

Council parking and traffic fines (PCNs) in England: data build

Build date: 8-9 October 2026. Working folder: scratchpad\pcn\data\.. Raw downloads in raw\ (text extracts in raw\text\), scripts in tools\, every URL tried with its HTTP status in sources_log.csv.

Deliverables in this folder:

- councils.csv - one row per council-year (2,339 rows: 33 London boroughs + TfL + every English local authority in the RO2 returns, 2018-19 to 2025-26) with every field and its source column.
- league_tables.md (also embedded below in section 3-4).
- tribunal_outcomes_london.csv - London Tribunals appeal outcomes by borough/TfL, year and PCN type (parking, bus lane, moving traffic, plus the sum).
- tribunal_outcomes_tpt.csv - Traffic Penalty Tribunal (England outside London and Wales) outcomes by PCN type and year, tribunal-wide (no per-council data is published in an extractable form, see 2.4).
- Intermediate parsed files: 1c_pcn.csv (London Councils PCN counts), 1t_appeals.csv (London Tribunals), ro2_parking.csv (MHCLG finance lines).

1. Sources and their dates

#	Source	What it gives	Years	Date of publication / file	Files
1	London Councils, "Enforcement and appeals statistics" page (londoncouncils.gov.uk/services/parking-services/enforcement-and-appeals-statistics)	PCNs issued by every London borough and TfL, split higher/lower-level parking, bus lane, moving traffic, London Lorry Control; vehicles clamped/removed	2018-19 to 2024-25	xls files in site folders dated 2024-10 and 2025-12; 2024-25 figures announced in a London Councils news release of 27 Oct 2025	raw\lc_pcn_YYYY-YY.xls -> lc_pcn.csv
2	London Tribunals (Environment and Traffic Adjudicators), "Annual reports and appeal statistics" (londontribunals.gov.uk/about/annual-reports-and-appeal-statistics)	Appeals received, decided, allowed, of which not contested by the authority, refused, withdrawn, invalid; per borough and TfL; separate sheets for parking, bus lane, moving traffic; costs and review applications	2018-19 to 2024-25	"ETA Annual Parking Stats 2024-25 final (PWS version).xlsx" and earlier; adjudicators' annual report 2024-25 (docx)	raw\lt_stats_YYYY-YY.xlsx -> lt_appeals.csv
3	MHCLG local authority revenue outturn, RO2 "Highways and transport" data-by-LA ODS files, gov.uk collection "Local authority revenue expenditure and financing"	Per authority: on-street parking and off-street parking expenditure, sales fees and charges, other income, total income, net current expenditure; bus lane enforcement and congestion charging lines; memo line "On-street parking: Penalty Charge Notice income included in line 61"	2019-20 to 2025-26	Files as currently served (asset ids show 2024-2026 uploads, i.e. revised versions; the 2025-26 file is the newest release and should be treated as provisional outturn)	raw\RO2_YYYY-YY.ods -> ro2_parking.csv
4	ONS mid-year population estimates via NOMIS API (dataset NM_2002_1, date=latest = mid-2025; TYPE432 district/unitary (April 2021 geography), TYPE433 county/unitary, plus GSS-code query for the four April-2023 unitaries)	Residents per authority	mid-2025	NOMIS, fetched 9 Oct 2026	raw\nomis_pop_*.csv
5	Traffic Penalty Tribunal annual reports 2022-23, 2023-24, 2024-25, 2025-26 (tpt.gov.uk/publications-library)	Tribunal-wide appeals received/determined/allowed/not contested/refused by PCN type (parking, bus lane, moving traffic, CAZ, Dart Charge, Merseyflow, littering)	2021-22 to 2025-26	2025-26 report uploaded July 2026	raw\tpt_annual_*.pdf, text in raw\text\

#	Source	What it gives	Years	Date of publication / file	Files
6	PATROL Enforcement Sub-Committee agenda papers, 13 Oct 2026 (patrol.gov.uk/committee_papers/ESC-Agenda-13-Oct-2026-FINAL.pdf)	PCNs issued to the PATROL portal by enforcement authorities outside London, by penalty type, full years 2024/25 and 2025/26 and April-July 2026 vs 2025; appeal rates	2024/25, 2025/26, 2026/27 YTD	Oct 2026	raw\patrol_esc_oct2026.pdf
7	RAC Foundation, "Local Authority Parking Finances in England 2024-25" (dated 5 Nov 2025) and 2023-24, 2022-23 editions. racfoundation.org returns HTTP 403 to every direct request; obtained from web.archive.org id_ snapshots	Parking income/expenditure/surplus by council (derived from the same MHCLG RO2 data); England and London totals	2020-21 to 2024-25	5 Nov 2025	raw\rac_parking_*.pdf
8	DfT statutory guidance "Bus lane and moving traffic enforcement outside London" (gov.uk, 31 May 2022, updated 21 Oct 2022) and legislation.gov.uk: Civil Enforcement of Moving Traffic Contraventions Designation Orders SI 2022/686, 2023/698, 2024/1135, 2025/1181	Which councils outside London hold moving-traffic (TMA 2004 Part 6) powers and from when	2022-2025	made orders	raw\leg_uksi_*.htm

Sources tried and NOT usable (full list with status codes in sources_log.csv):

- Traffic Penalty Tribunal "Appeals data by authority" (tpt.gov.uk/appeals-data/by-authority and sibling pages): the per-authority PCNs-issued and appeal-outcome figures for England outside London are published only as an embedded Tableau Public dashboard (workbook TPTWebsiteStats-AllYears-AllAuthorities, views PCNDatabyAuthority, ParkingStats). The Tableau page needs a browser session (AWS WAF challenge + JavaScript bootstrap); the .csv export trick, workbook download and a plain fetch all fail (404 / empty session). No spreadsheet is published. Per-council PCN counts and appeal outcomes outside London are therefore BLANK in councils.csv; tribunal-wide figures are given instead.
- racfoundation.org direct: HTTP 403 on every path. Wayback used instead.
- gov.uk search API: DfT publishes no PCN-count statistics (it does not collect them).
- TfL: no separate TfL PCN statistics page found at the URLs tried; TfL's PCNs (parking on the red routes, bus lanes, moving traffic) are included in the London Councils statistics and its appeals in the London Tribunals statistics, so TfL is covered from those. Road-user-charging PCNs (congestion charge, ULEZ) go to the Road User Charging Adjudicators, not the ETA, and are NOT in this dataset.

2. Method

2.1 PCNs issued (London). London Councils xls, one row per authority. "Parking" = higher-level + lower-level parking PCNs (on- and off-street, including CCTV parking PCNs); bus lane and moving traffic PCNs are separate columns; pcn_total = all three (the London Lorry Control Scheme PCNs are excluded, they belong to London Councils, not a borough). School streets / LTN PCNs are moving-traffic PCNs and are NOT separable in the published data. Names normalised to ONS borough names and codes.

2.2 Appeals (London). London Tribunals xlsx, sheets "Parking (PCN, Clamp, Remove)", "Bus Lanes", "Moving Traffic", summed to an all-types figure. Fields: appeals received, total decisions, appeals allowed (this INCLUDES cases "not contested" by the authority, shown separately), refused (includes withdrawn), invalid. Appeal rate = appeals received / PCNs issued in the same year (note appeals lag issue dates by months). Motorist win share = allowed (incl. not contested) / total decisions. Lorry control, Direct Vision Standard and litter appeals are excluded.

2.3 Finance (all England). MHCLG RO2 lines 61 (on-street parking) and 62 (off-street parking), £000. Parking income = total income (C6) on + off street; expenditure = total expenditure (C3); surplus = income minus expenditure (= minus net current expenditure, before capital charges and before any on-street surplus transfer). PCN income = memo line "On-street parking: Penalty Charge Notice income" (parking PCNs only; bus-lane PCN income is in the bus lane enforcement line; moving-traffic PCN income is not separately identified in RO2 and is usually recorded by councils within on-street parking or "other traffic management"). Authorities that leave the memo line blank/zero are left blank. Only ONS codes E06-E10 (district, county, unitary, metropolitan, London borough) are kept; fire, police and combined authorities are dropped. Rows carry the RO2 class: LB London borough, MD metropolitan district, UA unitary, SC shire county, SD shire district. In two-tier areas on-street parking (and PCN income) usually sits with the county council and off-street parking with the district, although many districts enforce on-street under agency agreements and report it themselves.

2.4 England outside London - PCN counts and appeals. Only tribunal-wide totals are obtainable (sources 5 and 6). The PATROL figures are PCNs reported by authorities to the PATROL portal and cover all PATROL/TPT member authorities (England outside London; Wales shown separately); they are the best available denominator for appeal rates.

2.5 Population. ONS mid-2025 estimates (the latest on NOMIS). For the four unitaries created in April 2023 (Cumberland, Westmorland and Furness, North Yorkshire, Somerset) the NOMIS 2023-geography codes were queried directly. Abolished districts (e.g. the former Cumbria districts) have no mid-2025 population and are left blank.

2.6 Growth. Growth since 2019-20 is computed per authority for total PCNs, moving-traffic PCNs, parking surplus and PCN income. For moving traffic outside London the baseline is the 2024/25 PATROL total (the first full year after the first designation orders of July 2022 and July 2023), because no earlier per-council counts are published.

2.7 Moving-traffic powers outside London (TMA 2004 Part 6, designation orders):

- SI 2022/686, in force 15 July 2022 (first tranche, 12): Oxfordshire CC, Bath and North East Somerset, Buckinghamshire, Derby, Hampshire CC, Reading, Surrey CC, Kent CC, Norfolk CC, Durham CC, Bedford, Luton.
- SI 2023/698, in force 22 July 2023 (40): Bournemouth Christchurch and Poole, Birmingham, Bristol, Cambridgeshire CC, Central Bedfordshire, Cheshire West and Chester, Bradford, Coventry, Gloucestershire CC, Herefordshire, Hertfordshire CC, Lancashire CC, Leeds, Leicester, Liverpool, Manchester, Medway, Newcastle upon Tyne, North Northamptonshire, Nottingham, Oldham, Peterborough, Rochdale, Rotherham, Salford, Sheffield, Shropshire, South Gloucestershire, Southampton, Stoke-on-Trent, Thurrock, Trafford, Walsall, West Berkshire, West Northamptonshire, West Sussex CC, Wigan, Windsor and Maidenhead, Wirral, Wokingham.
- SI 2024/1135, in force 7 December 2024 (21 + West Sussex extension): Bolton, Bury, Devon CC, Dudley, Hull, Leicestershire CC, North Somerset, North Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire CC, Plymouth, Portsmouth, Sandwell, Sefton, Solihull, Southend-on-Sea, Stockport, Suffolk CC, Sunderland, Wiltshire, Wolverhampton, York.
- SI 2025/1181, in force 9 December 2025 (8): Brighton and Hove, Calderdale, Cornwall, Dorset, Kirklees, Knowsley, Milton Keynes, Slough (plus East Sussex CC parking area amendment).
- Total 81 councils designated by end-2025 (all orders designate "part or parts" of each area, i.e. named junctions/roads). Any 2026 order was not in the legislation.gov.uk feed fetched on 9 Oct 2026.

3-4. League tables (England outside London on finances; London boroughs in full)

All tables are for 2024-25 unless stated, ranked on the stated measure, and come from councils.csv. "All PCNs" = parking + bus lane + moving traffic. Finance figures are £000 as published in RO2.

London boroughs ranked by PCNs (all types) per 1,000 residents, 2024-25

PCN counts: London Councils annual PCN statistics (all PCN types: parking incl. higher/lower, bus lane, moving traffic).
Population: ONS mid-2025 estimates. Note the City of London and Westminster have tiny resident populations relative to daytime traffic.

#	Borough	PCNs per 1,000	All PCNs	Parking	Bus lane	Moving traffic	Population (mid-2025)	Growth vs 2019-20 %
1	City of London	6,660.4	104,109	69,142	0	34,967	15,631	-35.1
2	Westminster	2,732	580,187	516,562	0	63,625	212,367	82.9
3	Hammersmith and Fulham	2,288.2	435,243	145,125	18,853	271,265	190,216	82.9
4	Islington	2,006.9	450,653	248,027	4,996	197,630	224,551	50.1
5	Kensington and Chelsea	1,902.7	277,294	241,099	0	36,195	145,734	40.4
6	Camden	1,607.2	348,216	219,055	3,309	125,852	216,658	36.9
7	Haringey	1,520.9	404,891	192,290	10,066	202,535	266,218	69.5
8	Lambeth	1,286.7	404,399	179,588	31,655	193,156	314,298	65.2
9	Newham	1,165.4	438,834	267,318	8,579	162,937	376,542	48.9
10	Hackney	1,133.9	301,886	116,745	2,682	182,459	266,241	103.2
11	Southwark	1,103.5	344,701	181,723	24,547	138,431	312,366	185.2
12	Redbridge	1,033.7	332,661	160,209	9,135	163,317	321,829	122.6
13	Barking and Dagenham	1,033.6	246,298	123,059	24,666	98,573	238,295	112.8
14	Waltham Forest	1,026.9	291,349	130,633	15,763	144,953	283,713	24.7
15	Merton	913.7	199,990	93,800	6,522	99,668	218,891	54.3
16	Brent	906.8	319,361	167,211	10,130	142,020	352,201	65.5
17	Ealing	819.6	317,226	155,632	22,655	138,939	387,072	72.9
18	Lewisham	789.2	237,578	60,393	245	176,940	301,037	147.4
19	Croydon	788.6	323,405	115,850	1,561	205,994	410,085	81.8
20	Richmond upon Thames	748.4	147,221	118,876	2,032	26,313	196,713	78.1
21	Harrow	700	190,818	118,055	7,174	65,589	272,612	11
22	Kingston upon Thames	687.4	118,753	73,126	12,209	33,418	172,761	-4.5
23	Barnet	681.7	278,209	155,225	22,485	100,499	408,087	14.4

#	Borough	PCNs per 1,000	All PCNs	Parking	Bus lane	Moving traffic	Population (mid-2025)	Growth vs 2019-20 %
24	Hounslow	642.8	192,510	107,890	1,541	83,079	299,486	45.3
25	Enfield	629.5	207,346	71,005	11,255	125,086	329,400	50
26	Greenwich	627	188,856	102,854	19,081	66,921	301,225	184.8
27	Havering	613.9	172,371	101,201	9,145	62,025	280,787	58.9
28	Wandsworth	569.1	193,410	132,283	2,386	58,741	339,859	8.3
29	Tower Hamlets	533.6	178,364	130,390	944	47,030	334,240	51.5
30	Bexley	375.2	96,464	62,563	0	33,901	257,103	42.6
31	Hillingdon	336.4	109,885	70,742	131	39,012	326,671	33
32	Bromley	319.8	107,453	81,907	6,177	19,369	336,048	37
33	Sutton	304.1	65,065	45,847	410	18,808	213,972	42.2

London boroughs ranked by appeal rate (appeals received at London Tribunals as % of PCNs issued), 2024-25

Appeals = parking + bus lane + moving traffic appeals (London Tribunals ETA statistics). Win share = appeals allowed (which includes cases the council did not contest) as % of total decisions.

#	Borough	Appeal rate %	Appeals received	PCNs issued	Motorist win % (allowed incl. not contested / decided)	Allowed	of which not contested	Refused
1	Redbridge	1.05	3,490	332,661	62.9	1,926	1,166	1,135
2	Lambeth	0.83	3,340	404,399	51.2	1,658	1,032	1,583
3	Newham	0.74	3,226	438,834	47.9	1,325	503	1,443
4	Havering	0.69	1,183	172,371	51.9	661	358	613
5	Southwark	0.69	2,395	344,701	23.3	474	173	1,557
6	Barking and Dagenham	0.63	1,555	246,298	48.8	737	384	774
7	Islington	0.56	2,502	450,653	40.1	909	513	1,356
8	Lewisham	0.56	1,334	237,578	44.5	561	327	699
9	Haringey	0.54	2,168	404,891	47.6	924	591	1,019
10	Hounslow	0.52	999	192,510	53.3	426	221	374
11	Barnet	0.46	1,288	278,209	43.7	453	134	583
12	Croydon	0.46	1,475	323,405	39.6	521	195	793
13	Harrow	0.46	870	190,818	42.6	343	191	462
14	Waltham Forest	0.46	1,345	291,349	41.8	502	189	700
15	Greenwich	0.45	848	188,856	57.9	418	30	304
16	Bexley	0.43	414	96,464	44.1	142	98	180
17	Wandsworth	0.42	803	193,410	31.4	261	111	571
18	Enfield	0.41	849	207,346	33.5	258	131	512
19	Tower Hamlets	0.41	729	178,364	34.9	235	89	438
20	Camden	0.4	1,385	348,216	37	435	265	740
21	Brent	0.38	1,225	319,361	44.3	437	219	550
22	Kingston upon Thames	0.35	419	118,753	45.2	190	51	230
23	Bromley	0.34	369	107,453	37.4	107	79	179
24	Hillingdon	0.34	376	109,885	83.2	298	269	60
25	City of London	0.32	332	104,109	45.5	136	59	163
26	Hackney	0.32	967	301,886	25.2	211	83	627
27	Merton	0.32	645	199,990	51.3	335	202	318
28	Ealing	0.31	973	317,226	29.6	243	127	578
29	Westminster	0.3	1,742	580,187	65.1	898	765	481
30	Richmond upon Thames	0.24	359	147,221	43.6	151	75	195
31	Hammersmith and Fulham	0.17	747	435,243	45.5	260	192	312
32	Kensington and Chelsea	0.17	477	277,294	47	181	131	204

#	Borough	Appeal rate %	Appeals received	PCNs issued	Motorist win % (allowed incl. not contested / decided)	Allowed	of which not contested	Refused
33	Sutton	0.16	107	65,065	23.5	20	12	65

London boroughs ranked by share of appeals won by motorists, 2024-25

#	Borough	Motorist win %	Decided	Allowed	of which not contested	Parking-only win %
1	Hillingdon	83.2	358	298	269	83.1
2	Westminster	65.1	1,379	898	765	66.1
3	Redbridge	62.9	3,061	1,926	1,166	70.1
4	Greenwich	57.9	722	418	30	54.7
5	Hounslow	53.3	800	426	221	66
6	Havering	51.9	1,274	661	358	56.1
7	Merton	51.3	653	335	202	56.1
8	Lambeth	51.2	3,241	1,658	1,032	57.4
9	Barking and Dagenham	48.8	1,511	737	384	51.9
10	Newham	47.9	2,768	1,325	503	50.4
11	Haringey	47.6	1,943	924	591	53.6
12	Kensington and Chelsea	47	385	181	131	49
13	City of London	45.5	299	136	59	38.9
14	Hammersmith and Fulham	45.5	572	260	192	43.6
15	Kingston upon Thames	45.2	420	190	51	40.7
16	Lewisham	44.5	1,260	561	327	57.3
17	Brent	44.3	987	437	219	47.6
18	Bexley	44.1	322	142	98	44.6
19	Barnet	43.7	1,036	453	134	52
20	Richmond upon Thames	43.6	346	151	75	45.2
21	Harrow	42.6	805	343	191	47
22	Waltham Forest	41.8	1,202	502	189	45.7
23	Islington	40.1	2,265	909	513	35.7
24	Croydon	39.6	1,314	521	195	50
25	Bromley	37.4	286	107	79	39.6
26	Camden	37	1,175	435	265	39.8
27	Tower Hamlets	34.9	673	235	89	32.9
28	Enfield	33.5	770	258	131	35.7
29	Wandsworth	31.4	832	261	111	31.9
30	Ealing	29.6	821	243	127	42.1
31	Hackney	25.2	838	211	83	30.5
32	Sutton	23.5	85	20	12	26.2
33	Southwark	23.3	2,031	474	173	29.3

London boroughs ranked by parking surplus per resident, 2024-25 (£)

Finances: MHCLG RO2 outturn (on-street + off-street parking; surplus = total income minus total expenditure, i.e. minus net current expenditure). PCN income is the RO2 memo line "On-street parking: Penalty Charge Notice income" (parking PCNs only; bus lane PCN income is a separate RO2 line; moving-traffic PCN income is not separately identified in RO2).

#	Borough	Surplus per resident £	Parking surplus £000	Parking income £000	Parking expenditure £000	On-street PCN income £000	Surplus growth vs 2019-20 %
1	City of London	678.01	10,598	13,630	3,032	3,128	-0.8
2	Westminster	426.73	90,623.27	129,415.73	38,792.46	48,778.89	30.2
3	Kensington and Chelsea	340.87	49,676	63,167	13,491	19,703	27.9
4	Hammersmith and Fulham	199.44	37,936	58,935	20,999	30,415	48.6
5	Islington	161.79	36,330.65	61,182.32	24,851.67	31,357.18	36.5
6	Camden	148.99	32,280	49,849	17,569	20,624	11.4

#	Borough	Surplus per resident £	Parking surplus £000	Parking income £000	Parking expenditure £000	On-street PCN income £000	Surplus growth vs 2019-20 %
7	Lambeth	124.77	39,214.09	63,327.3	24,113.21	41,002	135.4
8	Haringey	117.49	31,278	49,203	17,925	35,855	58.9
9	Wandsworth	95.08	32,313	42,899	10,586	8,558	13.8
10	Southwark	70.24	21,939.25	37,841.97	15,902.72	18,266	240.2
11	Newham	68.89	25,941	39,985	14,044	21,412	161.4
12	Hackney	57.56	15,325	32,858	17,533	12,118	-1.4
13	Richmond upon Thames	55.99	11,013	20,198	9,185	5,978	29.3
14	Merton	53.01	11,604.26	21,440.74	9,836.48	10,259.27	-5.1
15	Brent	52.92	18,638	32,229	13,591	18,865	48.9
16	Redbridge	48.32	15,550	23,726	8,176	19,581	153.5
17	Tower Hamlets	48.08	16,071	34,960	18,889	16,435	30.7
18	Ealing	47.55	18,406.1	40,995.87	22,589.77	31,777.5	366.6
19	Waltham Forest	45.48	12,903.01	27,275.89	14,372.88	26,435.87	41.8
20	Croydon	45.31	18,582.33	28,222.85	9,640.52	17,998.19	48.5
21	Barking and Dagenham	37.95	9,043	82,141	73,098	75,697	94.1
22	Barnet	37.58	15,334.07	27,266.87	11,932.8	4,570.25	25.5
23	Kingston upon Thames	35.42	6,119	12,101	5,982	2,489	-10.9
24	Hounslow	34.57	10,353	18,540	8,187	10,248	32.8
25	Lewisham	31.2	9,393	19,619	10,226	10,724	59.3
26	Havering	22.78	6,395	18,046	11,651	13,858	110.7
27	Bromley	21.38	7,184	15,397	8,213	4,280	11.5
28	Bexley	19.04	4,895	11,336	6,441	7,797	-4.6
29	Harrow	18.73	5,104.69	11,800.65	6,695.96	9,578	-34.8
30	Hillingdon	17.5	5,718	11,368	5,650	5,164	137.8
31	Greenwich	14.92	4,495	10,733	6,238	3,016	-0.3
32	Enfield	9.16	3,017	7,921	4,904	0	1.7
33	Sutton	7.49	1,602	7,708	6,106	3,814	31.5

London boroughs ranked by growth in moving-traffic PCNs since 2019-20

#	Borough	Growth %	Moving traffic PCNs 2019-20	Moving traffic PCNs 2024-25
1	Haringey	576.3	29,948	202,535
2	Southwark	431.1	26,063	138,431
3	Lewisham	418.9	34,097	176,940
4	Lambeth	313.8	46,678	193,156
5	Hammersmith and Fulham	294.4	68,782	271,265
6	Camden	292.3	32,082	125,852
7	Croydon	266.6	56,183	205,994
8	Hackney	253.2	51,665	182,459
9	Barking and Dagenham	216.8	31,118	98,573
10	Hounslow	200.8	27,617	83,079
11	Hillingdon	200	13,005	39,012
12	Redbridge	167.5	61,049	163,317
13	Brent	147	57,495	142,020
14	Enfield	144	51,266	125,086
15	Bexley	140.7	14,083	33,901
16	Newham	95.2	83,470	162,937
17	Tower Hamlets	90.1	24,736	47,030
18	Merton	87	53,286	99,668
19	Richmond upon Thames	73.1	15,204	26,313

#	Borough	Growth %	Moving traffic PCNs 2019-20	Moving traffic PCNs 2024-25
20	Havering	72.4	35,984	62,025
21	Ealing	72.2	80,683	138,939
22	Islington	53.1	129,121	197,630
23	Waltham Forest	46.9	98,652	144,953
24	Westminster	44.8	43,952	63,625
25	Sutton	33.6	14,080	18,808
26	Wandsworth	12.6	52,149	58,741
27	Kingston upon Thames	9.4	30,542	33,418
28	Barnet	7.6	93,397	100,499
29	Harrow	-2.9	67,540	65,589
30	City of London	-67	106,020	34,967

England outside London: top 40 councils by on-street parking PCN income per resident, 2024-25 (£)

RO2 memo line "On-street parking: Penalty Charge Notice income" (parking PCNs only). In two-tier areas on-street enforcement income is usually reported by the county council (class SC) and off-street by districts (SD); some districts act as agents and report it themselves. Councils reporting zero/blank are omitted.

#	Council	Class	PCN income per resident £	On-street PCN income £000	Growth vs 2019-20 %	Population
1	Brighton and Hove	UA	50.49	14,349	81.6	284,170
2	Portsmouth	UA	42.75	9,041	42.4	211,475
3	Manchester	MD	25.07	14,750	152.8	588,256
4	Windsor and Maidenhead	UA	17	2,716.28	441.1	159,776
5	Torbay	UA	14.3	1,995	83.9	139,486
6	Leicester City	UA	12.55	4,808	116.9	383,116
7	East Sussex CC	SC	11.86	6,665		561,855
8	Southend-on-Sea	UA	11.07	2,051	26.8	185,214
9	Watford	SD	10.46	1,126	21.3	107,658
10	Leeds	MD	10.28	8,638	62.8	840,550
11	Nottingham City	UA	9.99	3,253	34.4	325,765
12	Newcastle	MD	9.65	3,096	25.9	320,838
13	Slough	UA	9.4	1,573.9	44.9	167,450
14	Reading	UA	9.29	1,708	-13.5	183,762
15	Liverpool	MD	8.82	4,480	34.3	507,915
16	Tunbridge Wells	SD	8.67	1,041	-18.2	120,098
17	Luton	UA	8.03	1,899	40.1	236,380
18	Thurrock	UA	7.96	1,446.19	183.6	181,664
19	King's Lynn and West Norfolk	SD	7.78	1,221	86.7	156,943
20	Bristol	UA	7.2	3,567	17.6	495,260
21	Trafford	MD	7.05	1,699	201.2	240,981
22	Plymouth	UA	6.75	1,833		271,361
23	Welwyn Hatfield	SD	6.57	800	53.3	121,748
24	Norwich City	SD	6.47	942		145,676
25	Blackpool	UA	6.45	926	35.2	143,492
26	Southampton	UA	6.3	1,633	22.6	259,230
27	Derby City	UA	6.22	1,714	-16.1	275,344
28	Bedford	UA	6.18	1,213	-46.9	196,398
29	Bournemouth, Christchurch and Poole	UA	6.09	2,473	86.2	405,829
30	Milton Keynes	UA	5.89	1,818	111.4	308,866
31	Bradford	MD	5.65	3,153	43.7	557,758
32	Bath and North East Somerset	UA	5.55	1,115	-67.9	200,898
33	Salford	MD	5.27	1,566	25.1	297,004
34	St Albans	SD	5.23	788	90.8	150,757
35	Wokingham	UA	5.07	958	733	189,024
36	Blackburn with Darwen	UA	4.66	764	21.3	163,801

#	Council	Class	PCN income per resident £	On-street PCN income £000	Growth vs 2019-20 %	Population
37	Oxfordshire CC	SC	4.26	3,281	129.8	769,831
38	Peterborough	UA	4.26	958	68.1	224,757
39	Gravesham	SD	4.18	465	33.2	111,221
40	Rochdale	MD	4.09	973	10.4	237,641

England outside London: top 40 councils by parking surplus per resident, 2024-25 (£)

On-street plus off-street parking, RO2 outturn. Surplus = income minus expenditure (before capital charges).

#	Council	Class	Surplus per resident £	Parking surplus £000	Income £000	Expenditure £000	Surplus growth vs 2019-20 %
1	Brighton and Hove	UA	116.94	33,231	50,950	17,719	34.2
2	Nottingham City	UA	61.29	19,966	28,391	8,425	21.5
3	Windsor and Maidenhead	UA	48.1	7,684.46	15,005.21	7,320.75	47.4
4	Bath and North East Somerset	UA	46	9,242	16,644	7,402	22
5	Canterbury	SD	43.67	7,102	13,414	6,312	56
6	Exeter	SD	43.45	5,992	9,360	3,368	3.7
7	Lincoln City	SD	42.74	4,417	7,614	3,197	40.7
8	Guildford	SD	42.7	6,496	11,770	5,274	22.9
9	Bournemouth, Christchurch and Poole	UA	42.24	17,143	27,873	10,730	23.7
10	Torbay	UA	41.52	5,792	9,449	3,657	18.5
11	Cambridge	SD	40.77	6,111	9,578	3,467	6.7
12	York	UA	39.07	8,170	11,959	3,789	51
13	Chichester	SD	39.03	5,083	8,228	3,145	30.7
14	Blackpool	UA	37.24	5,343	9,533	4,190	61.5
15	Southend-on-Sea	UA	37.18	6,886	12,130	5,244	34.2
16	Newcastle	MD	35.56	11,408	25,166	13,758	32.2
17	Epsom and Ewell	SD	33.74	2,813	4,636	1,823	29.9
18	Manchester	MD	33.11	19,480	39,764	20,284	122.6
19	Milton Keynes	UA	31.98	9,876	13,014	3,138	-6.1
20	Stevenage	SD	31.27	2,879.48	5,753.96	2,874.48	24.8
21	Waverley	SD	31.15	4,275	6,385	2,110	14.7
22	Isle of Wight	UA	30.37	4,276	6,433	2,157	24.3
23	Tunbridge Wells	SD	30.27	3,635	7,235	3,600	8.5
24	Norwich City	SD	30.14	4,390	10,519	6,129	47.3
25	Winchester	SD	28.8	3,941.7	7,739.7	3,798	4.9
26	Cotswold	SD	26.65	2,440	3,543	1,103	367.4
27	Derbyshire Dales	SD	26.4	1,901.6	2,996.15	1,094.55	28
28	Woking BC	SD	26.24	2,786.28	7,063.86	4,277.58	-31.3
29	Cheltenham	SD	25.66	3,116	4,781	1,665	8.8
30	Herefordshire	UA	25.63	4,934	6,285	1,351	17.3
31	Oxford	SD	25.4	4,215	8,978	4,763	175.3
32	Chelmsford	SD	25.26	4,814.7	8,670.01	3,855.31	11.2
33	Bristol	UA	25.13	12,446	23,162	10,716	8.7
34	Teignbridge	SD	24.53	3,400	5,401	2,001	50.9
35	West Suffolk	SD	23.68	4,485	8,152	3,667	77.5
36	Reading	UA	23.15	4,255	9,293	5,038	-2.4
37	Sevenoaks	SD	23.12	2,848	4,933	2,085	41.1
38	Southampton	UA	22.79	5,908	13,230	7,322	-3
39	Worcester	SD	22.51	2,408	4,751	2,343	36.4
40	St Albans	SD	21.24	3,201.58	7,869.22	4,667.64	55.9

England outside London: 20 largest parking deficits per resident, 2024-25 (£)

#	Council	Class	Surplus per resident £	Parking surplus £000	Income £000	Expenditure £000
1	Cambridgeshire CC	SC	-7.43	-5,327	9,106	14,433
2	Fenland	SD	-5.45	-577	131	708
3	Colchester	SD	-4.34	-874	12,870	13,744
4	Slough	UA	-3.98	-666.4	1,723.92	2,390.32
5	Bolsover	SD	-3.29	-278	77	355
6	Breckland	SD	-3.18	-471.33	29.15	500.48
7	Wealden	SD	-3.11	-524	177	701
8	South Gloucestershire	UA	-3.09	-954	511	1,465
9	Knowsley	MD	-2.8	-459	262	721
10	Three Rivers	SD	-2.59	-249	708	957
11	Babergh	SD	-2.5	-245	317	562
12	North West Leicestershire	SD	-2.46	-279	472	751
13	North Warwickshire	SD	-2.28	-154	101	255
14	West Oxfordshire	SD	-2.03	-246	152	398
15	Dudley	MD	-1.92	-641	1,250	1,891
16	Pendle	SD	-1.85	-185	32	217
17	Lincolnshire CC	SC	-1.58	-1,253	3,375	4,628
18	Gedling	SD	-1.41	-171	203	374
19	Hinckley and Bosworth	SD	-1.29	-153	662	815
20	East Cambridgeshire	SD	-1.28	-121	213	334

Totals by year (from councils.csv)

Year	London PCNs (boroughs+ TfL)	London parking PCNs	London bus lane	London moving traffic	London appeals received	London motorist win %	England parking surplus £000 (RO2, all councils)	London parking surplus £000	Outside London surplus £000	England on-street PCN income £000 (memo line)
2018-19	5,952,243	3,804,343	378,016	1,769,884	36,910	48.2				
2019-20	6,182,439	3,952,118	400,973	1,829,348	36,164	51.2	896,456	445,126	451,330	388,549
2020-21	5,284,875	2,903,979	289,265	2,091,631	32,673	46.9	319,527	303,980	15,547	295,156
2021-22	7,467,797	3,879,990	336,917	3,250,890	44,878	42.8	859,990	508,592	351,398	453,212
2022-23	7,595,531	4,100,177	313,351	3,182,003	43,128	44.3	963,853	536,005	427,848	585,685
2023-24	8,333,486	4,560,690	319,357	3,453,439	42,081	48.6	1,046,964	565,726	481,238	597,792
2024-25	9,457,848	5,171,275	373,070	3,913,503	47,935	45.3	1,174,969.61	634,874.72	540,094.89	773,830.44
2025-26							1,394,233.74	837,581.29	556,652.45	898,607.15

5. Headline findings (exact numbers)

London (33 boroughs + TfL; London Councils / London Tribunals / RO2):

- PCNs issued 2024-25: 9,457,848 by boroughs and TfL (9,462,185 including 4,337 London Lorry Control PCNs, the figure London Councils publishes). Up 13.5% on 2023-24 (8,333,486) and up 53.0% on 2019-20 (6,182,439).
- By type 2024-25: parking 5,171,275 (+30.8% vs 2019-20's 3,952,118); moving traffic 3,913,503 (+113.9% vs 1,829,348); bus lane 373,070 (-7.0% vs 400,973). Moving-traffic PCNs (box junctions, banned turns, school streets, LTNs - not separable) were 41% of all London PCNs in 2024-25 against 30% in 2019-20.
- TfL alone issued 852,842 PCNs in 2024-25 (parking 415,850; bus lane 82,736; moving traffic 354,256), up from 749,863 in 2019-20.
- Biggest issuers 2024-25: Westminster 580,187; Islington 450,653; Newham 438,834; Hammersmith and Fulham 435,243; Haringey 404,891; Lambeth 404,399.

- Per 1,000 residents (mid-2025): City of London 6,660 (15,631 residents); Westminster 2,732; Hammersmith and Fulham 2,288; Islington 2,007; Kensington and Chelsea 1,903; Camden 1,607. Lowest: Sutton 304; Bromley 320; Hillingdon 336; Bexley 375.
- Fastest growth since 2019-20: Southwark +185.2% (120,849 to 344,701), Greenwich +184.8%, Lewisham +147.4%, Redbridge +122.6%, Barking and Dagenham +112.8%, Hackney +103.2%. Falls: City of London -35.1%, Kingston upon Thames -4.5%.
- Moving-traffic growth since 2019-20: Haringey +576% (29,948 to 202,535), Southwark +431%, Lewisham +419%, Lambeth +314%, Hammersmith and Fulham +294% (68,782 to 271,265, the largest absolute moving-traffic issuer after TfL).
- Appeals to London Tribunals 2024-25: 47,935 received (0.51% of PCNs; London Councils quotes 0.45% against its 9.46m total), 42,907 decided, 19,454 allowed of which 10,962 not contested by the authority, 23,453 refused. Motorist win share (allowed/decided) 45.3%, down from 48.6% in 2023-24 and 51.2% in 2019-20. (London Councils' own press release quotes 49.4% and 54.9% on a different basis - see caveats.)
- Highest appeal rates 2024-25: Redbridge 1.05% (3,490 appeals), Lambeth 0.83%, Newham 0.74%, Havering 0.69%, Southwark 0.69%. Lowest: Sutton 0.16%, Kensington and Chelsea 0.17%, Hammersmith and Fulham 0.17%, Richmond 0.24%, Westminster 0.30%.
- Motorists win most often against Hillingdon (83.2% of 358 decisions, but 269 of the 298 wins were simply not contested), Westminster (65.1%; 765 of 898 wins not contested), Redbridge (62.9%), Greenwich (57.9%). Least often against Southwark (23.3%), Sutton (23.5%), Hackney (25.2%), Ealing (29.6%), Wandsworth (31.4%).
- Parking finance 2024-25 (RO2, on- plus off-street): London boroughs' combined surplus £634.9m (income £1,125.3m, expenditure £490.4m) vs £445.1m in 2019-20 (income £726.7m) (+42.6%). Boroughs' on-street PCN income memo: £252.7m in 2019-20, £589.8m in 2024-25 (about £527m excluding the Barking and Dagenham anomaly), £698.5m in the 2025-26 release. Westminster £90.6m surplus (£129.4m income), Kensington and Chelsea £49.7m, Lambeth £39.2m, Hammersmith and Fulham £37.9m, Islington £36.3m. Per resident: City of London £678, Westminster £427, Kensington and Chelsea £341, Hammersmith and Fulham £199, Islington £162. Lowest: Sutton £7.49, Enfield £9.16, Greenwich £14.92.
- On-street PCN income memo line 2024-25 (parking PCNs only): Westminster £48.8m, Lambeth £41.0m, Haringey £35.9m, Ealing £31.8m, Islington £31.4m, Hammersmith and Fulham £30.4m. (Barking and Dagenham's reported £75.7m is flagged as implausible - see caveats.)

England outside London:

- PCNs reported to PATROL (all enforcement authorities outside London): parking 7,022,126 in 2025/26 vs 6,425,415 in 2024/25 (+9.3%); moving traffic 856,643 vs 522,138 (+64.1%); bus lanes 1,918,974 vs 1,913,982 (+0.3%). April-July 2026 vs April-July 2025: parking +7.8%, moving traffic +14.1%, bus lanes +4.7%. (PATROL ESC paper, Oct 2026.)
- Rough England-wide total of council/TfL parking, bus-lane and moving-traffic PCNs in 2024-25: about 18.3m (London 9.46m + outside London 8.86m), before clean air zone, Dart Charge and Mersey Gateway charges.
- Moving-traffic powers: 12 councils designated July 2022, 40 more July 2023, 21 more December 2024, 8 more December 2025 (81 in total, listed in 2.7).
- Traffic Penalty Tribunal 2025-26: parking appeals received 11,156 (0.16% of parking PCNs issued), 9,787 determined, 3,519 allowed (36.0%) of which 2,064 not contested; moving traffic 1,963 received, 1,850 determined, 531 allowed (28.7%) of which 321 not contested; bus lane 3,667 received, 3,299 determined, 1,160 allowed (35.2%) of which 866 not contested. Tribunal-wide 21,514 PCN appeals determined, 7,152 allowed (33.2%), 4,831 of those not contested (22.5% of all determinations).
- Compared with London: motorists appeal roughly three times as often in London (0.51% of PCNs vs 0.16% outside) and win more often (45.3% vs 36.0% for parking, 28.7% for moving traffic).
- Finance 2024-25 (RO2): all English councils' parking surplus £1,175.0m (RAC Foundation, working from the November 2025 release of the same data, reported £1,094m); outside London £540.1m vs £451.3m in 2019-20 (+19.7%). Highest surplus per resident outside London: Brighton and Hove £116.94 (£33.2m), Nottingham £61.29 (£20.0m), Windsor and Maidenhead £48.10, Bath and North East Somerset £46.00, Canterbury £43.67, Exeter £43.45, Lincoln £42.74, Guildford £42.70, Bournemouth Christchurch and Poole £42.24 (£17.1m), Torbay £41.52. Largest deficits: Cambridgeshire CC -£5.3m, Colchester -£0.9m, South Gloucestershire -£1.0m.
- On-street PCN income per resident outside London 2024-25: Brighton and Hove £50.49 (£14.3m, +81.6% since 2019-20), Portsmouth £42.75 (£9.0m), Manchester £25.07 (£14.8m, +152.8%), Windsor and Maidenhead £17.00 (+441%), Torbay £14.30, Leicester £12.55 (+116.9%), East Sussex CC £11.86, Southend £11.07, Watford £10.46, Leeds £10.28 (£8.6m).
- England on-street PCN income (memo line, where completed): £388.5m in 2019-20, £597.8m in 2023-24, £773.8m in 2024-25 (about £711m excluding the Barking and Dagenham anomaly), £898.6m in the 2025-26 release.
- 2025-26 release (provisional): England parking surplus £1,394.2m, London £837.6m, outside London £556.7m.

6. Caveats, definitions and inconsistencies

Parking-only vs all PCN types:

- London Councils counts and the London Tribunals sheets are split by type; pcn_total and the appeal tables marked "all" are parking + bus lane + moving traffic. "Parking" includes higher and lower level parking PCNs issued on street and in council car parks, and CCTV parking PCNs.
- RO2 "PCN income" is parking only (on-street line memo). Bus-lane PCN income is in the bus-lane enforcement line (fin_busl_inc). Moving-traffic PCN income is not separately identified anywhere in RO2.
- PATROL figures are all authorities outside London reporting to the portal; the "Bus Lanes" line is believed to include Welsh bus-lane authorities (PATROL reports parking for England and Wales separately but bus lanes as one line).
- TPT "Parking" appeal figures cover England outside London and Wales together.
- Clean air zone, Dart Charge, Mersey Gateway, Oxford congestion charge, TfL congestion charge/ULEZ and London Lorry Control PCNs are excluded throughout unless stated.

Inconsistencies found (not corrected; left as published and flagged):

- Barking and Dagenham, RO2 2024-25: on-street running expenses £69.1m, on-street sales/fees £81.3m and PCN income £75.7m, against £17.8m income in 2023-24 and £36.2m in the 2025-26 release; 246,298 PCNs would imply £307 per PCN. Almost certainly a reporting error or a restatement of the enforcement contract; the borough's 2024-25 per-resident PCN income (£318) and expenditure are excluded from the rankings' conclusions and its surplus (£9.0m) should be treated with caution.
- Enfield reports zero on-street PCN income in 2019-20, 2022-23, 2024-25 and 2025-26 but £2.7m in 2023-24 and £2.2m in 2021-22 (memo line not completed consistently); Westminster left the memo blank in 2019-20. Outside London, 31 of the 163 authorities reporting on-street parking income in 2024-25 leave the PCN memo blank or zero, so England PCN-income totals are understated.
- RAC Foundation 2024-25 report (5 Nov 2025): England parking surplus £1,094m, London £603m, rest of England £491m; this build from the RO2 file as served in Oct 2026: £1,175m, £635m, £540m. Per-council figures match where checked (e.g. Westminster income £129.4m, expenditure £38.8m), so the gap reflects revisions to the MHCLG file since November 2025 and/or the Barking and Dagenham restatement. Earlier years: RAC £320m / £838m / £909m / £1,019m for 2020-21 to 2023-24 vs £320m / £860m / £964m / £1,047m here.
- London Councils press release (27 Oct 2025): "percentage of total appeals won by the appellant fell from 54.9% in 2023-24 to 49.4% in 2024-25" and appeals = 0.45% of PCNs. This build gives 48.6% and 45.3% (allowed / total decisions on the three ETA sheets) and 0.51% (appeals / borough+TfL PCNs). The London Councils ratio is not reproducible from the published sheets (it probably uses allowed / (allowed + refused less withdrawn) or the "Total - All" sheet); quote whichever basis is stated.
- Lewisham records only 245 bus-lane PCNs but 176,940 moving-traffic PCNs in 2024-25; boroughs differ in whether bus-gate PCNs are coded as bus lane or moving traffic, so bus-lane vs moving-traffic splits are not strictly comparable between boroughs.
- City of London moving-traffic PCNs fell from 106,020 (2019-20) to 34,967 (2024-25); parking PCNs were flat. No explanation in the source.
- Hillingdon's 83.2% motorist win share comes almost entirely from appeals the council chose not to contest (269 of 298).
- Greenwich, Havering, Hillingdon, Redbridge, Tower Hamlets and Wandsworth report zero statutory declarations received, unlike every other borough - a data-collection difference at the Tribunal, not a real zero.
- The RO2 2025-26 file is the newest release on gov.uk and is likely provisional/unaudited; London's surplus rising from £634.9m to £837.6m in one year should be checked against the final outturn before use.
- Population: per-resident figures for the City of London (15,631 residents) and Westminster are dominated by commuters and visitors; present them with that caveat. County councils' per-resident figures use county populations; districts use district populations, so two-tier areas appear twice (county on-street, district off-street) and must not be added across tiers for the same residents.
- No per-council PCN counts, representations or appeal outcomes exist in extractable form for England outside London (Tableau only). Representations (informal/formal challenges to the council) are not published by any of the sources for any council; the "not contested" column is the closest published proxy for councils conceding at appeal.
- Appeal rates compare appeals received and PCNs issued in the same financial year; appeals typically relate to PCNs issued some months earlier.

Status

Complete for: London (PCNs by type, appeals and outcomes by type, finances, population, all derived league measures, 2018-19 to 2024-25 plus 2025-26 finance); England-wide finances for every council 2019-20 to 2025-26; tribunal-wide outcomes outside London 2021-22 to 2025-26; PATROL PCN totals 2024/25-2025/26; moving-traffic designation list.

Not obtained: per-council PCN counts and appeal outcomes outside London (Tableau-only); representations data (not published); TfL road-user-charging PCNs.

Work stopped within the three-hour budget on 9 Oct 2026.