Oxford City – Employment Land Needs Assessment Interim report

Planning for Oxford City Council June 2025







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Oxford City Employment Land Needs Assessment - Interim Report - June 2025

Quality Assurance

This report has been prepared within the quality system operated at Rapleys LLP according to British Standard ISO 9001:2015.

We confirm that the undersigned is an appropriately qualified and experienced Chartered Planner experienced in the commercial property sector.

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1 INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND

- 1.1 Oxford City Council have commissioned an Employment Land Needs Assessment (ELNA) for the city to support the emerging Local Plan. The ELNA will inform the Council's approach to the preparation of economic development and employment land policies and allocations in the Local Plan, guiding future development to 2042.
- 1.2 This study and indeed the work to prepare a new Oxford Local Plan 2042 follows the Council's decision at the beginning of the year to withdraw the Oxford Local Plan 2040. The primary reason for the Inspectors' recommendation to withdraw the plan was that they considered there was a failure in the duty to cooperate. The Inspectors concluded that the surrounding districts should have been more involved in the technical evidence underpinning Oxford's housing (and employment) need.
- 1.3 The EIP Inspectors' criticisms did however identify some issues of critical relevance to this study. The Inspectors looked to re-set the evidence base to Standard Method, paid particular attention to economic activity rates and noted the critical importance of the commuting balance across Oxfordshire as evidenced in the 2011 as well as 2021 Censuses, and so the supply of labour. These are issues we consider in some depth in this work.

THIS STUDY

- 1.4 This Interim ELNA supports the current stage in Plan preparation the city Council's Regulation 18 Plan and is issued as part of the plan evidence base for the public consultation of the Preferred Options Plan that takes place in early summer 2025.
- 1.5 This interim report provides:
 - The Policy Context, summarising national policy and practice, and the neighbouring boroughs' approaches to employment planning (Chapter 2). This is important as it identifies the themes that the study needs to review.
 - Then Chapter 3 re-assesses the Functional Economic Market Area as it applies to Oxford city based on the recently released 2021 Census commuting dataset.
 - Chapter 4 sets out Oxford city's socio-economic context, looking at the indicators of resident, workforce and business performance.
 - Chapter 5 reports the findings of the property market analysis, reporting the consensus view of market performance and where it is heading in the future, before finally
 - Chapter 6 considers the available supply of future employment land.

THE FINAL REPORT OF STUDY

1.6 The final ELNA report will accompany the Submission version of the Plan (Regulation 19) timetabled for public consultation in late 2025 and will identify Oxford city's need for employment land balanced against the available supply.

2 POLICY CONTEXT

INTRODUCTION

- 2.1 This section reviews national policy and guidance and local planning policy and evidence for Oxford city as well as neighbouring councils within Oxfordshire. The aim is firstly to establish the requirements and guidance when planning for economic development, and secondly to draw out the scale and type of employment land need identified across the wider context.
- 2.2 Relevant national and local policy is set out below. In summary:
 - Economic policies need to be positive while realistic;
 - Policies can be aspirational, but land should not be sterilised for an economic use that has no reasonable prospect of being delivered in the Plan period;
 - Policies need to pay particular regard to facilitating development to meet the needs of a modern economy;
 - Recent changes to the Planning Practice Guidance (PPG) have increased the prominence given to logistics as an economic land use capable of commanding considerable weight in the planning balance; and
 - Councils should, within the limits of their sustainable capacity, work with neighbours to meet economic needs in full.

NATIONAL PLANNING POLICY AND GUIDANCE

- 2.3 The National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) was originally published in March 2012 has been revised a number of times since, most recently in December 2024.
- 2.4 In regard to economic development and employment planning the NPPF seeks to support the development of a strong, responsive, and competitive economy by: identifying and coordinating the provision of infrastructure; ensuring that there is enough land (of the right type, in the right place, and at the right time) to support growth; and encouraging innovation and improved productivity.

Economic Development

- 2.5 Planning policy and decisions should support business investment, economic growth and productivity, both for local businesses and wider opportunities for development ie inward investment. All areas should build on strengths, counter weaknesses and address future challenges. This is particularly important where there is opportunity to drive innovation, and in areas with high productivity, LPAs should seek to capitalise on this performance and potential.
- 2.6 The Framework states i) what plans should address (paragraph 86) which includes providing the type of infrastructure needed to facilitate a modern economy, and ii) also identifies the specific modern economy sectors that should be supported (87) these being as identified in the Government's Invest 2035¹.
- 2.7 Plans should:
 - set out a clear economic vision and strategy which positively and proactively encourages sustainable economic growth (having regard to the national and Local Industrial Strategies, and other local policies for economic development and regeneration);
 - set criteria and identify strategic sites, for local and inward investment to match the strategy and meet anticipated needs over the plan period;

¹ NPPF footnote 43 details the sectors identified - Invest 2035: The UK's Modern Industrial Strategy identifies priority sectors for growth and support as: advanced manufacturing; clean energy industries; creative industries; defence industries; digital and technology businesses; financial services; life sciences; and professional and business services.

- pay particular regard to facilitating development to meet the needs of a modern economy, including by identifying suitable locations for uses such as laboratories, gigafactories, data centres, digital infrastructure, freight and logistics;
- seek to address potential barriers to investment (e.g. poor environment; inadequate infrastructure, services, housing); and
- be flexible enough to accommodate needs not anticipated in the plan and allow for new and flexible working practices and spaces to enable a rapid response to changes in economic circumstances.
- 2.8 The key recent change introduced (third bullet above), identifies the new or expanding activities that are needed to support a modern economy. The specific locational requirements of all economic sectors should be recognised and addressed. The NPPF goes on to highlight three particular sectors/ issues (para 87):
 - 1 Provision for clusters or networks of **knowledge and data-driven, creative or high technology industries** – this can be; for new, expanded or upgraded facilities and infrastructure to support the growth of these industries (including data centres and grid connections);
 - 2 **storage and distribution** operations at a variety of scales and in suitably accessible locations that allow for the efficient and reliable handling of goods, especially where this is needed to support the supply chain, transport innovation and decarbonisation; and
 - 3 And finally, the 'catch all' expansion or modernisation of other industries of local, regional or national importance to **support economic growth and resilience**.
- 2.9 Points (a) and (b) above are land use and activity specific, albeit there is debate about whether new specific land use classes are needed for some of these activities, whereas (c) is a general point for Plans to be positive and support all growth opportunities.
- 2.10 The PPG provides guidance on how LPAs should assess the future need for economic development, and although the NPPF was recently revised the guidance remains unaltered from that issued in 2019.
- 2.11 Current guidance states that key to assessing economic needs is understanding existing business needs, local circumstances and market conditions as national trends will not necessarily 'translate'.
- 2.12 The Guidance lists a raft of measures suitable for the assessment of business needs, which we do not repeat here, but highlight the suggested need for close liaison with the business community and taking account of Local Industrial Strategies.
- 2.13 The Guidance identifies appropriate approaches and data for the assessment of future need:
 - for labour demand sectoral and employment projections that look at likely changes in skills needed;
 - for labour supply demographically derived assessments of current and future local supply;
 - analysis of past take-up of employment land/property and/or future property market requirements; and
 - stakeholder engagement, business trend analysis, changing business models (particularly for sectors making use of online platforms), and monitoring of business, economic and employment statistics.
- 2.14 The assessments will need to take account of longer term economic cycles and consider the implications of alternative economic scenarios.
- 2.15 Analysis of market demand should involve a comparison between the available stock of land and the particular requirements of an area to identify gaps and the under/ over-supply of land. The guidance on market demand goes on to state that the need assessment approaches will help with an understanding of the requirements for specifically office, general business and distribution space, and indicate any mismatches between types of supply and demand. This understanding can then form the context for appraising individual sites.
- 2.16 The Guidance advises the data/approaches that can be used to translate from economic sector to land use. This involves Standard Industrial Classification (SIC) data, Employment/floorspace ratios and Floorspace/site area ratios, all of which we incorporate in our sector 'mapping, method.

- 2.17 The needs and space requirements for the logistics industry are specifically referenced. The PPG notes that the sector 'plays a critical role in enabling an efficient, sustainable and effective supply of goods for consumers and businesses', and contributes to local employment opportunities. It has distinct locational requirements, and these need to be considered separately from general industrial land. We note here that given Oxford city's land constraints, past practice has been for logistics and distribution needs to be met outside of the city, and this study will consider if best and most efficient use of land is for this to continue in the future. This pattern of activity will be captured in any assessment of 'past trends' because this is a well-established feature of Oxfordshire.
- 2.18 For logistics facilities with national/regional significance, a significant quantum of land (with good access to strategic transport networks, and sufficient access to power and skilled local labour) is generally required. Where such a need exists, LPAs responsible for strategic policy should collaborate with others (LPAs, infrastructure providers, relevant interests) to identify scale. This can be informed by:
 - Engagement with logistics developers/occupiers to understand changing requirements (type, size, location, impact of new/emerging technology);
 - Analysis of market signals (trends in take-up, availability of logistics land/floorspace);
 - Analysis of economic forecasts (identifying: potential changes in demand, anticipated growth in sectors likely to occupy or rely on logistics facilities); and
 - Engagement with LEPs (reviewing their plans and strategies, including economic priorities within Local Industrial Strategies)².
- 2.19 Once logistics need has been assessed, LPAs responsible for strategic policy need to consider how to meet it (by expanding existing sites and/or identifying new ones).
- 2.20 Beyond national/regional need, LPAs should also assess other requirements in the logistics sector (for example SMEs and 'last mile' facilities serving local markets). Any such assessment may need to consider a range of up-to-date evidence to provide an appropriate provision (amount, type, and location). This can include market signals, anticipated changes in the local population/housing stock, the local business base, and infrastructure availability.
- 2.21 The final issue considered by the current Guidance (dating from 2019) addresses the specific locational requirements of specialist or new sectors of a modern economy, and in Oxford city laboratory space and knowledge-driven activity and research and development (R&D) space is of direct and substantial relevance. The Guidance underlines that the wider modern economy sectors may have specific requirements in terms of land/premises needed. The example is given of how the clustering of some industries (high tech, creative digital etc) can support collaboration, innovation and productivity as well as raising economic prospects in an area. The Guidance gives examples of these requirements, that may be more qualitative in nature and be identified through business engagement, as a need for greater studio capacity, co-working spaces or research facilities.
- 2.22 The Plan-making section of the PPG provides guidance on defining Functional Economic Market Areas (FEMAs), setting out the factors that can be assessed when considering the extent of a FEMA. Understanding economic flows will help inform decisions on new housing locations and will guide transport and other infrastructure investment.
- 2.23 In the next chapter we consider the appropriate FEMA for Oxford city, which has been considered by two recent studies, reviewing those assessments and focusing on the new commuting (origin and destination) data that has recently been released from the 2021 Census.

Recent changes to Use Class and the General Permitted Development Order

- 2.24 The Government revised the 1987 Use Class Order in 2020, introducing Use Class E, a new class combining 'commercial, business and service'. This merged:
 - Office, R&D and light industrial (formerly Class B1; now Class E(g);

² In 2024 the LEP functions transferred to Councils.

- Shops, commercial services, restaurants, public houses and hot food (formerly Class A; now Class E(a) to (c)); and
- Non-residential institutions and assembly and leisure (formerly Class D; now Class E(d) to (f)).
- 2.25 Buildings can change between any of these uses without planning permission, something likely to impact the supply of Class E(g) uses. Whilst it may encourage hybrid workspace facilities, it may reduce the availability of low-rent Class E uses (e.g. light industrial).
- 2.26 Use Classes B2 (general industrial) and B8 (storage and distribution) are unaffected.
- 2.27 As amended, the GPDO 2015 allows for:
 - change from office to residential (Class O);
 - demolition of Class E(g) buildings, replacement by residential (Class ZA);
 - construction of up to two residential storeys above detached buildings in Class E use (Class AA); and
 - change of Class E to residential (Class MA).
- 2.28 These changes were largely driven by Government concerns of office over-supply and shortages of homes. However, a consequence is that residential can be introduced in employment areas that has the potential to generate considerable disruption for businesses.
- 2.29 Current PDR legislation ultimately restricts the power LPAs have, to prevent loss of Class E(g) uses. Regardless of need and supply assessments an LPA cannot prevent the loss of existing stock, including on sites that are, from a policy perspective, the most preferable for economic growth, unless they are able to introduce specific and targeted Article 4 Directions.

LOCAL PLANNING POLICY

- 2.30 The Oxford Local Plan 2036 was adopted in June 2020, replacing the Saved policies of the Oxford Local Plan 2001-2016 (November 2006), Oxford Core Strategy (March 2011) and the Sites and Housing Plan (February 2013).
- 2.31 The statutory development plan also includes the Barton Area Action Plan (December 2012), Northern Gateway Area Action Plan (July 2015), Headington Neighbourhood Plan (July 2017), Summertown and St Margaret's Neighbourhood Plan (April 2019) and the Wolvercote Neighbourhood Plan (June 2021).
- 2.32 The Oxford Draft Local Plan 2040 was submitted for examination in March 2024, but in November 2024 Local Plan Inspectors wrote to the Council recommending that the draft plan be withdrawn, with the primary reason being they considered there had been a failure in the duty to cooperate. The Council decided to withdraw, and work has now started on the Oxford Local Plan 2042 with the Regulation 18 consultation due to take place in Summer 2025.
- 2.33 The Oxford Local Plan 2036 considers the current strengths that encourage policies to drive employment growth. These are the knowledge and research sectors, and the broad, diverse and active economy in the city, with one the highest concentrations of knowledge intensive businesses in the UK. Oxford is vital for the regional and national economy, and it is the 'service centre' for the Oxfordshire economy, having the fastest growing and best educated workforce, and also being the 'hub' of research and 'spin-outs'.
- 2.34 Other strengths identified include Oxford's very low levels of unemployment, the high rate of new company set-ups, and an understanding that established employers are keen to move into the city. In respect of unemployment we note that in a 'tight' labour market low unemployment can be one of a range of factors (including economic activity rates) that can constrain opportunities for economic growth. As part of this study we review unemployment rates.
- 2.35 The Local Plan 2036 Spatial Strategy includes seven key elements, with the first being building on Oxford's economic strengths and ensuring prosperity and opportunities for all, and this has the following objectives:
 - To build on Oxford's economic strengths as a global centre for research, learning and health care;
 - To remain at the heart of the Oxfordshire economy and an important net contributor to the national economy through its key strengths in the knowledge intensive businesses (such as education, health, science and technology) and as a leading environmentally sustainable city;

- To reduce inequalities across Oxford, particularly in employment, health and education; and
- To provide a diverse range of employment opportunities to meet the needs of the city's businesses and residents, allowing Oxford to grow and function sustainably, and with a skilled workforce ready to fill the employment opportunities that arise.
- 2.36 Evidence supporting the Local Plan 2036 included the Employment Land Assessment (2018) which forecast between 2016 and 2036 a need for 135,004 sq m of additional employment floorspace, as follows:
 - Total projected demand for new B1A/B/C floorspace of 113,535 sq m; and
 - Projected demand for B2/B8 floorspace of 21,470 sq m.
- 2.37 Policy E1 of the Local Plan 2036 promotes the intensification, modernisation and regeneration for employment purposes of any employment site within Oxford. It separates employment sites into three broad categories:
 - Category 1 sites considered nationally and regionally important to the knowledge economy or are significant employers or sectors in Oxford.
 - Category 2 sites are sites that provide local services and often include a mix of B1 and B2 uses;
 - Category 3 smaller less-well performing employment sites.
- 2.38 The plan emphasises the need to protect existing employment sites, and notes how tightly constrained Oxford city is, which results in competing demands on limited land resource. Consequently, the plan identifies no other employment sites. Instead, the policy approach seeks to make the best use of all existing sites through intensification and modernisation to accommodate the forecast demand for new employment floorspace over the plan period.
- 2.39 Policy E2 supports the growth of hospitals through redevelopment and intensification, and promotes the growth of the University of Oxford through the redevelopment and intensification of academic and administrative floorspace. Not activities requiring employment land and floorspace, but with major need and opportunity to provide accommodation for R&D / lab space activities.

Northern Gateway

2.40 Originally allocated through the Oxford Core Strategy 2026 and the subject of a subsequent Area Action Plan that makes provision for 90,000 sq m of employment land (specifically supporting the knowledge economy and science-based research and development fields).

NEIGHBOURING AUTHORITIES IN OXFORDSHIRE

2.41 While the Oxfordshire Authorities ceased preparation of the joint Oxfordshire Plan 2050 in 2022, work has continued to assess the scale of employment land need at district level.

Cherwell

2.42 The Cherwell Local Plan 2042 Regulation 19 document (published in 2024) identified a need for 280 ha of employment land over the period 2021 to 2042. The Plan identifies a total of 135 ha of land, of which 37.5 ha is carried forward from the last Plan and a further 97.5 ha on new sites is proposed for allocation. The Plan is supported by an Employment Needs Assessment that identified future need to 2040 for 250 ha of employment land (that the Plan extrapolated to 2042), and this comprised 70 ha for office/R&D/light industrial uses and 176 ha for industrial and logistics (B2/B8) uses.

South and Vale District Councils

- 2.43 South and Vale District Councils are preparing a Joint Local Plan (JLP) to 2041. Initial Examination hearings took place in June 2025 which covered a range of topics including legal matters, housing and employment land requirements.
- 2.44 The Submission version of the plan (December 2024) identifies the following employment requirements based on a 2024 Employment Land Need study:
 - South Oxfordshire: 25.8 ha of employment land.

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- Vale of White Horse: 113.2 ha of employment land
- 2.45 The Plan also identifies sources of supply, which for South Oxford are 34.82ha and for the Vale 277.88 ha. The identified supply for the Vale is substantially higher than the identified need with the largest sites land at Harwell Campus (93ha) and a collection of sites at Didcot.
- 2.46 The Plan states that this exceedance of supply is to *allow scope for churn, choice and flexibility in the local employment market* and because some of the sites have been identified in the previous plan and are carried forward to reflect planning permissions or land remaining after permissions have been implemented.

West Oxfordshire

2.47 The West Oxfordshire Local Plan was adopted in 2018 and covers the period up until 2031. An Economic Snapshot Report (2015) identified a need for 27 ha of employment development over the plan period. However, the plan notes that not all of this land is available for various reasons and as such there is a need to consider additional provision to provide sufficient flexibility.

Policy E1 therefore makes provision for a total of 74 ha; 18 ha in the Witney sub-area; 6 ha to the Carterton sub-area; 5 ha in the Chipping Norton sub-area; 40 ha to the Oxfordshire Cotswolds Garden Village and at least 5 ha to Other Towns Villages and Rural Areas.

2.48 The Council are working on a new Local Plan which will cover the period up until 2041, with a Regulation 18 consultation concluding in October 2023, and another Regulation 18 consultation due in summer 2025 ahead of a Regulation 19 consultation later in the year. An Economic Needs Assessment is currently being progressed to support the new Local Plan.

Neighbouring Authorities - summary

2.49 In summary and as shown in Table 2-1 below, while West Oxfordshire await publication of their latest employment land position, the adopted Plan identifies 74 ha of land to meet a need of 27 ha. The emerging plans for South and Vale and Cherwell in combination identify a total of c450 ha of land for employment uses against a need for c420 ha, plus.

Authority	ldentified Need (ha)	Employment land (ha)	Period
West Oxfordshire (adopted Plan)	27	74	to 2031
Emerging plans			
South and Vale	139	313	2021-41
Comprising:			
South Oxfordshire	26	35	
Vale	113	278	
Cherwell	280	135	2021-42
Emerging plans totals	419	448	

Table 2-1 Neighbouring Oxfordshire Authorities - Employment need and land supply

Sources: Cherwell Local Plan 2042 Regulation 19 Document (2024), South and Vale Local Plan 2041Policy JT1 Joint Local Plan (Submission version Dec 2024), West Oxfordshire Local Plan 2031 (adopted 2018)

PLANNING POLICY AND GUIDANCE - CONCLUSIONS

- 2.50 In order to ensure that national policy and guidance is followed, the economic need assessment for Oxford city needs to include:
 - a clear assessment of historic trends (involving data that considers both economic/employment and population/demography);
 - a forecast of future needs that offers a range of different scenarios;
 - analysis of the existing stock; and

- assessment of existing supply (ie consents and land with capacity).
- 2.51 National policy supports the opportunity to drive innovation, improve productivity and support a modern economy, and LPAs should seek to capitalise on this performance and potential. In Oxford's case there is clear scope to do this through facilitating growth in the R&D / lab space sectors.
- 2.52 Nonetheless, a clear economic vision and strategy is needed to do so given the constrained land supply in the city which means delivering on R&D (the high value/ modern economy activity) can only realistically be done through the redevelopment of land currently occupied by other uses notably general office activity, retail and possibly other activities, that are not fully dependent on being located within the city and could/ may need to be provided beyond the city boundary.
- 2.53 The Guidance requires close liaison with the business community and taking account of Local Industrial Strategies, hence there is a need in this study to engage with market professionals and test data and interpretations. We do this through detailed market engagement.
- 2.54 The Guidance also refers to the need for an understanding of the requirements for office, general business and distribution space, and identification of any mismatches between types of supply and demand. The needs of the modern economy expand the range of land uses to include R&D / lab space, which is not universally needed, but is very much so in Oxford city. This understanding can then form the context for appraising employment areas and individual sites.
- 2.55 The data/approaches for the assessment of need are set out in the Guidance, and we have developed a method to translate economic forecast sector data into specific employment land use needs. Need is also a qualitative measure, and this study will for example assess how the city's 'last mile' needs will be fulfilled. The need for studio capacity, co-working spaces or research facilities are qualitative need issues that will be drawn out from the business engagement within this study.
- 2.56 The review of the neighbouring authorities indicates some divergence between need and supply, but overall taken at the Oxfordshire level need and supply are largely in balance.
- 2.57 Finally, turning to the Oxford Local Plan 2036 employment policies, the objectives stated above are likely to remain at the heart of the emerging plan. The city will remain the key driver of the Oxfordshire economy, the plan will aim to reduce economic inequality across Oxford and will continue to make best use of the existing portfolio through intensification where this is appropriate.

3 DEFINING THE FEMA

- 3.1 National Guidance states that the needs of economic land uses should be assessed at the level of the Functional Economic Market Area (FEMA). This is achieved by identifying a boundary taking account of the factors referred to in the guidance, and in particular: travel to work areas, housing market areas, access to public services, transport networks and economic governance and partnerships areas.
- 3.2 Where possible FEMA definition should align with individual or groups of local authority or regional boundaries. However, because the factors referred to above that help define areas operate at different scales there does not tend to be neat alignment with administrative boundaries, so FEMA boundaries are somewhat of a 'best fit' approximation.
- 3.3 Recent studies³ undertaken to define FEMAs across Oxfordshire and have reached different conclusions, and we review the findings. We also consider a linked workstream - the City Council's Specialist Housing Need evidence prepared by Iceni in March 2025 as this considers both commuting patterns and labour supply.
- 3.4 Firstly, we briefly review the findings of the previous studies. It is relevant to note that with the exception of new recently released 2021 Census data that informs travel to work areas, all of the other data previously considered in the recent studies remains current.
- 3.5
- 3.6 To Follow
- 3.7

³ The Oxfordshire Growth Needs Assessment (OGNA), Cambridge Econometrics / Iceni, 2021. Employment Land Needs Assessment (AECOM, January 2024)

4 SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONTEXT

INTRODUCTION

- 4.1 This section reviews Oxford city's socio-economic context, benchmarking performance, and highlighting any issues in the local economy. It looks at past and present economic performance ahead of considering the forecast/projections in chapters that follow. The review considers the following:
 - Resident economy;
 - Workplace economy; and
 - Business demography.

RESIDENT ECONOMY

4.2 A growing population, particularly in the 16-64 age group means the labour force should also be growing. Figure 4.1 shows the change in working age (16-64) population (blue bars) and total population (stippled blue) in Oxford city over the period 2010-2023. The chart shows a relatively strong rise in both working age and total population 2010-15 (c7% over that period), then the period to 2021 saw virtually no change in either, with both rising in 2022023.

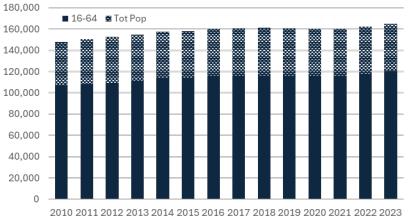


Figure 4.1 – Oxford city – working age and total population

4.3 Figure 4.2 below compares change in the working age population in Oxford city (blue bar) with Oxfordshire (green bar). The trend line shows that growth in Oxford city's working age population has been slower in comparison with Oxfordshire as a whole since over the past decade (from c2013).





Source: ONS Mid-year population estimates

Source: ONS Mid-year population estimates

UNEMPLOYMENT

- 4.4 Unemployment is a core measure of labour market health. The chart below shows Oxford (blue bar) against the benchmarks, the more uneven pattern for Oxford compared to the benchmarks is the product of the size of the dataset, and we look at the overall pattern. Due to disclosure rules there are years missing where the numbers for Oxford city were lower than the disclosure rules allow.
- 4.5 Following the 2008/9 financial crisis unemployment fell consistently. However, unemployment in Oxford city has been consistently around the 5% mark (blue dashed line) over this entire period. While rates for Oxfordshire have improved from c4.5% to c3%. The most recent period (since 2020) has seen unemployment rise by around 3% in Oxford city moving generally in the opposite direction to the benchmarks.

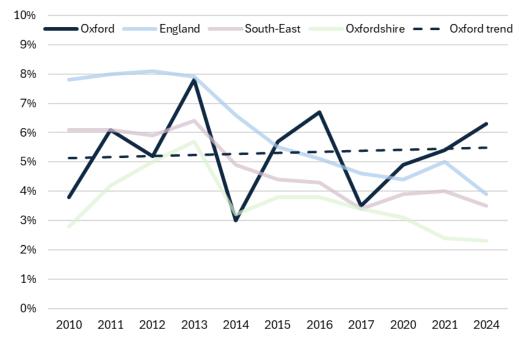


Figure 4.3 – Unemployment rate

Source: ONS Annual Population Survey. No Oxford city data in years 2018, 2019, 2022 and 2023

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

- 4.6 Economic activity rates are a critical measure of available labour, and improving rates are generally needed for economic growth. The volatility for Oxford city shown below in Figure 4.4 below is again a product of the smaller data set compared to county, region and national.
- 4.7 The broad trend is shown to be upward and Oxford city (blue dashed line) has moved from around 77% in 2010 to 81% in 2024, above national average, but below Oxfordshire and indeed the South-East.
- 4.8 The depth of the Covid related drop in activity rates shows the immediate effect of inactivity and then the rapid R&D related 'bounce back' that took activity rates beyond previous levels.





Source: ONS Annual Population Survey

in 2023/24 driven by inflationary pressures.

RESIDENT WAGES

4.9 Oxford city resident earnings, as shown in Figure 4.5 have over the past 15 years broadly matched county and region, and are well ahead of the England average. Growth in wages in all the benchmarks accelerated

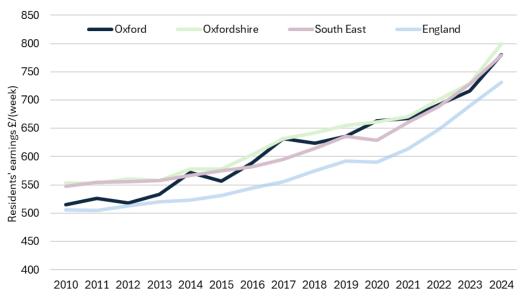


Figure 4.5 – Resident earnings– Median, weekly gross

Source: ASHE ONS

4.10 We will compare resident wages with workplace wages in the next section.

WORKPLACE ECONOMY

4.11 Figure 4.6 below shows total jobs in Oxford since 2011. The steady rise over the whole 2010s decade can be observed – rising by c 25,000 over that period, a 20% rise in just 13 years. The Covid-related drop in employment is shown and then the post-Covid recovery, with the most recent data for 2023 being back on 13 year trend.

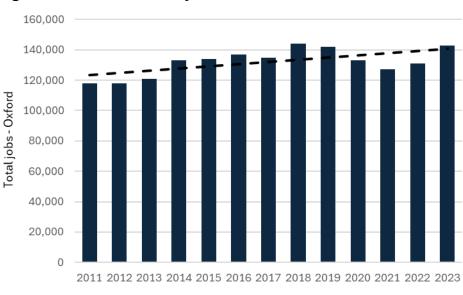


Figure 4.6 – Oxford total jobs⁴

Source: NOMIS from BRES data

Workplace Wages

4.12 Average wages for jobs in Oxford city have consistently been higher than the other benchmarks, as shown in Figure 4.7. The city has consistently been able to attract businesses able to offer high value jobs. The post-2021 acceleration for all areas is inflation related, with Oxford city maintaining a competitive wage advantage.

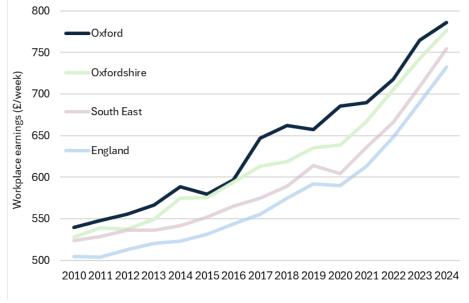


Figure 4.7 – Workplace Earnings– Median, weekly gross

Source: ASHE ONS

4.13 Next, in Figure 4.8 below we compare resident and workplace earnings. Workplace wages in Oxford (blue line) have consistently been higher than resident wages (dashed blue line) across the period 2010-2024. This is quite unusual, as in other areas commuting for work into nearby cities means that resident wages are generally higher, but not in Oxford city. This also helps explain the high rates of commuting into Oxford.

^{1.1 &}lt;sup>4</sup> As discussed elsewhere BRES jobs data is derived from a survey and does not reflect absolute total jobs as shown later in this report when we consider the economic forecast.

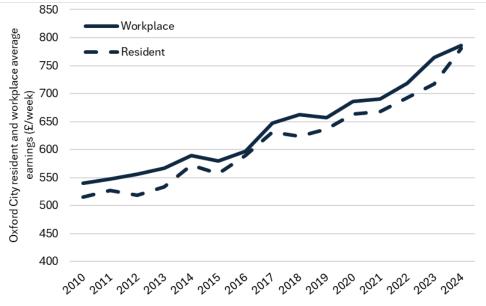


Figure 4.8 - Oxford workplace and resident earnings– Median, weekly gross

Source: ASHE ONS

4.14 The commuting data in Section 3 confirms that there is a large inflow into Oxford city (c30,000), with the largest proportion coming from within the Oxfordshire area. This, and the level of unemployment in comparison to Oxfordshire, also suggests that not all living within Oxford are benefitting from the higher wages as much as those commuting in.

SKILLS

- 4.15 The skill-level of a workforce is assessed using the Registered Qualifications Framework (RQF). There are four RQF levels as listed below:
 - Level 1: fewer than 5 GCSEs at grades A-C, foundation GNVQ, NVQ 1
 - Level 2: 5 or more GCSEs at grades A-C, intermediate GNVQ, NVQ 2
 - Level 3: 2 or more A levels, advanced GNVQ, NVQ 3
 - Level 4: HND, Degree and Higher Degree and above
- 4.16 Figure 4.9 below shows the percentage distribution of RQF qualifications of all 16-64 year olds in Oxford city area in 2023, alongside comparators.

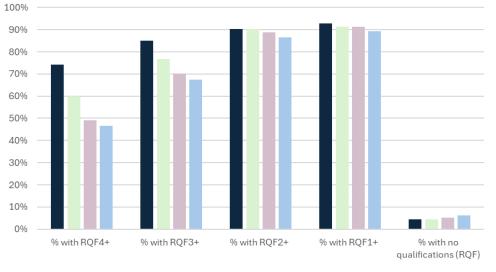


Figure 4.9 – Qualifications 16-64 (% of all qualifications 2023)

Oxford City Employment Land Needs Assessment - Interim Report - June 2025

Source: ONS Annual Population Survey

4.17 The rate of those with RQF2+, RQF3+ and RQF4+ is higher for Oxford city and Oxfordshire than in comparison with the national and regional level. In Oxford city, there is also a noticeably higher percentage with a higher skilled level (RQF3+ and RQF4+) in comparison with Oxfordshire and the other comparators.

OCCUPATION PROFILE

- 4.18 Figure 4.10 below compares the occupation profile of Oxford city residents with the comparators. The data has been taken from the ONS Annual Population Survey, but data is missing for Oxford in some of the sectors again because of the disclosure rules.
- 4.19 The largest sector for Oxford city by far is in professional occupations, and associate professional and tech and in elementary occupations. The city is lower than average for managers, directors and officials, and for admin and sectoral occupations, skilled trade occupants, and caring and leisure occupations.
- 4.20 The relatively high number of professionals in the city reflects the skills profile in Oxford city summarised in the previous section. Proportionally Oxford city has comparatively higher representation in the more senior occupations and also in elementary occupations. This again suggests that, while the city has a highly educated workforce reflected in the occupation profile, there are parts of the workforce that are unskilled and working in the most elementary of occupations.

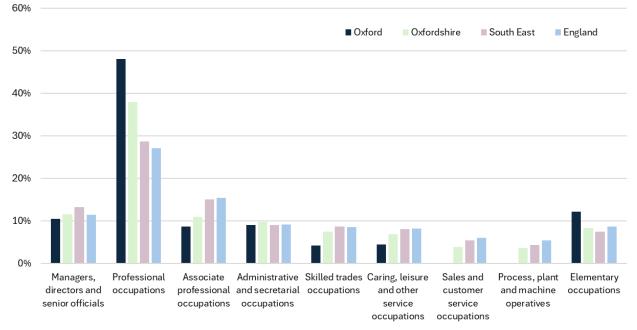
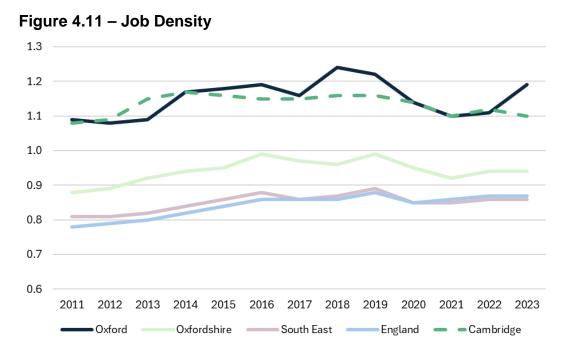


Figure 4.10 – Occupation Profile – 2023-24

Source: ONS Annual Population Survey

JOB DENSITY

- 4.21 Job density measures the ratio between workplace jobs and residents in the labour force. Nationally there are around 0.85 jobs per working age resident the national density is always less than 100% because not every worker is in active work (for example those in education or on extended leave).
- 4.22 Figure 4.11 shows job densities for Oxford city and comparators and in addition we include Cambridge (light blue dashed line) for context. For both Oxford and Cambridge, the job density has been consistently above 1.0 and indeed occasionally above 1.2. This illustrates that these cities provide many more jobs than they have workers to fill those jobs and rely on in-commuting to service those jobs. In 2021 the job density in Oxford was 1.19 compared with 0.86 in the south-east and 0.87 in England.
- 4.23 This demonstrates that Oxford the city is the sub-region's economic driver, supporting a very high number of jobs, higher than the city workforce can support, and requiring high levels of inward commuting from the wider Oxfordshire authorities.



Source: ONS Jobs Density

BUSINESS DEMOGRAPHY

- 4.24 We now turn to consider businesses in the local economy. The overall number of enterprises Oxford supported 4,890 in 2019 and this was almost unchanged at 4,885 in 2024.
- 4.25 Figure 4.12 below shows how the number of Oxford enterprises by industry sector has changed across a most recent five year period. There has been growth in a number of industries, and small reductions in some of the larger industries, such as professional, scientific and technical, information and communication and construction.

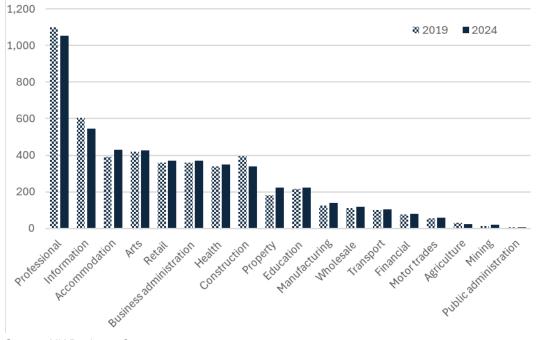


Figure 4.12 – Oxford Enterprises (numbers of) by Industry – 2019 and 2024

4.26 Figure 4.13 below shows that the enterprise percent by industry in Oxford is very much dominated by professional, scientific and technical jobs.

Source: UK Business Counts

- 4.27 Oxford has more enterprises in accommodation and food services, education and health, reflecting its status as a popular tourist destination and world-renowned university.
- 4.28 There are proportionally more Oxford enterprises in the higher skilled industries (professional and information sectors) and less in the lower skilled industries such as wholesale, transport, motor trade and construction. This aligns with the skills, wages and occupation data. The lower than average number of firms in sectors that have a higher proportion of lower skilled jobs is likely to mean proportionally fewer less skilled jobs locally which may be fuelling the slightly higher than anticipated unemployment rate.

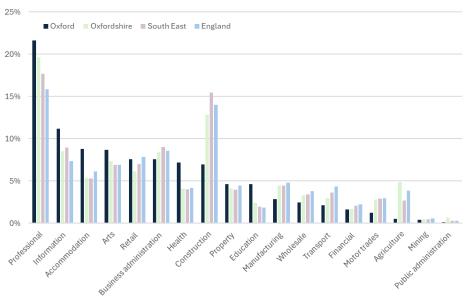


Figure 4.13 – Enterprise Percent by Industry, 2024

Source: UK Business Counts. Ordered by businesses in Oxford city

4.29 Figure 4.14 below shows the employee jobs by industry in Oxford in 2023 (latest available data). The proportion of Oxford city jobs in education and health is far higher than comparators, and consequently much lower in many other sectors such as construction, manufacturing, and wholesale. We return to jobs by sector and land use when we review employment need in a future chapter.

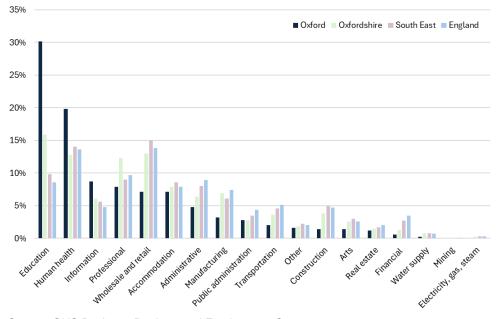


Figure 4.14 – Jobs by Industry, 2023

Source: ONS Business Register and Employment Survey

CONCLUSIONS

- 4.30 Growth in the working age population has been stronger in the surrounding Oxfordshire districts compared to within the city. This points to the potential for a more constrained labour supply in the city compared with the districts. Unemployment rates fluctuate, but rates in the city have stayed at c5% since 2017, while rates in the county have fallen, and at 2024 the 6.3% rate in the city compares to a rate of just over 2% in Oxfordshire.
- 4.31 Economic activity rates have steadily risen for a decade and more, recovering quickly from the Covid induced 'blip'. Again, with activity rates above 80%, albeit unemployment is comparatively high, this does question where the labour supply will be drawn from given the jobs likely to be provided are highly skilled.
- 4.32 The workplace economy is very strong, with growth in jobs in the city since 2011 of c25,000, a 20% increase in just 13 years. Education and health job growth has been predominant, and there has been significant growth in the professional and highly skilled sectors. The growth in the highly skilled jobs is reflected in workplace wages, which are higher than resident wages, which is unusual, but reflects the fact that Oxford city is the sub-regional economic driver.
- 4.33 The employment base is heavily skewed to the professional and highly skilled rather than the mid-range roles which have comparatively low representation, while at the other end of the occupation spectrum there is a notable above benchmark proportion of jobs in the elementary occupations.
- 4.34 Oxford's job density, currently 1.19 is far in excess of the benchmarks, and this reinforces the view that the city is the economic driver for a much wider sub-region. The city's labour force cannot fill all these jobs and the city's labour supply constraint is filled by a sizable number (c30,000) of in-commuters with most (c80%) coming from the surrounding four Oxfordshire district areas.
- 4.35 The size of the business community has remained flat over the past five years at around 5,000 business enterprises in the city. Professional and information activities account for the largest share of businesses (just short of half) with non-employment activity based businesses accounting for the majority of the others. There are relatively few manufacturing businesses, albeit these may be larger businesses in terms of workforce.

5 **PROPERTY MARKET ANALYSIS**

OVERVIEW

- 5.1 This chapter reviews the property market for employment space (laboratory (lab) space, research and development (R&D) space, industrial/ warehouse space and office space) in the city. For employment space, we consider in turn demand, supply and the balance of the market. The main purpose of the analysis is to identify where there is potential demand for new employment floorspace, and hence a need for development land to be identified in the emerging plan.
- 5.2 In relation to demand, we identify the types of businesses that are taking space in the area or may consider doing so, and what property they are looking for in terms of size and quality. In relation to supply and market balance, we analyse the stock which is currently available, recently developed and in the pipeline, and the rental values and yields that properties in the area are achieving. The purpose of our analysis is to determine:
 - How far the existing floorspace stock is meeting current and foreseeable occupier requirements;
 - Hence, how far there is likely to be demand for more or different space, now and in the future;
 - Conversely, if property and land are oversupplied, overall or in particular sections of the market.
- 5.3 These findings help assess the potential demand for new employment floorspace, and hence the quantity and qualitative mix of development sites that the emerging plan should identify for employment uses.
- 5.4 A strength of the market-facing analysis is that it considers real-life property transactions, including the values (rents and yields) realised in such transactions, and whether these values are enough to support viable development. This provides evidence of effective, or viable, demand which means that potential occupiers will pay enough, and (where relevant) provide sufficient covenant strength to support financially viable development.

SOURCES AND DEFINITIONS

- 5.5 Our property market research has drawn primarily on the following information:
 - The property market database CoStar and commercial property research reports for evidence of takeup, availability and values (rents and yields), both for the market overall and individual properties. For the supply-side analysis in the report, we have relied on properties advertised for let or for sale (excluding investments).
 - Total stock figures across the authority area have been derived from an analysis of VOA Non-Domestic Rating statistics. This data provides a round figure of total business floorspace in square metres. We have cross-referenced this data with advertised space on CoStar to provide an indication of the availability of space. Cross-referencing the CoStar and VOA data does have limitations, as there is no guarantee that the two sources are consistent regarding unit sizes and descriptions. The reason why there may be discrepancies is that the VOA data has 117 description codes, which do not always correspond with the definition of employment premises as classified by CoStar. By contrast, properties listed on CoStar have just three categories, and some of these descriptions may fall outside the VOA definition of industrial, warehouse or office units. Due to the VOA figures being provided in aggregate, it is not possible to "iron out" these discrepancies.
 - The latest VOA annual published data on total floorspace is from 31 March 2023. VOA delayed the publication of the 2024 floorspace data because they undertook a consultation at the end of 2024/beginning of 2025 to gain information on how the statistics are currently used and to capture user feedback on options for future development of these statistics. The VOA explain that the 2024 data will be published in the Summer of 2025.
 - Due to the significance of the city's lab and R&D market, where possible, we have analysed this separately. The VOA data does not report this type of space separately, so we have been unable to report a total floorspace figure for this use. We are, however, able to analyse the location, type of

space and occupiers from the CoStar data, so we have extracted this in our analysis. Where we see obvious clusters, such as at ARC Oxford (previously Oxford Business Park) and The Oxford Science Park, we have grouped our analysis. But not all the city's lab and R&D occupiers are located in the clusters, with some co-located in the traditional industrial/warehouse estates, where possible, we have made specific reference to this in our analysis.

- We undertook telephone consultations with several agents and landowners to gain an understanding of the Oxford city market.
- For a greater qualitative understanding of the market, we held a virtual stakeholder workshop via MS Teams on 18 June 2025, bringing together a mix of local active agents and developers, with the views presented helping to inform our understanding of the local market.

OFFICE, LABS & R&D MARKET ANALYSIS

General profile - lab & R&D market

- 5.6 The lab and R&D market is predominantly found in the golden triangle of Oxford, Cambridge and London and regional hubs such as Bristol and Manchester. The market takes many forms that include, but are not limited to, life sciences, biotech and artificial intelligence (AI). It is considered a priority sector for the government because it has the opportunity to create high-value jobs. The government in the Autumn 2024 budget committed £1 billion investment for life sciences⁵ and in their recent 10-year infrastructure delivery strategy, the Oxford to Cambridge Growth Corridor has been identified for £2.5 billion of investment to deliver the East West Rail to provide better connectivity between Oxford and Cambridge and unlock new homes in the settlements in between. As identified in the strategy, and highlighted through our consultations the cost of housing is expensive in Oxford and it acts as a barrier to growth of the lab & R&D market.
- 5.7 The UK is considered an attractive global market because it has some of the best regarded R&D universities, the NHS provides infrastructure to test and develop new drugs, there is an established "eco-system" and it is considered a positive investment environment (through venture capital), especially with the current uncertainties in the US.
- 5.8 Following a high in 2021 driven by the Covid-19 pandemic, the UK's biotech sector saw a fall in venture capital investment, which resulted in a slight cooling of the market. But the UK BioIndustry Association (BIA) report that Q12025 saw a sharp rise in venture capital (see Figure 5-1), which they say was driven by "megarounds" of funding with Isomorphic Labs (£449 million) and Verdiva Bio (£327 million) and which accounted for most of the quarter's funding.⁶

⁵ UK Life Sciences sector sees major boost with new investments and policy changes | CK Group

⁶ BIA (January – March 2025) UK biotech financing 2025

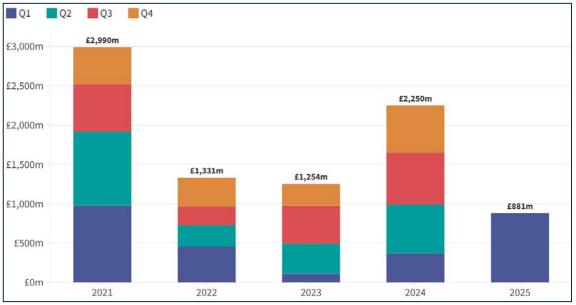


Figure 5-1 UK biotech total venture capital raised by quarter, for the past five years

Source: BIA UK biotech financing 2025

- 5.9 BIA states that their data suggests that capital is being allocated to fewer companies, and investment activity is being more concentrated.⁷ Our consultation feedback links in with the BIA data because it has indicated that there is demand from international "lumpy" requirements, which occur now and then, but cannot always be predicted when they will happen.
- 5.10 What occupiers are seeking in the market are buildings with high levels of sustainability, which is driven in part by funders and also the fact that some occupiers are high energy users, so with increasing energy prices, they want to keep their operating costs down.

General profile - office market

- 5.11 Before the pandemic, developers were finding it difficult to fund office development due to the restricted availability of loans. Speculative office development was only occurring in strong and established office markets, such as in London, Thames Valley (e.g., around Reading) and key regional centres such as Birmingham and Manchester. In other markets, new development required a pre-let in place to a blue-chip covenant. At this time, we were seeing a shift in office requirements from out of town locations to town and city centres. This was driven by staff wanting to be closer to public transport links and amenities.
- 5.12 During the Covid-19 pandemic, the government introduced working from home measures, leading to many offices being left unoccupied or at greatly reduced occupancy. Companies were forced to embrace video conferencing and other measures to ensure business continuity. At the time it was unclear how the change in working practices would affect the long term office market. What we did see was vacancy rates increase, as occupiers delayed making decisions on taking space or reducing footprint.
- 5.13 Since 2021 there has been greater clarity as to how changes in working patterns have affected the office market, with some form of working from home now common practice. As a result, we are now seeing that occupiers are seeking smaller units, but of better quality, hence creating surplus space through downsizing. The focus on quality is around sustainability and energy efficiency, as occupiers try to meet increasingly ambitious Environmental, Social, and Governance (ESG) aspirations and also to help attract and retain staff.
- 5.14 As shown in the CBRE national research in Figure 5-2 the main drivers of demand for new office space have been business services, followed by banking and finance and, technology, media and telecommunications (TMTs), as we highlight in our analysis we see TMTs in the Oxford market through the form of AI, therefore overlapping between the labs & R&D market and the office market.

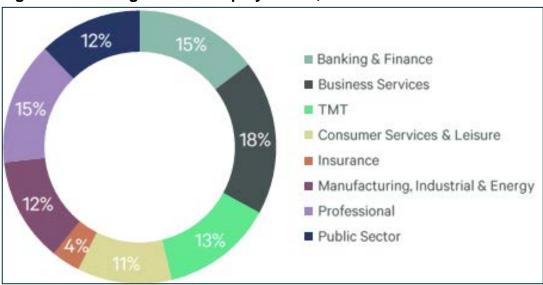


Figure 5-2 UK Logistics take-up by sector, 12 months to end Q4 2024

Source: CBRE Research, February 2025

General profile – Oxford city

- 5.15 In terms of the lab and R&D market, Oxford is an attractive location due to having two world-class universities and research hospitals, but as was explained to us through our consultations, what really "kicked-started" the market was the creation of Oxford Science Enterprises (OSE) in 2015. OSE is a circa. £1 billion independent company that invests in spinouts, which are part of the Oxford Cluster, with a main focus on life sciences, health tech and deep tech. OSE invest from £50,000 to £25 million, so very sizeable investments into the local market.
- 5.16 In addition to OSE, the city's lab and R&D market responded quickly to the Covid-19 pandemic, in helping develop vaccines, which further enhanced its international reputation this has helped drive the market further. Oxford can attract international and national investment, and it has been clear through our consultations that a lot of that international investment is currently coming from the US.
- 5.17 To meet the demand for lab and R&D space, the city's office space has been repurposed/redeveloped, and more recently, new build space is being developed. New and existing space can accommodate a range of occupier sizes. New space is also being developed on a flexible basis, with some space fitted out as labs whilst other space being developed as lab enabled accommodation, this allows for the space to be configured to suit the final occupier requirement, e.g., labs or offices.
- 5.18 It has been indicated through our consultations that the Oxford market has slightly cooled in line with the wider market due to the reduction in venture capital funding. But the consensus is that there is an opportunity for significant future growth because the city's market lags behind Cambridge. Furthermore, the new development of the Ellison Institute of Technology (further details provided below) is regarded by some as a "game changer" to help turbo-charge the market further.
- 5.19 The office market in the city is more mixed than compared to the lab and R&D market, as mentioned, some office space has been lost to the lab and R&D market, but has also been lost due to office to residential conversions. Feedback through our consultations has indicated there is now an imbalance in the city centre due to a lack of quality office stock to meet modern occupier requirements.
- 5.20 We now explore the main office locations in Oxford.

SOUTH OXFORD

5.21 South Oxford has a large cluster of offices, labs and R&D space, some of the lab space is purpose built or has been delivered in re-purposed office buildings.

The Oxford Science Park

- 5.22 The Oxford Science Park, located just off the A4074, is a purpose built science park that forms the city's main cluster for lab and R&D space. The park provides a mix of standalone office and labs typically offered on a refurbished and/or repurposed basis, e.g., Hayakawa Building ER4, and Sherrington Building S14.
- 5.23 The park has onsite amenities such as a café, bar and restaurant, deli, children's nursery and conference and meeting rooms. In close proximity to the park are additional leisure facilities at the Kassam Leisure Complex and hotels. The quality of the environment and buildings, along with the amenities, are what occupiers are seeking. In addition, public transport access is due to improve with the re-opening of the Cowley Branch Line to passenger services. This is because a new station is proposed to service the park and the wider resident population.
- 5.24 The park attracts a range of occupiers from start-ups to international business Current occupiers include Oxford & Nanopore (biotech) in a 1,200 sqm unit, Exact Science (biotech) in a 1,300 sqm unit and Oxgene (biotech) in a 780 sqm unit.
- 5.25 The Oxford Science Park is seeing ongoing development including:
 - Ellison Institute of Technology this is being developed as a new 30,000 sq m campus providing lab space, an oncology unit, a wellness clinic and educational facilities. The focus of the campus will be on medical science and healthcare, food security and sustainable agriculture, clean energy and climate change, and government policy and economics.
 - The Daubeny Project this is a development of three buildings that total 41,800 sq m of lab space, which is to be completed in 2025. The buildings will be built to BREEAM 'Excellent' and EPC A rating therefore meeting modern occupier requirements.

ARC Oxford

- 5.26 ARC Oxford is located to the north of the Science Park, at Garsington Road interchange on the A4142 Oxford Eastern Bypass. ARC Oxford was primarily an out of town office park that is now being repurposed/redeveloped in parts for labs, e.g., Building 5510. The park can provide large floorplates, such as a single floor at John Smith Court, which provides 2,495 sq m of office space, and a single floor at Trinity will provide lab space in 3,500 sq m floorplates. The refurbished and/or repurposed buildings provide high levels of sustainability that occupiers are seeking. The park has amenities in the form of a café, restaurant, hotel, gym and children's nursery.
- 5.27 The park has attracted a mix of lab and office space occupiers such as Oxford Biodynamics (biotech) in a 2,400 sq m, Ultromics (TMT (AI)) in a 380 sq m unit, Veeva (TMT (AI)) in a 1,100 sq m unit, Freeths (professional services) in a 1,100 sq m unit.

NORTH OXFORD

5.28 In the north of Oxford, existing offices are found in Summertown, and there are emerging labs and offices coming forward at Oxford North.

Summertown

- 5.29 Offices in Summertown are a mix of stand-alone or part of a mixed used development. The offices are externally dated but are offered to the market on an internally refurbished basis. The offices provide smaller floorplates than found in the parks to the south of Oxford, for example, a single floor of 658 sq m is available at Mayfield House, and that is quite large for Summertown. Although a larger space can be provided across multiple floors in some buildings. Summertown can also accommodate very small requirements, with Quad providing coworking space. Although the units are generally refurbished to a good standard, they do not necessarily meet modern occupier requirements in terms of high levels of sustainability.
- 5.30 Units have limited car parking, but the district centre provides a range of amenities for occupiers such as supermarkets, restaurants, cafés, a gym and hotels. Occupiers here include Carter Jonas (professional services) in a 665 sq m unit and AMD (TMT) in a 140 sq m unit.

Oxford North

- 5.31 Oxford North is located close to the Peartree roundabout on the A34. Originally allocated through the Oxford Core Strategy 2026 the site forms part of development plan for Oxford by way of the Northern Gateway AAP. The AAP considers the site as an innovation district with workspace, housing, multi storey car park and supporting amenities. The AAP identifies 90,000 sq m of employment space at the site. An outline planning application was approved in 2021 for roughly this quantum and is being delivered through a series of Reserved Matters applications. These applications are delivered floorspace at a higher density than was originally envisaged hence the planning envelope could potentially deliver more floorspace, if there is demand.
- 5.32 Three buildings are currently being speculatively built, two buildings provide CL2 labs and one building for offices. The office building is targeting start-ups and grow-on space, and the labs will accommodate requirements from 92 sq m up to 10,700 sq m. The development is targeting BREEAM Excellent, again aligning with occupier requirements.
- 5.33 Our consultations indicated that the space is being targeted at AI, professional services and life sciences companies, with later phases of the development likely to come forward on a lab enabled basis, so it can respond to the market, at that time, once occupiers are identified.

WEST OXFORD

Botley Road

- 5.34 Botley Road is an emerging life science corridor where we see British Land (and others) redeveloping units at Botley Road Retail Park, located close to the Botley Road interchange on the A34. Mission Street has developed the Inventa building, which is a 6,000 sq m of lab and office space that has attracted Nucleome (biotech) and Xyme (AI(TMT)). Three ground floor lab units and one office remain.
- 5.35 Demolition and site preparation has now been completed for the 12,500 sq m mix lab and office called Fabrica, which is expected to be completed in late 2026/early 2027 – this will also provide large floorplates of up to 3,200 sq m delivered to high levels of sustainability with BREEAM Excellent targeted.

CITY CENTRE

- 5.36 The city centre has a mix of traditional and purpose built offices, as with Summertown, offices are a mix of standalone or part of mixed used developments. Some of the office stock is dated on small floorplates and not suitable for modern occupier requirements. Typically, we see space being offered in units of up to circa. 300 sq m, e.g., 58-60 St Aldates, with larger requirements, needing to take multiple units or floors in the same building.
- 5.37 Occupiers in the city centre include Ryze Hydrogen (energy) in a 2,100 sq m unit, Oxford International School (education) in a 780 sq m unit, Oxera (professional services) in a 700 sq m unit and Oxford University Endowment Management (financial services) in a 1,120 sq m unit.
- 5.38 The city centre is seeing new space being developed for the lab and R&D market, as follows:
 - Former Debenhams –potential for conversion of the former department store to science, technology and innovation lab space by the site's new owners - The Crown Estate in partnership with Oxford Science Enterprises and Pioneer Group.
 - Beaver House redevelopment of an office building to provide lab space of circa 19,800 sqm, which is an increase of circa. 8,700 sq m of employment space.

Demand & take-up

- 5.39 Our consultations have indicated that start-ups/spinouts from the university are a strong driver of demand for lab and R&D space, but it is clear that the space they require is not just labs but also offices, as the market grows into AI. The size of this space varies and is dependent on the nature of the company, but they do require flexibility to enable them to grow. It was highlighted that it is hard to predict demand from the "black swan events" like the Ellison Institute, but land needs to be provided to be able to capture it.
- 5.40 Demand for office space in the city is from a mix of professional services, servicing the local market, but also those servicing the lab and R&D market, e.g., specialist legal firms.

- 5.41 Lab, R&D, and office occupiers and funders are looking for high quality space with high levels of sustainability.
- 5.42 When companies are considering Oxford as a location, agents report that they are asking where can my staff live, and how can they travel to work? This is because the cost to rent and buy housing is expensive in the city, so staff are having to live in areas such as Wantage, Abingdon and Didcot and commute in. These staff need to rely on public transport to get to work, hence, being located close to public transport nodes is a big driver of demand. It was highlighted in our consultations that finding and retaining staff is an issue for companies in the city due to high housing costs. The combination of the lack of access to housing and public transport appears to constrain growth, but it is likely to be eased in the medium to longer term through the re-opening of the Cowley Branch Line to passenger services and the East West Rail.
- 5.43 Agents report strong demand for offices in the city centre, so staff can access the city easily by public transport, but they currently cannot find what they want due to floorplate size and quality of space. This is being provided in out of town locations such as John Smith Court at Oxford ARC, which provides 2,495 sq m in a single floorplate.
- 5.44 Table 5-1 provides an analysis of lab and take-up over a five-year period between 2020 and 2024 showing an annual average of 6,430 sq m, over five units.

Calendar year	No. of transactions	Total take-up sq m	Minimum take up sq m	Maximum take up sq m
2020	3	2,921	799	1,181
2021	6	4,862	339	1,287
2022	2	7,400	715	6,685
2023	4	3,090	46	1,594
2024	8	13,875	186	6,317
2025 – until 07/04	2	3,013	322	2,691
Total	25	35,161		
Annual Average 2020 - 2024	5	6,430		

Table 5-2 Past lab / R&D take-up, 2020 – April 2025, Oxford city

Source: CoStar, Urbà, April 2025

- 5.45 The take-up data shows that this space can be quite "lumpy" with one or two transactions representing a large amount of floorspace. Recent R&D / lab space transactions:
 - Feb 2025: Seloxium (R&D) took a 322 sq m unit at Arc 9400 Oxford Business Park North on undisclosed lease terms at a rent of £970 psm, this was a University of Oxford spin-out company.
 - Jan 2025: Ellison Institute of Technology (TMT) is taking a 2,700 sq m unit at The Iversen Building, Oxford Science Park on undisclosed lease terms at a rent of £590 psm.
 - Dec 2024: Novo Nordisk (biotech) took a 6,300 sq m unit at The Iversen Building, Oxford Science Park on undisclosed lease terms at a rent of £645 psm.
 - Feb 2024: Oxford & Nanopore (biotech) took a 190 sq m unit at Old Road Campus, University of Oxford on undisclosed terms.
 - Aug 2023: Oxford Biotherapeutics (biotech) took a 465 sq m unit at Schrödinger Building, Oxford Science Park on a five year lease at a rent of £740 psm.
- 5.46 Table 5-2 provides an analysis of office take-up over a five-year period between 2020 and 2024. The data shows an annual average of 10,027 sq m, over 21 units.

		-		
Calendar year	No. of transactions	Total take-up sq m	Minimum take up sq m	Maximum take up sq m
2020	28	14,338	17	1,535
2021	22	9,502	11	2,348
2022	19	6,145	13	1,523
2023	21	8,342	20	2,103
2024	17	11,807	27	3,507
2025 – until 07/04	0	0	0	0
Total	107	50,134		
Annual Average 2020 - 2024	21	10,027		

Table 5-3 Past office take-up, 2020 – April 2025, Oxford city

Source: CoStar, Urbà, April 2025

5.47 During 2024 the following office transactions were recorded:

- Nov 2024: Carfax Education (education) took a 410 sq m unit at Osie House on a 10-year lease with a break in year three at a rent of £325 psm.
- Oct 2024: Createc (TMT) took a 140 sq m unit a 1-5 Buckingham Street on a five-year lease at a rent of £400 psm.
- Sept 2024: David Fickling Books (book publisher) took an 1,800 sq m unit at 26 Beaumont Street on an eight year lease at a rent of £370 psm.
- Jun 2024: 3Keel (professional services) took a 165 sq m unit at Red Lion Square on a five year lease.
- Jun 2024: Critchleys (professional services) took a 780 sq m unit at Park Central on a 10-year lease with a break in year five, at a rent of £660 psm.
- Jan 2024: Aurora Energy Research (TMT) took a 3,500 sq m unit at St Aldates Chambers on a 10-year lease on an undisclosed rent.
- Nov 2023: Oxford Policy Management (global development consultancy) had a lease renewal on their 465 sq m unit at Park Central on an undisclosed lease term, at a rent of £645 psm

Supply and market balance – lab, R&D & office space

Vacancy Q.1 floorspace sq m

5.48 CoStar and VOA data do not split out between office, R&D and lab space, so we have had to analyse this together to understand total supply and the market balance. Table 5-3 sets out the change in total stock as recorded on the VOA and compared to the vacancy floorspace recorded on CoStar. Taking the most recent data (April 2025) from CoStar, the vacancy is the same as that of 2024 at 2,267 sq m, and assuming the total stock figure has remained unchanged, vacancy remains low at 0.6%. When we analyse where the vacant office space is, it is solely at Unipart House – which points to a lack of choice in the local market both in terms of quantum and location of space, this was particularly highlighted for the city centre office market where there are not the large floorplates that occupiers are seeking. When we cross-reference the five year annual take-up in Table 5-1 and Table 5-2 with the current vacancy Table 5-3 then it equates to less than two months supply, which further highlights the tight nature of the market.

Date 2020 2021 2022 2023 2024 373,000 365,000 360,000 Total stock sq m 31 March 361,000 To be published in -5,000 Change in floorspace sq m -8,000 1,000 the Summer of 2025 -2.1% -1.4% Change in floorspace % 0.3%

0

0

1,313

Table 5-4 Change in office, R&D & lab total stock & vacancy rate, Oxford city

0

2,267

Date	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024
% of vacant space against total stock	0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.4%	N/a

Source: CoStar, VOA, Urbà, April 2025

Development opportunities

- 5.49 As we have set out above, there is new space currently being developed across the city, at Botley Road, Oxford North, Oxford Science Park, Oxford ARC and the city centre. This new space is likely to satisfy the short term supply issues currently being faced. Current developments will add around 174,000 sq m of new space, which will add around another 10 years supply based on the five year annual take-up in Table 5-1 and Table 5-2.
- 5.50 As part of the emerging Local Plan 2042 there are potential sites that could accommodate growth, further details are set out in the next chapter, but include:
 - Oxford North potential additional space due to intensification
 - Osney Mead
 - Oxpens
 - West End

Rents, yields and the economics of development

- 5.51 Bidwells reports⁸ that prime fitted lab space in Oxford is £845 psm and shell £592 psm. Bidwells also states that prime office rents are £657 psm, which is slightly lower than that stated in our consultations which indicated rents of £684 psm. It was expressed in our consultations that this rent has significantly increased in recent years due to the imbalance of not enough suitable units in the centre to meet demand.
- 5.52 With regards investment yields, Knight Frank's Prime Yield Guide, February 2025 which states prime yields for "Life Sciences" on a 15-year lease achieve a 4.75% yield compared to a "Offices "Major Regional Cities" on a 10-year lease (no data for 15-year lease) achieve a yield of 6.5%.
- 5.53 At these rents and yields, we would consider it viable to maintain and refurbish space and enable viable development in the city.

Conclusion

- 5.54 Since 2015 the city's lab and R&D market has seen significant growth driven by spinouts and start-ups from the university, supported by the OSE investment fund. The market accelerated further forward with its response in developing vaccines during the Covid-19 pandemic.
- 5.55 Oxford's future market is likely to look different from what has already occurred because most of the growth in the lab and R&D to date has been accommodated by repurposing/redeveloping office buildings, but now we are seeing new build. Also, with the arrival of the Ellison Institute, this is seen by some, as a "game changer" to the market and will accelerate growth further. The new build currently occurring will help ease the short to medium term supply constraints, in the lab, R&D and office markets, but it will not address the ability to capture "black swan events" or address the imbalance in the city centre office market, where there is not sufficient supply in terms of quality or size of floorplates to capture demand.
- 5.56 The ability for staff to access comparatively cheaper housing outside the city and commute by public transport has been highlighted as a key requirement to support business growth, with any new employment sites needing to reflect this requirement. Over the medium to long term, the successful implementation of Cowley Branch Line and the East West Rail, will help support this growth through providing additional commuting options.

INDUSTRIAL/WAREHOUSE SPACE MARKET ANALYSIS

5.57 For our market analysis, we consider industrial and logistics uses (E(g) i, ii and iii; B2; and B8) as one property market sector rather than separating industrial from logistics as we do in some studies. This is

⁸ Bidwells (February 2025) Spotlight: Golden Triangle

because the city does not see any large strategic warehousing, due to the lack of available suitable sites, with these requirements accommodated outside of the city in places such as Symmetry Park, Bicester and Central M40 at Banbury.

General Profile –industrial and warehouse market

- 5.58 Prior to the Covid-19 pandemic nationwide demand for strategic warehouse units of over 9,300 sq m was strong, driven by retailers, e-tailers, and third-party logistics (3PLs) companies. During the pandemic demand for space increased due to the further growth in online sales, but following the pandemic, we have seen demand cool due to a fall in internet sales (compared to the pandemic peak) and occupiers growing into their newly acquired space. More recently agents are reporting that nationwide demand has been increasing from the manufacturing, with JLL reporting that *'manufacturers accounted for the highest share of take-up across 2024 in the big box market [defined as 9,300 sq m plus)] with a 35% share. This was above the historic trend for this sector, where over the previous five years (2019-2023) take-up by manufacturers only accounted for 14% of total demand.'⁹*
- 5.59 With regards to the non-strategic industrial/warehouse market, we have seen this market becoming tight as the poorer stock has been lost to alternative uses such as residential and a lack of new build. The lack of non-strategic new build is due to viability issues (higher build costs and less security of income (weaker covenants and shorter-term leases)) compared to strategic warehousing, therefore unable to competitively bid for sites. What development we do see occurring is on existing industrial estates or greenfield sites that cannot accommodate the footprint of a strategic warehouse unit.
- 5.60 Generally, we are seeing occupiers are increasingly seeking high-quality space with "green credentials" such as BREEAM Excellent and zero carbon, to help meet their ESG targets, also occupiers are seeking a good quality environment to help attract and retain staff. Furthermore, there are proposed changes to the EPC Regulations, currently non-domestic properties require a rating of E or above, and it is proposed from 01 April 2027 the minimum requirement will be C. Therefore, we are seeing a need for greater levels of sustainability both on the demand and supply side, as such, existing stock that does not meet these requirements may become redundant at a quicker rate.

General Profile – Oxford city

- 5.61 The industrial and warehouse market in the city is relatively small, as we demonstrate below, most of the space is found to the south of the city and this is also where we find the two large sites of Mini Plant Oxford (BMW) and the "Unipart" site on Oxford Road. Due to the pressure from higher alternative uses, some of the established estates have been eroded by non-industrial uses, e.g., lab space and leisure uses.
- 5.62 What has been left are mainly those industrial/warehouse occupiers that are servicing the local market, such as vehicle repair, trade counter operators (electrical and plumbing wholesalers) and builder merchants.
- 5.63 The profile of this stock is not always the type of space that modern occupiers typically seek, but there is a lack of credible alternatives, so it remains well occupied. But occupiers are seeking flexibility, committing to leases of between 5 10 years with a break clause.
- 5.64 We now consider the main industrial and warehouse areas in the city.

WEST OXFORD

5.65 The industrial/warehouse offer in the west of the city is found at Osney Mead Industrial Estate, which is a well established industrial estate comprising a mix of age of units. The older units here have much lower eaves and are likely to have lower levels of sustainability for modern occupiers but despite this, they are well occupied due to a lack of stock throughout the city. The more modern units are at Kings Meadow and Ferry Mills, are set out in terraces with integrated office, roller shutter doors, a small loading yard and dedicated parking in a landscaped environment. In addition, there are several larger detached units. Despite the estate presenting as an industrial/warehouse location the occupiers are much broader than that, occupiers here include; Edmundson Electrical (electrical wholesaler) in a 1,590 sq m unit, Anakata Wind Power (engineering) in a 377 sq m unit, Genscript Biotech (life sciences) in a 230 sq m unit, Oxford

⁹ JLL (2025) UK Big Box 2024 Industrial & Logistics Market Review & Outlook

University Southwell Building (lab space), The Kings Centre (conference centre) and Community Church (religious centre).

5.66 Despite the several non-industrial/warehouse uses found at Osney Mead Industrial Estate the area is still performing well, this is due to the lack of supply in the city's market combined with a sustained period of strong demand for this type of accommodation. The risk to this area as an industrial/warehouse location is that it is identified as an area of change in West End & Osney Mead SPD. The area is identified for a new innovation district to provide *"provide a flagship, gateway development into the innovation ecosystem, providing a new district for business growth and innovation as an extension of Oxford's city centre encompassing A-Grade office space R&D HQ facilities for spin-out companies across multiple sites, so forming the largest scale mixed use development project in generations. This project is focused on delivering a sustainable, integrated and connected district encompassing Osney Mead, Oxford National Railway Hub and Station, Oxpens, and other development sites with retail, hotel, university, lab and office, and residential spaces".¹⁰ Although we understand the SPD area has some constraints in the form of fragmented landownership and flood risk, the site is considered as a medium to longer term development opportunity.*

SOUTH OXFORD

5.67 As previously mentioned, south Oxford is the city's main industrial/warehouse area, where we find the two major industrial occupiers of BMW with their Mini Plant and Unipart Group, in addition, there are several industrial estates as follows:

Chiltern Business Centre & Fenchurch Court

5.68 Chiltern Business Centre and Fenchurch Court are industrial estates of small units, typically up to 200 sq m. These units have roller shutter doors, a small loading yard and dedicated parking in a landscaped environment but do not typically have integrated offices. Some companies here occupy more than one unit, such as the Dulux Decorator Centre (painting and decorating merchants) in three units that total 436 sq m.

Ashville Way

5.69 Ashville Way, here we find larger units which meet modern occupier requirements, with fenced yardage (attractive for occupiers because of added security), dedicated parking, roller shutter doors and integrated offices. Here we find the type of occupiers we would expect to see in an industrial area like the Oxford Bus Company (transport) in a 4,200 sq m unit, Unipart (3PL) in a 3,500 sq m unit and Shirtworks (screen printer) in a 260 sq m unit.

Transport Way

5.70 Transport Way comprises the Unipart site along with several smaller modern estates that include Cowley Business Centre and Chancerygate Business Centre along with several more dated units. In the more modern estates, the units are a mix of small and mid size units, ranging between 150 and 2,000 sq m. The units meet modern occupier requirements with dedicated service yard and parking, roller shutter door and integrated offices. Again, the occupiers are the type we would expect to see in an industrial location like Smith News (printed media wholesaler) in an 1,800 sq m unit, Rexel (electrical wholesaler) in an 860 sq m unit and Grant & Stone (building merchant) in a 565 sq m unit. Lying just south of Transport Way is the single occupied site of Huws Gray/Buildbase (builder's merchant), which has a large building of 6,900 sq m.

Oxford Trade City & Nuffield Industrial Estate

- 5.71 Moving slightly west away from Cowley to Blackbird Leys is the small offer at Oxford Trade City and Nuffield Industrial Estate, with the trade park providing more modern units compared to the industrial estate. Again, the units here meet modern occupier requirements.
- 5.72 This area is dominated by the large units of Royal Mail's Delivery Office of 2,200 sq m and Travis Perkins (builder's merchant) of 2,700 sq m. Most of the other units are occupied by the type of companies you would expect to see, such as Speedy Services (plant hire) and Eyre & Elliston (electrical wholesaler) in a 350 sq m unit, but we also see Refeyn (biotech) in an 815 sq m unit.

¹⁰ Oxfordshire Local Industrial Strategy Investment Plan, August 2020

Oxford City Employment Land Needs Assessment – Interim Report – June 2025

Horspath Industrial Estate

5.73 Horspath Industrial Estate comprises a mix of size, age and quality of units, with some units having a high site coverage for modern occupier requirements, which means the yard space is compromised. The estate predominantly has traditional industrial/warehouse occupiers in the form of Oxford Wheel Repairs (vehicle repair) in a 35 sq m unit, Screwfix (trade counter) in a 610 sq m unit and Howdens (kitchen manufacture) in a 400 sq m unit. But we also see biotech in the form of Baxter's, with their manufacturing site located here.

Take-up & demand

- 5.74 As mentioned above, demand for industrial/warehouse space has been from companies servicing the city, during our consultations it was mentioned that the demand from last mile operators is too land intensive for a city like Oxford which has a tight boundary, so this demand is best accommodated in areas such as Witney, Bicester, Thame and Banbury which have the land but can also service the city.
- 5.75 Where there could be emerging demand for industrial/warehouse space is with the labs & R&D market, with the example cited of Tritax Park, which is delivering a 56,000 sq m unit for Siemens Healthineers to manufacture new MRIS scanners that reduce the amount of helium required.
- 5.76 Table 5-4 shows that in the five years to 2024, take-up of industrial/warehouse space in the city averaged 23,542 sq m per annum, over an average of nine units. We would consider this volume of transactions and average floorspace in the city to be low compared to other areas of the country where we have undertaken similar studies.¹¹ Take-up both in terms of transactions and total floorspace fell in 2022 and has remained down this reflects a tight market where occupiers cannot necessarily find the space they want.

Calendar year	No. of transactions	Total floorspace take-up sq m	Minimum floorspace take up sq m	Maximum floorspace take up sq m
2020	12	100,498	42	95,919
2021	16	12,876	85	6,891
2022	4	1,274	46	743
2023	6	1,890	87	661
2024	7	1,172	41	752
2025 – until 07/04	1	579	579	579
Total	46	118,288		
Annual Average 2020 - 2024	9	23,542		

Table 5-5 Past industrial/warehouse take-up, 2020 – April 2025, Oxford city

Source: CoStar, Urbà, April 2025

- 5.77 As shown in the examples below of the take-up during the five year period in Table 5-4 it has been mainly from local companies servicing the local area, therefore, they need to be located in the city. These companies require flexibility and seek short-term leases, typically up to five years and even then, with a break in year three. Where companies are prepared to commit to a longer term of 10 years, they still require a break in year five to give them flexibility. During the five years, the following large transactions were recorded:
 - Oct 2024: Oxtech Facilities (heating engineers) took a 40 sq m unit at Unit 21 Chiltern Business Park on a new five year lease at a rent of £174 psm.
 - Feb 2024: Peter Durham & Daughters (food wholesaler) took a 105 sq m unit at 2 Chiltern Business Centre on a new five year lease, with a break in year three, at a rent of £170 psm.

¹¹ for example, in our work in Basingstoke we recorded a seven-year average between 2016 – 2023 of 36,500 sq m/38 transactions and in West Berkshire we recorded a five-year average between 2017 – 2021 of 27,500 sq m/35 units.

- Feb 2024: XM Dynamics (classic cars restoration) took an 83 sq m unit at 3 Chiltern Business Centre on a new five year lease, with a break in year three, at a rent of £160 psm.
- Jun 2023: Rexel PLC Electrical (electrical wholesaler) took a 290 sq m unit at 6 Pony Road on a new 10year lease, with a break in year five, at a rent of £137 psm.
- Apr 2024: Grant & Stone (builder's merchant) has a lease renewal on their 220 sq m unit at Unit 9 Chancerygate Business Centre on a 10-year lease, with a break in year five, at a rent of £150 psm.
- Dec 2021: Ulverscroff (publishing) took a 260 sq m unit a Unit 14 Kings Meadow Ferry on a new five year at a rent of £190 psm.

Supply and market balance

5.78 Table 5-5 sets out the change in total stock, as recorded on the VOA, compared to the vacancy floorspace recorded on CoStar. The data shows that in recent years stock has remained relatively constant with very small percentage changes in the total floorspace whilst the vacancy rate has been very low. Taking the most recent data (April 2025) from CoStar, the vacancy is similar to that of 2024 at 2,108 sq m, and assuming the total stock figure has remained unchanged, the vacancy remains low at 0.5%. When we cross-reference the vacancy of 2,108 sq m with the five-year annual take-up in Table 5-5 of 23,542 sq m it equates to around one month's supply, which indicates a very tight market. In other areas of the country where we have undertaken similar studies, we have not seen this consistently low vacancy rate. Usually, we see at least a few months' supply, and in more recent studies, we have seen the vacancy rate increase due to the weakening of the market, but this is not the case in the city.

U			•		
Date	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024
Total stock sq m 31 March	443,000	440,000	439,000	442,000	To be
Change in floorspace sq m		-3,000	-1,000	3,000	published in the Summer
Change in floorspace %		-0.7%	-0.2%	0.7%	of 20025
Vacancy Q.1 floorspace sq m	0	1,020	641	3,092	2,357
% of vacant space against total stock	0%	0.2%	0.1%	0.7%	N/a

Table 5-6 Change in industrial/warehouse total stock & vacancy rate, Oxford city

Source: CoStar, VOA, April 2025

Development opportunities

5.79 Currently, there are no development opportunities for industrial/warehouse space in the city, but we discuss in the next chapter where new space could be delivered.

Rents, yields and the economics of development

- 5.80 It was mentioned in our consultations that there has been no new industrial/warehouse development in the city for circa. 25 years, so there is no evidence of new build prime rents. Feedback during our consultation indicated that a new build rent could be £215 psm, which reflects a reasonable premium on what has been achieved on the second hand stock in the city.
- 5.81 With regards to investment yields, Knight Frank's Prime Yield Guide, February 2025, states prime yields for "South East Estates" are 5.0%.
- 5.82 At these rents and yields, we would consider it viable to maintain and refurbish space and enable viable development in the city.

Conclusions on the industrial/warehouse market

5.83 The city's industrial/warehouse market is relatively small. To the west of the city is Osney Mead Industrial Estate which has been eroded by non-industrial/warehouse users, and this will continue because the area is identified for redevelopment as an innovation district. This leaves the area to the south of the city, which comprises the BMW mini plant, Unipart site and several industrial estates. The estates are performing well, with low vacancy rates. The current rents are sufficient to maintain these units. There is demand for new units, and this could take the form of those companies seeking to service the lab/R&D market. If sites were made available, then they would be viable to develop and likely to be occupied quickly due to the current tight nature of the market.

Oxford City Employment Land Needs Assessment - Interim Report - June 2025

Home	Oxford 🔫
Main commuting destination	Total
Oxford	63,705
Vale of White Horse	2,292
South Oxfordshire	1,702
Cherwell	1,638
West Oxfordshire	931

Workplace	Oxford
Main commuting origi	Total
Oxford	63,705
Vale of White Horse	7,065
Cherwell	6,019
South Oxfordshire	4,981
West Oxfordshire	3,954

Workplace

Vale of White Horse

Main commuting origi	Total
Vale of White Horse	53,789
South Oxfordshire	4,417
Oxford	2,292
Swindon	1,799
West Oxfordshire	1,752
Cherwell	962

Workplace

South Oxfordshire 🖛

Main commuting origit	Total
South Oxfordshire	57,573
Vale of White Horse	3,041
Reading	2,008
Oxford	1,702
Cherwell	936
Wokingham	833
West Oxfordshire	467

Workplace West Oxfordshire 💌

Main commuting origit	Total
West Oxfordshire	47,461
Cherwell	2,464
Vale of White Horse	1,925
Oxford	931
Swindon	875
South Oxfordshire	426

erwell 🕶 Workplace Cherwell 🖛

Main commuting origi	Total
Cherwell	67,511
West Oxfordshire	2,542
Oxford	1,638
Vale of White Horse	1,024
South Oxfordshire	729
Milton Keynes	399 _{Jun}

Home	Vale of White Horse	
	-	
Main commuting destinatior 🃭	Total	
Vale of White Horse	53,789	
Oxford	7,065	
South Oxfordshire	3,041	
West Oxfordshire	1,925	
Cherwell	1,024	
Swindon	858	

Home	South Oxfordshire 🔳
Main commuting destinatior 🗾	Total
South Oxfordshire	57,573
Oxford	4,981
Vale of White Horse	4,417
Reading	1,303
Cherwell	729
Wokingham	495
West Oxfordshire	426

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Main commuting destination 🎩	Total
West Oxfordshire	47,461
Oxford	3,954
Cherwell	2,542
Vale of White Horse	1,752
South Oxfordshire	467
Swindon	251

West Oxfordshire 🖛

Home	Che

Main commuting destinatior	Total
Cherwell	67,511
Oxford	6,019
West Oxfordshire	2,464
Vale of White Horse	962
South Oxfordshire	936
Milton Keynes	330

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