



BRIEFING PAPER

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Railways: fares statistics

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Summary

Around 45% of fares on National Rail are subject to regulation (by the Secretary of State in England, Welsh Minister in Wales and Scottish Ministers in Scotland); the remainder are unregulated.

Regulated fares tend to be on commuter routes, where commuters have few practical alternatives to rail. Regulated fares are set by a formula based on the RPI figure for the previous July, and for many years with a degree of flexibility (called the 'fares basket' or 'flex').

Unregulated fares generally cover journeys where passengers have realistic alternatives to travelling by train and the market for transport is open to competition.

In January 2018 fares across all operators were **20% higher in real terms** than they were in January 1995; the average annual real increase has been 0.8%. Fares have **increased fastest amongst long distance operators**.

On 30 November 2018 the rail industry, under the auspices of the Rail Delivery Group (RDG), announced that the **average fares increase for 2019 would be 3.1%**. This overall figure masks differences between different routes and types of ticket.

The **maximum increase for regulated fares in 2019 was 3.2%**, based on the July 2018 Retail Price Index (RPI).

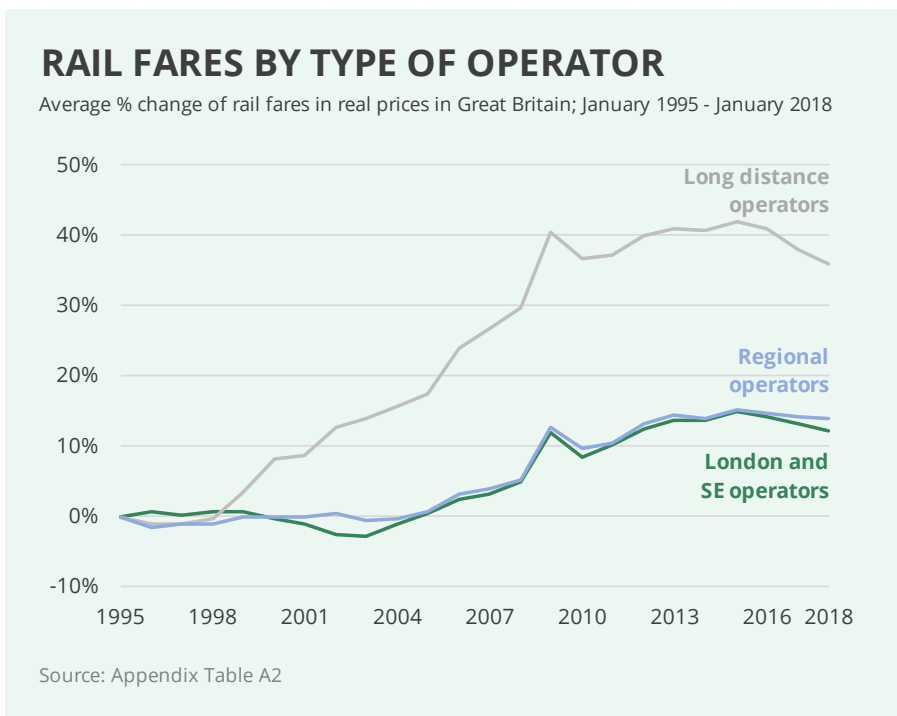
Passenger revenues have increased significantly since privatisation. In the years running up to privatisation, **British Rail passenger revenues remained at just above £3.4 billion per year** (2017-18 prices). Since privatisation, the number of rail passengers has increased substantially resulting in **revenue increasing, in real terms, by close to 185% between 1994-95 and 2017-18**.

Further details on the policy of railway fares and ticketing can be found in the Library briefing paper [Rail fares and ticketing](#).

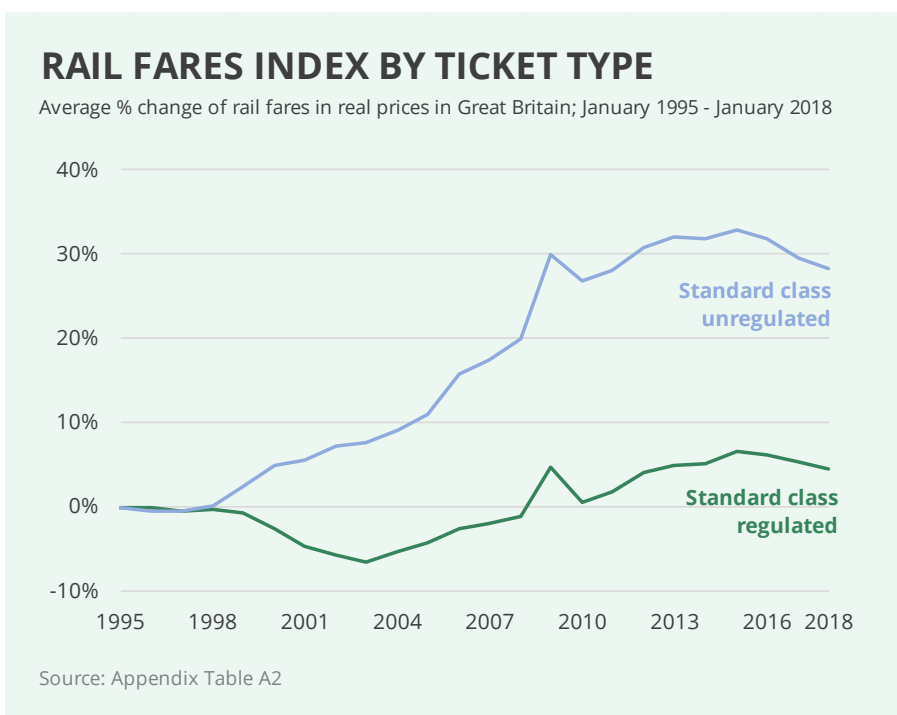
Sources for all figures and charts are in the appendix unless otherwise specified.

1. National rail fares since 1995

In January 2018 fares across all operators were 20% higher in real terms than they were in January 1995; the average annual real increase has been 0.8%.



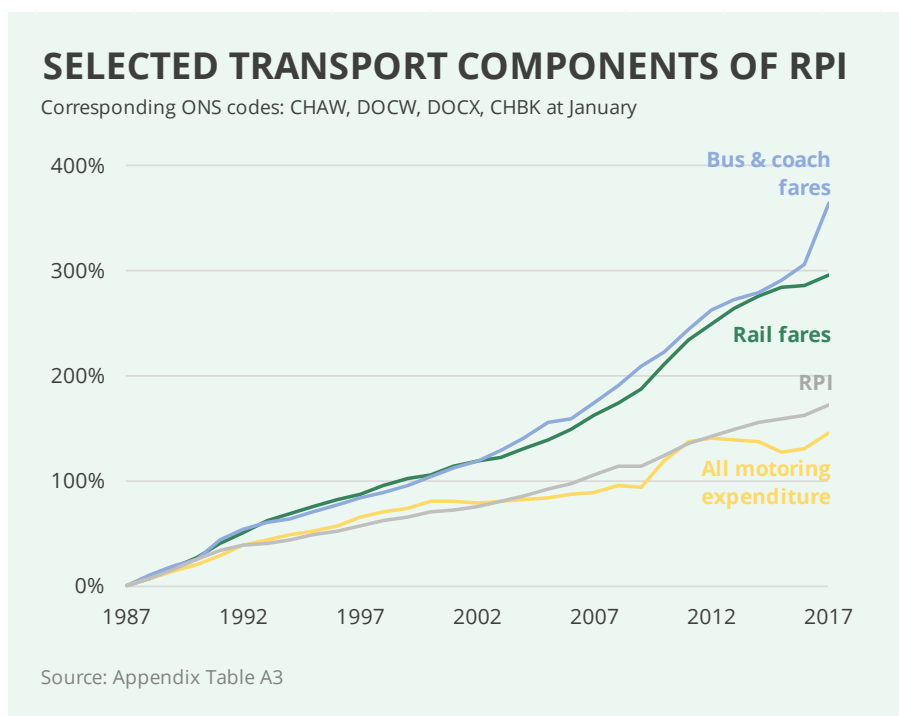
Fares have increased fastest amongst long distance operators, with average annual real terms increases of 1.4% between January 1995 and January 2018. Over the same period an average annual increase of 0.5% and 0.6% was observed for London and South East and regional operators respectively.



In real terms unregulated standard class tickets have increased at a faster rate than regulated standard class tickets. In January 2018 across all operators unregulated standard class ticket fares were 28% higher than in January 1995; regulated standard class fares increased by 4.5%.

2. Transport components of RPI since 1995

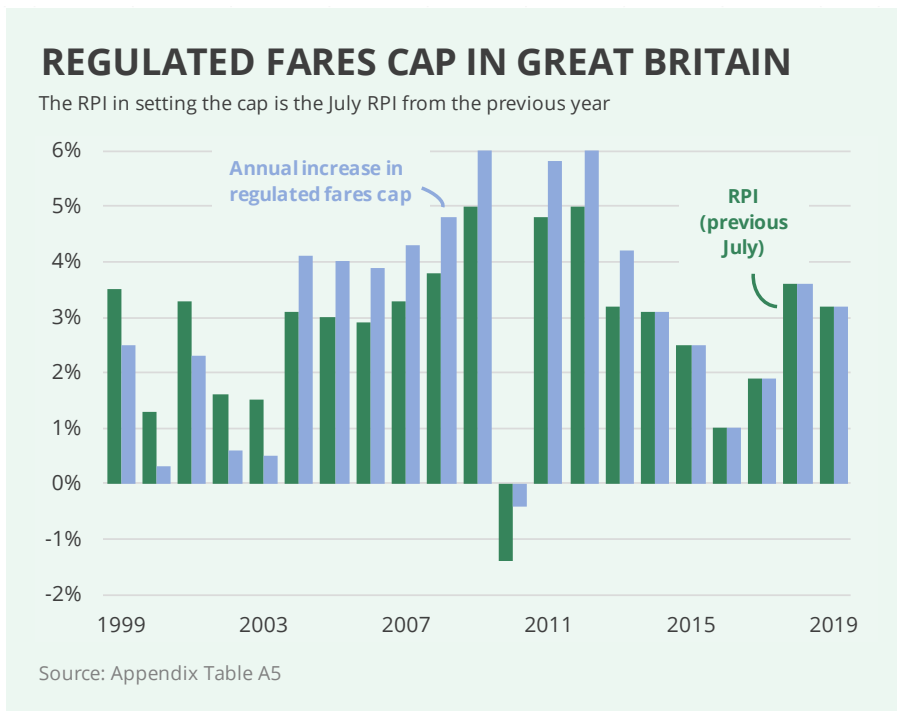
Transport costs are included in the calculation of the Retail Price Index (RPI). Their inclusion allows for the changes in transport costs to be compared across transport modes. Rail fares in the RPI include fares on UK over-ground rail, but also: London transport fares, Euro Tunnel fares, and other underground/metro fares.



Since the late 1980s rail fares have increased at a rate similar to bus and coach fares, faster than the overall price level and faster than overall motoring expenditure. Rail fares rose particularly quickly, compared to the overall price level, in the early 1990s.

3. Regulated rail fares cap

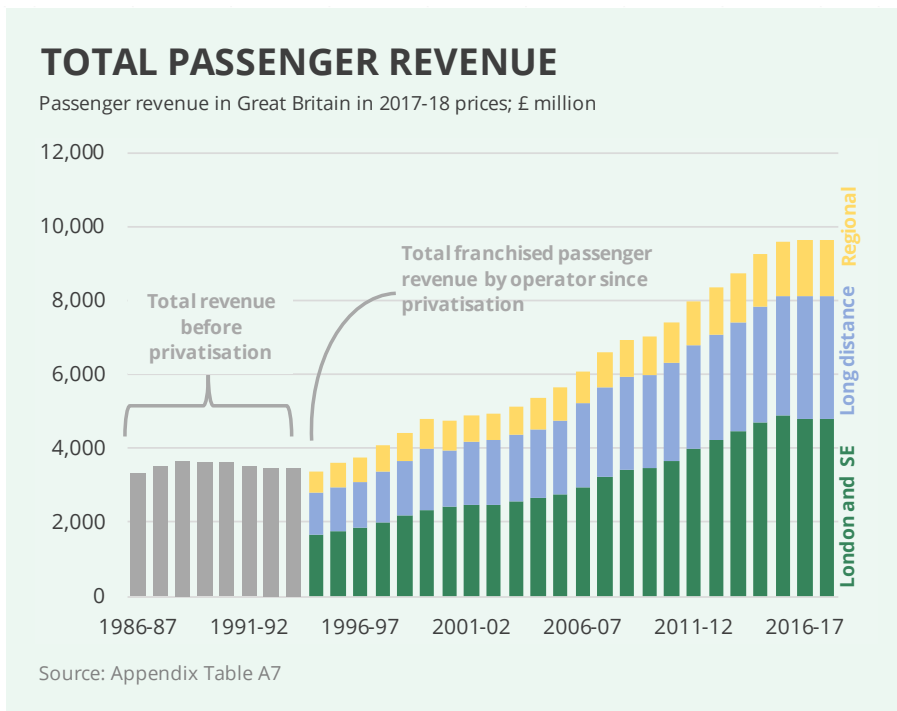
A new Government policy for determining increases in regulated fares was introduced in 2004. The policy means that regulated fares have a maximum percentage increase set by an annually determined cap. The cap for 2019 was set equal to July 2017's RPI of 3.2%.



Prior to 2004 fares were regulated by imposing a cap on increases over the price that was charged in June 1995; each year's increase was compounded on top of previous years' increases. For instance, in 1996, 1997 and 1998 the annual increase in regulated fares was set equal to RPI; RPI for these years was: 3.5% (1996); 2.2% (1997); and, 3.3% (1998). Therefore, regulated fares in 1997 could be up to 7.78% higher than they were in June 1995, and regulated fares in 1998 could be up to 9.27% higher than in June 1995.

4. Passenger revenues

Passenger revenues have increased significantly since privatisation. In the years running up to privatisation, British Rail passenger revenues remained at just above £3.4 billion per year (2017-18 prices). Since privatisation, then number of rail passengers has increased substantially resulting in revenue increasing, in real terms, by close to 185% between 1994-95 and 2017-18. Over the same period rail usage has increased by just over 135% (ORR, [Data Portal: table 12.5](#)).



Long distance operators have had the largest rise in passenger income since 1994-95 (192%), London and South East operators 190%, and regional operators 159%.

Fares make up the majority of passenger revenues but other charges associated with passenger travel on national railways are also included.

TABLE A1 RAIL FARES INDEX: JANUARY 1995-2018

Average change of rail fares (cash prices) by type of operator in Great Britain; Index 1995 = 100

	All tickets				All operators		RPI
	London and SE operators	Long distance operators	Regional operators	All operators	Standard class regulated	Standard class unregulated	
1995	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1996	103.5	101.7	101.3	102.6	102.9	102.5	102.9
1997	105.9	104.6	104.6	105.2	105.3	105.3	105.8
1998	109.8	108.8	108.0	109.2	108.9	109.4	109.3
1999	112.5	115.6	111.6	113.5	111.0	114.6	111.9
2000	113.7	123.5	113.9	117.2	111.2	119.7	114.1
2001	115.8	127.3	116.9	120.1	111.7	123.7	117.2
2002	115.7	133.8	119.3	122.5	111.9	127.3	118.7
2003	118.6	139.2	121.3	126.2	114.1	131.5	122.2
2004	123.8	145.0	125.0	131.3	118.7	136.8	125.4
2005	129.8	151.8	130.2	137.5	124.0	143.4	129.4
2006	135.7	164.0	136.6	145.5	129.1	153.3	132.5
2007	142.5	174.9	143.3	153.6	135.2	162.0	138.0
2008	150.8	186.4	151.1	163.0	142.0	172.4	143.7
2009	161.0	202.1	162.1	175.3	150.6	186.8	143.8
2010	161.7	203.9	163.5	176.5	150.0	189.3	149.2
2011	172.5	214.9	173.1	187.1	159.6	200.6	156.8
2012	183.0	228.0	184.2	198.6	169.5	212.9	162.9
2013	191.1	237.3	192.4	207.1	176.7	222.3	168.3
2014	196.4	243.4	196.8	212.6	182.0	228.1	173.0
2015	201.0	248.2	201.3	217.2	186.4	232.5	174.9
2016	202.4	249.6	203.2	218.7	188.0	233.6	177.1
2017	205.5	250.9	207.5	221.3	191.4	235.5	181.8
2018	212.0	256.7	215.3	227.8	197.6	242.4	189.0

Annual percentage change

1996	+3.5%	+1.7%	+1.3%	+2.6%	+2.9%	+2.5%	+2.9%
1997	+2.3%	+2.8%	+3.2%	+2.6%	+2.4%	+2.7%	+2.8%
1998	+3.7%	+4.0%	+3.3%	+3.8%	+3.4%	+4.0%	+3.3%
1999	+2.4%	+6.2%	+3.3%	+3.9%	+1.9%	+4.8%	+2.4%
2000	+1.1%	+6.8%	+2.1%	+3.3%	+0.2%	+4.4%	+2.0%
2001	+1.9%	+3.0%	+2.6%	+2.4%	+0.5%	+3.4%	+2.7%
2002	-0.1%	+5.1%	+2.0%	+2.0%	+0.1%	+2.8%	+1.3%
2003	+2.5%	+4.1%	+1.7%	+3.0%	+2.0%	+3.3%	+2.9%
2004	+4.4%	+4.2%	+3.0%	+4.1%	+4.0%	+4.0%	+2.6%
2005	+4.8%	+4.7%	+4.2%	+4.7%	+4.4%	+4.8%	+3.2%
2006	+4.6%	+8.0%	+4.9%	+5.8%	+4.1%	+6.9%	+2.4%
2007	+5.0%	+6.7%	+4.9%	+5.5%	+4.7%	+5.7%	+4.2%
2008	+5.9%	+6.6%	+5.5%	+6.1%	+5.1%	+6.4%	+4.1%
2009	+6.8%	+8.4%	+7.2%	+7.6%	+6.0%	+8.4%	+0.1%
2010	+0.4%	+0.9%	+0.9%	+0.7%	-0.4%	+1.3%	+3.7%
2011	+6.7%	+5.4%	+5.9%	+6.0%	+6.4%	+6.0%	+5.1%
2012	+6.1%	+6.1%	+6.4%	+6.1%	+6.2%	+6.1%	+3.9%
2013	+4.4%	+4.1%	+4.4%	+4.3%	+4.2%	+4.4%	+3.3%
2014	+2.8%	+2.6%	+2.3%	+2.6%	+3.0%	+2.6%	+2.8%
2015	+2.3%	+2.0%	+2.3%	+2.2%	+2.4%	+1.9%	+1.1%
2016	+0.7%	+0.6%	+1.0%	+0.7%	+0.8%	+0.5%	+1.3%
2017	+1.5%	+0.5%	+2.1%	+1.2%	+1.8%	+0.8%	+2.6%
2018	+3.2%	+2.3%	+3.7%	+2.9%	+3.3%	+2.9%	+4.0%

Note: Rail fares index includes franchised and open access operators

Source: Office of Rail and Road, Data Portal: table 1.81

TABLE A2 RAIL FARES INDEX: JANUARY 1995-2018

Average change of rail fares (real prices January 2018) by type of operator in Great Britain; Index 1995 = 100

	All tickets				All operators	
	London and SE operators	Long distance operators	Regional operators	All operators	Standard class regulated	Standard class unregulated
1995	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1996	100.6	98.9	98.5	99.7	100.0	99.6
1997	100.1	98.9	98.9	99.5	99.6	99.5
1998	100.5	99.6	98.9	99.9	99.7	100.1
1999	100.5	103.3	99.8	101.4	99.2	102.4
2000	99.6	108.2	99.8	102.7	97.4	104.9
2001	98.8	108.6	99.8	102.4	95.3	105.6
2002	97.4	112.6	100.4	103.2	94.2	107.2
2003	97.1	113.9	99.3	103.3	93.4	107.6
2004	98.8	115.6	99.7	104.7	94.7	109.1
2005	100.3	117.4	100.7	106.3	95.8	110.9
2006	102.4	123.8	103.1	109.8	97.4	115.7
2007	103.2	126.7	103.8	111.3	97.9	117.4
2008	104.9	129.7	105.2	113.4	98.8	120.0
2009	111.9	140.5	112.7	121.9	104.7	129.9
2010	108.4	136.7	109.6	118.3	100.5	126.9
2011	110.0	137.1	110.4	119.4	101.8	128.0
2012	112.3	140.0	113.1	121.9	104.1	130.7
2013	113.6	141.0	114.3	123.1	105.0	132.1
2014	113.6	140.7	113.8	122.9	105.2	131.9
2015	114.9	141.9	115.1	124.2	106.6	132.9
2016	114.3	140.9	114.7	123.5	106.1	131.8
2017	113.0	138.1	114.2	121.8	105.3	129.6
2018	112.2	135.8	113.9	120.5	104.5	128.2

Annual percentage change

1996	+0.6%	-1.1%	-1.5%	-0.3%	-0.0%	-0.4%
1997	-0.5%	+0.0%	+0.4%	-0.2%	-0.4%	-0.1%
1998	+0.4%	+0.7%	-0.0%	+0.5%	+0.1%	+0.6%
1999	+0.0%	+3.7%	+0.9%	+1.5%	-0.5%	+2.3%
2000	-0.9%	+4.8%	+0.1%	+1.3%	-1.8%	+2.3%
2001	-0.8%	+0.3%	-0.1%	-0.3%	-2.2%	+0.7%
2002	-1.4%	+3.7%	+0.7%	+0.7%	-1.1%	+1.5%
2003	-0.3%	+1.1%	-1.1%	+0.1%	-0.9%	+0.4%
2004	+1.7%	+1.5%	+0.4%	+1.4%	+1.4%	+1.4%
2005	+1.6%	+1.5%	+1.0%	+1.5%	+1.2%	+1.6%
2006	+2.1%	+5.5%	+2.4%	+3.4%	+1.7%	+4.4%
2007	+0.7%	+2.4%	+0.6%	+1.3%	+0.5%	+1.4%
2008	+1.7%	+2.4%	+1.3%	+2.0%	+0.9%	+2.2%
2009	+6.7%	+8.3%	+7.1%	+7.5%	+5.9%	+8.3%
2010	-3.1%	-2.7%	-2.7%	-2.9%	-4.0%	-2.3%
2011	+1.5%	+0.3%	+0.7%	+0.9%	+1.3%	+0.8%
2012	+2.1%	+2.1%	+2.4%	+2.1%	+2.2%	+2.1%
2013	+1.1%	+0.8%	+1.1%	+1.0%	+0.9%	+1.1%
2014	-0.0%	-0.2%	-0.5%	-0.2%	+0.2%	-0.2%
2015	+1.2%	+0.9%	+1.2%	+1.1%	+1.3%	+0.8%
2016	-0.6%	-0.7%	-0.3%	-0.6%	-0.5%	-0.8%
2017	-1.1%	-2.0%	-0.5%	-1.4%	-0.8%	-1.7%
2018	-0.8%	-1.6%	-0.2%	-1.0%	-0.7%	-1.0%

Note: Rail fares index includes franchised and open access operators; index adjusted by RPI

Source: Office of Rail and Road, Data Portal: table 1.81

TABLE A3 RETAIL PRICES INDEX: TRANSPORT COMPONENTS

Cash prices; January 1987-2017; Index 1987 = 100

	Motoring expenditure							RPI
	Rail fares	Bus & coach fares	Purchase of vehicles	Maintenance of vehicles	Petrol & oil	Vehicle tax & insurance	All motoring expenditure	
1987	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1988	107.6	110.6	111.1	109.3	99.8	114.7	108.1	106.9
1989	117.4	119.3	115.1	116.1	106.9	123.2	114.0	115.2
1990	127.7	125.9	117.4	127.9	119.5	128.2	120.9	126.1
1991	141.0	143.6	123.1	142.2	128.4	142.8	129.9	133.5
1992	151.3	153.7	129.4	153.4	132.1	167.4	138.7	138.5
1993	161.9	160.4	128.1	162.4	142.6	189.1	144.7	140.7
1994	169.1	164.6	131.5	166.4	149.1	197.7	149.7	144.1
1995	176.6	170.7	133.6	169.6	156.8	192.7	152.4	149.1
1996	183.2	177.1	138.0	177.3	164.7	186.4	157.0	152.7
1997	187.5	183.4	141.3	186.9	181.1	194.1	165.3	157.5
1998	195.2	189.4	139.8	194.6	190.1	211.1	170.5	162.9
1999	202.3	196.3	133.8	202.2	206.1	228.3	174.6	165.4
2000	205.8	204.2	126.6	210.6	233.2	252.7	181.3	170.3
2001	213.7	212.8	124.8	220.9	221.3	265.9	180.3	173.3
2002	218.6	219.3	122.3	232.3	214.3	270.0	178.9	176.2
2003	222.3	228.5	118.9	246.2	222.0	281.7	181.2	181.3
2004	230.8	240.2	115.2	261.1	234.4	283.0	183.0	186.7
2005	240.1	256.1	109.2	277.0	255.0	279.3	184.2	192.0
2006	249.7	259.7	106.2	293.9	269.0	282.9	186.9	198.1
2007	262.5	274.5	103.4	309.0	276.3	295.8	189.2	206.6
2008	273.9	291.5	96.3	327.2	317.9	305.2	195.1	214.8
2009	288.5	309.1	95.6	340.6	292.6	334.9	193.7	213.7
2010	311.6	322.9	101.3	356.6	341.9	426.6	219.1	223.6
2011	333.8	344.4	99.5	374.2	391.4	514.7	238.4	235.2
2012	349.8	363.1	97.5	381.1	399.0	525.6	240.3	242.7
2013	364.5	372.4	96.3	390.4	395.1	530.6	240.1	250.1
2014	376.7	378.9	96.3	400.8	376.1	544.0	238.1	256.0
2015	384.6	391.4	94.2	408.2	326.4	569.1	227.8	258.5
2016	385.6	406.6	91.8	415.1	317.4	659.6	231.1	263.1
2017	396.4	464.5	92.2	426.4	343.7	777.5	246.1	272.5

Source: ONS, CPI time series dataset, CDID codes: CHAW, DOCW, DOCX, CHBK, DOCS, DOCT, DOCU, DOCV

TABLE A4 RETAIL PRICES INDEX: TRANSPORT COMPONENTS

Real January 2017 prices; January 1987-2017; Index 1987 = 100

	Motoring expenditure						
	Rail fares	Bus & coach fares	Purchase of vehicles	Maintenance of vehicles	Petrol & oil	Vehicle tax & insurance	All motoring expenditure
1987	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1988	100.7	103.5	103.9	102.2	93.4	107.3	101.1
1989	101.9	103.6	99.9	100.8	92.8	106.9	99.0
1990	101.3	99.8	93.1	101.4	94.8	101.7	95.9
1991	105.6	107.6	92.2	106.5	96.2	107.0	97.3
1992	109.2	111.0	93.4	110.8	95.4	120.9	100.1
1993	115.1	114.0	91.0	115.4	101.4	134.4	102.8
1994	117.3	114.2	91.3	115.5	103.5	137.2	103.9
1995	118.4	114.5	89.6	113.7	105.2	129.2	102.2
1996	120.0	116.0	90.4	116.1	107.9	122.1	102.8
1997	119.0	116.4	89.7	118.7	115.0	123.2	105.0
1998	119.8	116.3	85.8	119.5	116.7	129.6	104.7
1999	122.3	118.7	80.9	122.2	124.6	138.0	105.6
2000	120.8	119.9	74.3	123.7	136.9	148.4	106.5
2001	123.3	122.8	72.0	127.5	127.7	153.4	104.0
2002	124.1	124.5	69.4	131.8	121.6	153.2	101.5
2003	122.6	126.0	65.6	135.8	122.4	155.4	99.9
2004	123.6	128.7	61.7	139.9	125.5	151.6	98.0
2005	125.1	133.4	56.9	144.3	132.8	145.5	95.9
2006	126.0	131.1	53.6	148.4	135.8	142.8	94.3
2007	127.1	132.9	50.0	149.6	133.7	143.2	91.6
2008	127.5	135.7	44.8	152.3	148.0	142.1	90.8
2009	135.0	144.6	44.7	159.4	136.9	156.7	90.6
2010	139.4	144.4	45.3	159.5	152.9	190.8	98.0
2011	141.9	146.4	42.3	159.1	166.4	218.8	101.4
2012	144.1	149.6	40.2	157.0	164.4	216.6	99.0
2013	145.7	148.9	38.5	156.1	158.0	212.2	96.0
2014	147.1	148.0	37.6	156.6	146.9	212.5	93.0
2015	148.8	151.4	36.4	157.9	126.3	220.2	88.1
2016	146.6	154.5	34.9	157.8	120.6	250.7	87.8
2017	145.5	170.5	33.8	156.5	126.1	285.3	90.3

Note: Index adjusted by RPI

Source: ONS, CPI time series dataset, CDID codes: CHAW, DOCW, DOCX, CHBK, DOCS, DOCT, DOCU, DOCV

TABLE A5 REGULATED RAIL FARES CAP IN GREAT BRITAIN

The RPI in setting the cap is the July RPI from the previous year

	Annual increase	RPI (previous July)	Pre-2004		Post-2004
			Annual increase in cap	Cumulative increase (on June 1995)	Annual level of cap
1996	RPI	3.5%	3.5%	3.5%	-
1997	RPI	2.2%	2.2%	5.8%	-
1998	RPI	3.3%	3.3%	9.3%	-
1999	RPI-1	3.5%	2.5%	12.0%	-
2000	RPI-1	1.3%	0.3%	12.3%	-
2001	RPI-1	3.3%	2.3%	14.9%	-
2002	RPI-1	1.6%	0.6%	15.6%	-
2003	RPI-1	1.5%	0.5%	16.2%	-
2004	RPI+1	3.1%	-	-	4.1%
2005	RPI+1	3.0%	-	-	4.0%
2006	RPI+1	2.9%	-	-	3.9%
2007	RPI+1	3.3%	-	-	4.3%
2008	RPI+1	3.8%	-	-	4.8%
2009	RPI+1	5.0%	-	-	6.0%
2010	RPI+1	-1.4%	-	-	-0.4%
2011	RPI+1	4.8%	-	-	5.8%
2012	RPI+1	5.0%	-	-	6.0%
2013	RPI+1	3.2%	-	-	4.2%
2014	RPI	3.1%	-	-	3.1%
2015	RPI	2.5%	-	-	2.5%
2016	RPI	1.0%	-	-	1.0%
2017	RPI	1.9%	-	-	1.9%
2018	RPI	3.6%	-	-	3.6%
2019	RPI	3.2%	-	-	3.2%

Sources: ONS, CPI time series dataset, CDID codes: CZBH; House of Commons Library, Railways: fares statistics SNSG-6384

TABLE A6 PASSENGER REVENUE IN GREAT BRITAIN

Passenger revenue in cash terms; £ million

	Ticket type		Operator type			Total franchised revenue	Non franchised
	Ordinary fares	Season tickets	London and SE operators	Long distance operators	Regional operators		
1986-87	1,047	395	-	-	-	1,443	-
1987-88	1,168	454	-	-	-	1,622	-
1988-89	1,291	512	-	-	-	1,803	-
1989-90	1,357	550	-	-	-	1,907	-
1990-91	1,483	574	-	-	-	2,057	-
1991-92	1,514	603	-	-	-	2,117	-
1992-93	1,551	603	-	-	-	2,154	-
1993-94	1,577	616	-	-	-	2,193	-
1994-95	1,559	611	1,059	734	378	2,171	-
1995-96	1,720	660	1,160	795	425	2,379	-
1996-97	1,870	702	1,257	859	456	2,573	-
1997-98	2,048	773	1,378	956	483	2,821	-
1998-99	2,242	847	1,513	1,052	523	3,089	-
1999-00	2,463	905	1,647	1,160	560	3,368	-
2000-01	2,463	950	1,732	1,109	572	3,413	-
2001-02	2,585	964	1,803	1,221	523	3,548	-
2002-03	2,693	970	1,848	1,279	535	3,663	-
2003-04	2,890	1,011	1,932	1,384	585	3,901	-
2004-05	3,088	1,071	2,059	1,465	634	4,158	-
2005-06	3,323	1,170	2,197	1,609	687	4,493	-
2006-07	3,714	1,298	2,437	1,842	733	5,012	-
2007-08	4,120	1,434	2,717	2,036	801	5,555	-
2008-09	4,443	1,561	2,963	2,168	872	6,004	-
2009-10	4,608	1,571	3,046	2,216	916	6,179	37
2010-11	4,965	1,654	3,264	2,366	990	6,620	46
2011-12	5,447	1,782	3,602	2,533	1,094	7,229	44
2012-13	5,816	1,890	3,888	2,652	1,167	7,707	50
2013-14	6,162	2,041	4,180	2,779	1,244	8,203	54
2014-15	6,649	2,153	4,486	2,975	1,342	8,803	63
2015-16	7,008	2,205	4,676	3,128	1,409	9,213	72
2016-17	7,269	2,171	4,725	3,250	1,466	9,441	73
2017-18	7,584	2,072	4,786	3,342	1,528	9,655	72

Note: Data does not include Heathrow Express, Eurostar, underground or light rail services

Source: Office of Rail and Road, Data Portal: table 12.8 and 12.9

TABLE A7 PASSENGER REVENUE IN GREAT BRITAIN

Passenger revenue in 2017-18 prices; £ million

	Ticket type		Operator type			Total franchised revenue	Non franchised
	Ordinary fares	Season tickets	London and SE operators	Long distance operators	Regional operators		
1986-87	2,403	906	-	-	-	3,311	-
1987-88	2,538	987	-	-	-	3,525	-
1988-89	2,635	1,045	-	-	-	3,680	-
1989-90	2,571	1,042	-	-	-	3,614	-
1990-91	2,597	1,005	-	-	-	3,603	-
1991-92	2,508	999	-	-	-	3,506	-
1992-93	2,505	974	-	-	-	3,480	-
1993-94	2,487	971	-	-	-	3,458	-
1994-95	2,429	952	1,650	1,144	589	3,383	-
1995-96	2,600	998	1,754	1,202	643	3,597	-
1996-97	2,731	1,025	1,836	1,254	666	3,757	-
1997-98	2,971	1,121	1,999	1,387	701	4,093	-
1998-99	3,211	1,213	2,167	1,507	749	4,424	-
1999-00	3,514	1,291	2,350	1,655	799	4,806	-
2000-01	3,437	1,326	2,417	1,547	798	4,762	-
2001-02	3,571	1,332	2,491	1,687	723	4,902	-
2002-03	3,630	1,307	2,492	1,725	722	4,938	-
2003-04	3,816	1,336	2,552	1,827	772	5,152	-
2004-05	3,971	1,377	2,648	1,884	816	5,348	-
2005-06	4,164	1,466	2,753	2,017	861	5,630	-
2006-07	4,520	1,580	2,966	2,241	892	6,100	-
2007-08	4,893	1,703	3,227	2,418	951	6,596	-
2008-09	5,137	1,805	3,426	2,507	1,009	6,942	-
2009-10	5,253	1,791	3,473	2,527	1,045	7,044	42
2010-11	5,557	1,851	3,653	2,648	1,107	7,409	51
2011-12	6,017	1,968	3,979	2,798	1,209	7,985	49
2012-13	6,298	2,047	4,210	2,872	1,263	8,346	54
2013-14	6,552	2,171	4,445	2,955	1,323	8,723	58
2014-15	6,981	2,261	4,710	3,123	1,409	9,242	66
2015-16	7,299	2,297	4,870	3,258	1,468	9,596	75
2016-17	7,407	2,213	4,814	3,312	1,494	9,620	74
2017-18	7,584	2,072	4,786	3,342	1,528	9,655	72

Note: Data does not include Heathrow Express, Eurostar, underground or light rail services

Sources: Office of Rail and Road, Data Portal: table 12.8 and 12.9; HM Treasury, GDP Deflator October 2018

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