bournemouth	17.3	378	42.7	367	24.7	325	34.6	341
00HP: Poole	23.3	247	52.4	214	29.5	207	37.4	273
00HX: Swindon	24.2	225	54.5	174	30.6	181	38.8	243
15UB: Caradon	29.0	117	58.2	90	34.7	100	44.3	131
15UC: Carrick	27.1	157	57.4	104	34.9	96	45.2	115
15UD: Kerrier	21.2	302	43.0	364	24.9	320	43.1	156
15UE: North Cornwall	20.7	314	43.8	354	24.1	333	39.3	235
15UF: Penwith	27.2	155	49.9	262	30.1	195	35.0	332
15UG: Restormel	26.5	172	55.9	140	29.6	202	44.4	128
18UB: East Devon	23.7	234	51.5	232	28.9	226	41.6	193
18UC: Exeter	26.5	172	60.8	49	37.4	62	47.1	91
18UD: Mid Devon	26.1	182	53.8	186	29.3	213	42.4	173
18UE: North Devon	25.7	191	51.5	232	29.1	217	45.9	107
18UG: South Hams	25.6	193	51.8	226	26.2	279	44.1	141
18UH: Teignbridge	25.1	205	52.9	205	31.9	160	39.7	228
18UK: Torridge	17.9	374	46.4	320	22.4	362	37.0	283
18UL: West Devon	23.5	240	53.0	200	30.4	189	37.6	265
19UC: Christchurch	20.7	314	45.5	334	22.5	361	43.4	150
19UD: East Dorset	16.8	383	44.8	342	20.6	381	40.0	221
19UE: North Dorset	21.8	287	52.6	209	25.0	315	35.0	332
19UG: Purbeck	19.4	349	54.1	179	27.1	263	40.3	218
19UH: West Dorset	23.6	236	55.1	159	30.9	176	46.5	101
19UJ: Weymouth and Portland	27.6	144	53.2	196	32.7	142	48.6	74
23UB: Cheltenham	22.3	276	52.4	214	28.3	241	37.6	265
23UC: Cotswold	16.3	389	38.0	401	20.6	381	34.7	340
23UD: Forest of Dean	25.9	185	53.8	186	28.4	236	39.8	226
23UE: Gloucester	23.6	236	55.1	159	31.1	170	41.8	187
23UF: Stroud	23.8	233	50.9	247	26.8	269	37.7	262
23UG: Tewkesbury	24.3	222	54.6	170	28.4	236	35.0	332
40UB: Mendip	19.3	350	47.5	303	25.6	299	38.4	248
40UC: Sedgemoor	25.0	209	56.0	138	32.1	156	40.1	219
40UD: South Somerset	20.0	335	51.8	226	28.7	227	43.4	150
40UE: Taunton Deane	25.3	201	59.4	68	36.5	71	44.7	122
40UF: West Somerset	31.4	83	59.8	60	38.0	49	35.8	315
46UB: Kennet	18.0	373	43.3	360	20.7	378	38.0	254
46UC: North Wiltshire	20.0	335	52.1	220	25.6	299	37.2	278
46UD: Salisbury	20.1	332	51.9	225	27.6	252	44.2	136
46UF: West Wiltshire	21.9	285	51.8	226	30.4	189	44.3	131

Total	23.9		53.4		30.2		41.1	
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Wales

00NA: Isle of Anglesey	37.9	15	62.4	25	40.4	22	58.9	5
00NC: Gwynedd	34.9	38	60.0	57	40.7	19	57.3	12
00NE: Conwy	29.6	110	56.3	132	35.3	89	52.9	34
00NG: Denbighshire	33.9	49	60.5	51	40.1	27	52.5	37
00NJ: Flintshire	31.3	84	58.2	90	38.9	39	52.2	38
00NL: Wrexham	34.4	44	59.5	65	38.2	45	53.9	27
00NN: Powys	26.7	166	50.4	255	30.6	181	43.9	145
00NQ: Ceredigion	31.8	75	59.6	64	40.4	22	57.8	10
00NS: Pembrokeshire	33.5	55	57.3	107	33.2	128	54.0	25
00NU: Carmarthenshire	37.3	23	61.7	37	38.4	44	56.6	13
00NX: Swansea	37.4	22	64.4	12	43.1	8	53.5	31
00NZ: Neath Port Talbot	43.6	4	68.1	4	44.3	5	56.3	14
00PB: Bridgend	39.6	9	65.0	10	42.4	10	48.7	72
00PD: The Vale of Glamorgan	33.6	51	62.3	28	36.2	77	50.4	48
00PF: Rhondda, Cynon, Taff	41.6	7	66.6	8	41.6	14	54.6	22
00PH: Merthyr Tydfil	42.6	5	66.3	9	42.4	10	53.0	32
00PK: Caerphilly	36.1	27	62.4	25	37.2	63	54.5	23
00PL: Blaenau Gwent	39.1	11	59.3	71	34.0	108	54.0	25
00PM: Torfaen	35.9	29	62.1	31	39.6	29	51.2	44
00PP: Monmouthshire	31.0	88	58.6	87	33.9	112	48.8	69
00PR: Newport	32.2	67	63.2	18	38.2	45	49.0	64
00PT: Cardiff	32.0	70	62.5	23	37.8	53	49.6	59
Total	35.2		61.7		38.7		52.6	

Strathclyde

00QD: Argyll and Bute	32.1	68	57.8	97	35.7	85	56.2	16
00QG: West Dunbartonshire	42.4	6	61.5	44	45.0	4	58.7	6
00QK: East Ayrshire	37.6	18	60.3	54	39.0	35	52.2	38
00QL: East Dunbartonshire	36.4	25	60.3	54	40.8	17	57.8	10
00QN: East Renfrewshire	35.2	32	62.0	33	43.4	6	47.9	81
00QS: Glasgow City	33.6	51	56.3	132	39.2	33	47.9	81
00QU: Inverclyde	38.2	14	63.5	15	41.9	13	58.6	7
00QY: North Ayrshire	35.1	34	56.4	129	36.3	74	57.9	9
00QZ: North Lanarkshire	35.6	31	58.8	84	39.1	34	49.4	60
00RC: Renfrewshire	34.2	46	59.3	71	42.3	12	48.7	72
00RE: South Ayrshire	31.8	75	58.6	87	37.1	64	56.3	14
00RF: South Lanarkshire	35.0	36	59.3	71	38.0	49	50.4	48
Total	35.1		58.7		39.5		51.3	

Rest of Scotland

00QA: Aberdeen City	21.5	295	45.9	327	28.6	229	41.8	187
00QB: Aberdeenshire	21.4	298	48.5	282	28.5	233	46.7	99
00QC: Angus	28.2	131	57.2	109	35.1	93	53.8	28

00QE: Scottish Borders	28.1	136	57.2	109	35.8	84	53.0	32
00QF: Clackmannanshire	29.7	104	53.9	182	38.9	39	47.4	87
00QH: Dumfries and Galloway	32.3	64	55.1	159	38.7	42	52.7	35
00QJ: Dundee City	33.6	51	59.9	59	39.4	32	55.0	21
00QM: East Lothian	30.0	100	59.0	81	36.8	67	51.4	43
00QP: Edinburgh, City of	29.7	104	59.5	65	40.4	22	49.2	63
00QQ: Falkirk	35.9	29	61.7	37	40.8	17	54.1	24
00QR: Fife	30.8	90	59.2	76	36.9	66	53.7	29
00QT: Highland	34.4	44	61.5	44	39.7	28	55.3	19
00QW: Midlothian	33.5	55	60.9	48	41.1	16	55.7	18
00QX: Moray	29.5	111	53.1	198	36.2	77	55.3	19
00RA: Orkney Islands	37.7	17	67.7	6	46.5	2	63.1	3
00RB: Perth and Kinross	27.9	138	54.4	176	36.0	82	51.2	44
00RD: Shetland Islands	37.8	16	63.0	21	37.8	53	63.5	2
00RG: Stirling	31.1	86	59.2	76	37.8	53	52.0	41
00RH: West Lothian	28.2	131	50.9	247	34.1	105	49.8	57
00RJ: Eilean Siar	46.7	2	72.3	2	43.3	7	67.2	1
Total	29.5		56.5		36.6		51.3	