

TRANSIT NETWORK CHANGES AND LONDON HOUSING MARKET
DYNAMICS: A GRAPH-BASED ANALYSIS (2000–2024)

by

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Revised Abstract

Major transport infrastructure investments, such as the integration of the Overground and the opening of the Elizabeth Line, have fundamentally reshaped London's accessibility landscape, with significant but complex effects on its real estate market. While a rich body of international academic literature exists linking transit accessibility to property values, analysis specific to London has often been limited to non-academic reports, creating a gap for a rigorous, independent investigation. This research project aims to fill that gap by analyzing how changes in the structure of London's public transport network have influenced borough-level housing prices over a 25-year period. The study constructs a dynamic temporal graph of London's transit system by harmonizing two key datasets: TfL's Rolling Origin-Destination Survey (RODS) and the smartcard-based Network Usage Model (NUMBAT) to create a consistent time series of borough-to-borough passenger flows from 2000 to 2023. Using graph mining techniques, annual accessibility indicators such as centrality and community structure metrics are calculated for each borough. A panel regression model with borough and year fixed effects is then employed to quantify the relationship between these structural network metrics and changes in average housing prices from the UK House Price Index. By applying a robust, data-driven framework, this project expects to provide novel insights into the spatially and temporally heterogeneous economic impacts of transport infrastructure, contributing a new analytical perspective to urban planning and housing policy in London.

Literature Review

The relationship between transportation infrastructure and real estate value is a cornerstone of urban economics, with a rich body of research demonstrating that enhanced accessibility is capitalized into property prices. Early models often relied on simple proximity-based metrics, such as distance to the nearest station. However, the academic literature has evolved significantly, now employing more sophisticated techniques to capture the complex, heterogeneous, and dynamic nature of this relationship. This review synthesizes key methodological trends and identifies a crucial gap in the academic analysis of London's housing market, which this research proposes to address.

A foundational approach in modern analysis involves modeling transit systems as networks and applying graph theory to quantify a location's importance. Scholars have consistently found that centrality indices are significant predictors of housing and land values across diverse urban contexts. Studies in Kolkata¹, Bangkok², numerous Chinese cities³, and a bachelor's thesis on Munich²⁶ have shown that measures like closeness, eigenvector, and betweenness centrality serve as powerful proxies for the locational advantages conferred by a well-connected position in the transport network. For instance, Chakrabarti et al. (2022) found that higher closeness and eigenvector centrality were associated with price premiums of 9–40% in Kolkata¹, while Han and Wu (2023) demonstrated

that a 10% rise in harmonic centrality (a variant of closeness) correlated with an 11% increase in land prices in China³. These studies validate the core premise of using graph-based metrics to analyze real estate markets.

While centrality metrics establish that a relationship exists, a significant body of research focuses on its spatial variability. The impact of transit access is rarely uniform across a city. To address this, many studies employ spatial econometric models like Geographically Weighted Regression (GWR) to account for heterogeneity. He (2020) used a Multiscale GWR (MGWR) to reveal that capitalization effects in Hong Kong varied significantly by sub-region⁴, while others used GWR to map localized price premiums in Xiamen and Beijing⁵, ⁶. Research has also advanced beyond simple linear assumptions; Chen et al. (2022), for instance, used spline functions within a GWR framework to model the non-linear, "hump-shaped" effect of metro accessibility, where the price premium diminishes or even reverses at very close proximity to a station⁷. This precedent strongly supports this MRP's borough-level aggregation strategy, which is designed to uncover how the impacts of network changes vary across London's distinct sub-markets.

Moving beyond static, cross-sectional analyses, another research stream investigates the temporal and causal dimensions of transit investment. Quasi-experimental methods, particularly the Difference-in-Differences (DiD) framework, are crucial for isolating the impact of infrastructure changes from broader market trends. Comber and Arribas-Bel (2017) expertly applied a spatial DiD model to Ealing, demonstrating that the mere announcement of Crossrail in 2008 created a measurable, anticipatory uplift in house prices, long before the line became operational¹⁹. A more recent study on Shanghai's subway expansion used a Matching DiD design to track price dynamics before and after station openings, finding that price increases began one month prior to launch and persisted for six months⁸. These studies underscore the importance of a long-term temporal analysis, as proposed in this MRP, to capture both the anticipation and realization of transit benefits.

The methodological frontier in this domain is increasingly characterized by the application of Graph Neural Networks (GNNs), a topic covered in depth by foundational surveys¹¹, ¹⁵. GNNs can learn complex, non-linear relationships directly from graph-structured data, generating rich embeddings of nodes that encode both network topology and intrinsic features. Their versatility is demonstrated by applications ranging from predicting urban polycentricity from street networks²³ to serving as computationally efficient surrogate models for traditional four-step transport demand forecasting¹⁴. In the real estate domain, recent studies have successfully used GNNs to predict housing prices in Scotland¹², Santiago¹³, and Melbourne¹⁶, consistently outperforming conventional models¹³. The proposed GNN models in these papers, such as PD-TGCN with its attention mechanism¹³ and the multipartite graph structure of GSNE¹⁶, offer a sophisticated framework for integrating the diverse data sources available for this project.

A key advantage of recent GNN applications is the focus on explainability. The work by Karamanou et al. (2024), along with related conference proceedings¹⁸, is particularly relevant, as it applies explainability techniques to a GNN model for house price prediction in Scotland. By using methods

like GNNExplainer, the authors identify not only the most influential features but also the specific neighboring regions (subgraphs) that drive a price prediction for a given area¹². This provides a powerful tool for moving beyond correlation to offer interpretable, policy-relevant insights, a goal central to this MRP.

It is important to note that a number of papers reviewed here were published in Sustainability, an open-access journal by MDPI^{2, 6, 7}. While widely cited, the journal has faced scrutiny regarding its academic rigor. Notably, it was removed from the official lists of approved academic journals by the Norwegian and Finnish national publication committees in 2023. Concerns have been raised about its rapid peer-review timelines and a business model reliant on article processing charges. While this does not invalidate the findings of individual papers, it highlights the need to critically assess their methodologies, a principle applied throughout this review.

Furthermore, several studies referenced in this review, particularly those focused on inference rather than prediction, do not employ a traditional training-testing data split. Instead, models are applied to the full dataset to explore spatial patterns and estimate the significance of relationships. This is a well-established practice in spatial econometrics where the primary goal is understanding coefficients across the entire study area, rather than optimizing a model for out-of-sample prediction. This methodological precedent aligns with the exploratory and inferential goals of this MRP.

While the global literature provides a robust methodological toolkit, a critical analysis reveals a significant gap concerning the London market. Most of the rigorous, peer-reviewed academic studies are focused on other global cities. Conversely, the most detailed, long-term analyses of London's transit-property value link come from reports commissioned by public or private sector entities. These include economic impact assessments of TfL's supply chain spending²², analyses of future funding scenarios²¹, and reports on specific infrastructure projects.

These reports offer invaluable data and context, confirming significant property value uplift around the Elizabeth Line¹⁰, Crossrail⁹, and the London Overground²⁰. For instance, the TfL-commissioned report on Crossrail found a 7-10% price uplift near stations even before opening⁹, and CBRE's analysis showed an 80% price increase near Elizabeth Line stations between 2008 and 2023¹⁰. However, as these studies are commissioned by organizations with a vested interest in demonstrating positive outcomes, they may carry an implicit promotional bias and typically lack the methodological transparency and peer-reviewed validation of academic research. They often rely on descriptive comparisons or simpler hedonic models rather than the advanced spatial, causal, or graph-based techniques found in scholarly journals.

This identifies a clear and compelling research opportunity: there is a lack of independent, academic research that applies state-of-the-art graph mining and spatial-temporal modeling techniques to analyze the impact of London's transit network evolution on its housing market. While Zhang et al. (2021) provided a landmark academic study using London's NUMBAT data to classify station roles through community detection¹⁷, its focus was not on housing market impacts. The novelty of this

MRP, therefore, lies in bridging this gap. It will synthesize advanced, academically-rigorous methods—validated by the international literature and drawing on concepts from transport geography and graph mining²⁵—and apply them to a unique, 25-year dataset for London. By modeling the transit network based on observed passenger flows from RODS and NUMBAT, a practice supported by recent mobility data benchmarks²⁴, this project will capture a more functionally accurate measure of accessibility, allowing for a deeper and more nuanced understanding of how network structure shapes urban economies.

Data Description and Exploratory Data Analysis

Datasets

(i) UK House Price Index - Monthly average house prices for each London borough from 1995 to the present, including sales counts and property type breakdowns.

Dataset Description and Link: <https://data.london.gov.uk/dataset/uk-house-price-index>

The dataset is available under [UK Open Government License \(v3\)](#)

It contains 5 sheets:

- Metadata
- By Type

Monthly house prices and corresponding index values for London and the United Kingdom, broken down by property type (Detached, Semi Detached, Terraced, and Flat). The data is organized with a multi-level header: the first two columns indicate year and month, followed by eight columns for London (four for prices and four for indices) and eight for the UK (also split into prices and indices by property type). Each row represents a specific month, starting in 1995.

- Average price

Monthly average house prices across all 33 London boroughs, grouped English regions, and national aggregates from January 1995 onward. The top row shows borough and region names (e.g., Camden, Westminster, South East, England), and the second row includes their official administrative codes (e.g., E09000007 for Camden). Each subsequent row begins with a date (e.g., Jan-95) followed by numeric values representing average sale prices in GBP for that month and geography. Data is granular at the borough level for London and aggregated by region elsewhere in

England, with Inner/Outer London summaries and a national average ("England") included.

- Index Price

This sheet follows the same structure as the previous one but contains index prices instead of average sale prices

- Sales Volume

The structure is the same as the one of the Average Price and Index Price sheets, but it presents Sales Volume data, indicating the number of residential property transactions recorded each month in a specific area (33 London boroughs, Inner and Outer London, English regions, and the entire country).

Prices are nominal and not adjusted for inflation. Excludes non-market sales (e.g., right-to-buy, gifts, leases under 7 years). As of February 2025, the index was re-referenced to January 2023, and historical data was revised. A 3-month moving average is applied at the borough level.

(ii) TfL Rolling Origin-Destination Survey (RODS) - Annual survey capturing typical weekday entries, exits, and OD flows for London Underground stations, covering 2000–2017. Provides station-to-station trip matrices, boarding and alighting patterns, and station-level demand profiles.

Dataset Description (including License information):

<https://data.london.gov.uk/dataset/tfl-rolling-origin-and-destination-survey>

Dataset Link:

<https://tfl.gov.uk/corporate/transparency/freedom-of-information/foi-request-detail?referenceId=FOI-1386-2021>

The dataset is available under [UK Open Government License \(v2\)](#)

There is a separate .xls file for each year and each file consists of 2 sheets:

- Matrix

Origin-Destination (OD) flow matrix, showing weekday passenger journey counts between London Underground stations, broken down by time bands. Each row records the number of trips from a specific origin station (Station Name in column 2, with National Location Code in column 1) to a specific destination station (Station Name in column 4, with its own NLC in column 3). The remaining columns capture journey volumes across six time periods: Early (before 7am), AM Peak (7am–10am), Midday (10am–4pm), PM Peak (4pm–7pm), Evening (7pm–10pm), and Late (after

10pm), along with a final Weekday Total column summing across these bands. This format enables temporal analysis of commuter flows, revealing not only station-to-station connections but also the distribution of travel activity throughout the day.

- Zone

Presents a zone-to-zone OD flow matrix from the RODS report, summarizing estimated journey volumes between London fare zones based on survey data reconciled to Autumn counts. The table is structured into multiple matrices for the same 6 time bands, with each matrix showing trip counts and percentage distributions across zones 1 through 7. For each time band, the rows represent origin zones and the columns represent destination zones, with totals and proportional flows included. Below each matrix, a compressed summary matrix aggregates flows into four broader groups: Zone 1, Zone 2, Zone 3, and combined outer zones (Zones 4–7).

(ii) TfL NUMBAT

Detailed smartcard-based estimates of rail demand across London Underground, Overground, DLR, and TfL Rail, covering 2016–2023. According to TfL, compared to RODS, NUMBAT is a much larger sample size as it uses ticketing data, oyster taps, train loadweigh and passenger counts, as opposed to the manual survey method of RODS which required a lot of scaling.

Dataset Link: <https://crowding.data.tfl.gov.uk/>

The dataset is available under [UK Open Government License \(v3\)](#)

NUMBAT Origin-Destination Data consists of multiple files per year, each corresponding to a specific day type in the autumn period. For every year, separate files are provided for Fridays, Saturdays, and Sundays, while in more recent years (e.g., 2022), Monday flows are also split out from the midweek group (Tuesday to Thursday). Though filenames are inconsistent and not standardized, each one represents a typical autumn day for that day type, with major disruptions and anomalous days excluded to ensure data stability.

Each file contains a single sheet structured as an Origin-Destination (OD) matrix. Every row corresponds to a unique journey from an origin station (mn1c_o) to a destination station (mn1c_d), identified by their Master National Location Codes (NLCs), unique identifiers assigned to each station across the TfL network. The remaining columns (starting at column 3) represent the number of trips in each 15-minute interval throughout the traffic day, spanning from 05:00 to 04:59 the next morning. These intervals are indexed using quarter-hour slot numbers, starting at 21 (05:00–05:15) and cycling through to 96 (23:45–00:00), followed by 97–116 to capture post-midnight flows.

Trip counts in NUMBAT are typically non-integer values, reflecting modelled estimates derived from smartcard data and gateline counts, adjusted using timetable-based assignment. This contrasts with the RODS OD matrices, where all values are integers representing actual or scaled passenger counts from survey samples. It is designed for detailed analysis of travel demand, service provision, and customer experience, and for use in service planning and performance evaluation.

Unlike OD matrices in RODS, which are based on survey data, aggregated by fare zone and coarse time bands, NUMBAT provides station-to-station OD flows at 15-minute granularity across all TfL-operated services. This makes it a more precise and modern tool for analyzing how, when, and where passengers travel across the network.

NUMBAT Outputs are other measures representing typical flows, they are also given by the same 15 minute bands described earlier and there are also multiple files per year, with the same structure as NUMBAT Origin-Destination Data. Each file consists of 9 sheets:

- VersionControl, Note, Cover, Cover Page, _Cover: Metadata and documentation (title, publishing info, definitions), varies slightly in name year-to-year.
- Link Load: Number of passengers on the train between two different consecutive stations on a line e.g. from Lambeth North to Waterloo on the Bakerloo line.
- Link frequency (supply): Number of scheduled trains per quarter hour between two consecutive stations.
- Station Boarders and Station Alighters: Number of passengers boarding or alighting at a specific platform in a specific station.
- Line Boarders: Total boarders across a rail line, derived from summing station boarders. This gives a better picture than Entry/Exits for the utilisation of a line as it includes interchangers.
- Station Flow: Number of passenger movements inside a station between its entrances and its different platforms. This includes boarding/alighting and interchange flows.
- Station Entries and Station Exits: number of passengers entering/exiting the station through its gatelines.

Data Preprocessing and Cleaning

One of the first challenges that I faced is a lack of publicly available dataset linking each Underground station to its corresponding Borough. To obtain that information, I created *london_tube_station_borough_scraper.py* script designed to go to every Subcategory on “Category:Tube stations in London by borough” Wikipedia page, scrape the corresponding Subcategory page for the list of all the Tube stations in any given borough, and then save that information in *london_tube_stations_by_borough.csv*. The challenge I encountered was the inconsistency in naming conventions across datasets obtained from different sources. The *UK_House_price_index.xlsx* file used one set of borough names, while the *london_tube_stations_by_borough.csv* file used another, leading to mismatches that prevented direct

merging; additionally, tube station names in the *OD_matrix* files sometimes differed from those in the borough mapping file. It took some adjustment and cleaning for boroughs (for instance removing “London Borough of” or “Royal Borough of” from the beginning of borough names, or substituting “and” in boroughs’ names for “&”), as well as station names (removing “ tube station” from the end of the names, fixing minor punctuation differences like apostrophes, removing additional clarifying geographical information in parentheses (e.g., '(London)'), matching older terminal numbering to newer designations, etc.) to make all those names match. I used Venn diagrams to compare and visualize overlaps and mismatches in both borough and station names and listing the non-overlapping entries to guide manual mapping.

After all of this pre-processing, there were still some discrepancies between the datasets, though there are explanations for those:

The house price index contained six boroughs that were not found in the tube station dataset: Bexley, Bromley, Croydon, Kingston upon Thames, Lewisham, and Sutton. The reason for this discrepancy is that these are London boroughs that are not served by the London Underground network, relying on other transport systems like National Rail instead.

The comparison between the 2017 Origin-Destination (OD) Matrix and the scraped tube stations names showed mismatches in both directions:

Stations only in OD Matrix 2017 (16 total): Amersham, Buckhurst Hill, Chalfont & Latimer, Chesham, Chigwell, Chorleywood, Croxley, Debden, Epping, Grange Hill, Loughton, Moor Park, Rickmansworth, Roding Valley, Theydon Bois and Watford.

These stations exist in the operational OD matrix because they are part of the London Underground network, but they were not captured by the borough-based scrape as they are located outside the official Greater London boundaries.

Stations only in *london_tube_stations_by_borough* CSV (18 total): Battersea Power, Beckton, City Road, Emlyn Road, Heathfield Terrace, Hounslow Town, King William Street, London Victoria, Lothbury, Ludgate Circus, Mark Lane, Millwall, Nine Elms, Paddenswick Road, Rylett Road, St Katharine Docks, Surrey Docks North and The Grove.

This list is a composite of several categories. It includes stations that opened after 2017 (Battersea Power, Nine Elms), permanently closed “ghost” stations captured from historical Wikipedia lists (City Road, Mark Lane, King William Street, Hounslow Town), stations on other transit systems like the DLR (Beckton), and fully operational multimodal interchange stations that are not exclusively part of the Underground (London Victoria). It also includes a substantial number of authorised but never built Underground stations, which were included in historical or planning-related Wikipedia categories and thus scraped as valid entries despite never having been constructed. These are: Emlyn Road, Lothbury, Paddenswick Road, Heathfield Terrace, Rylett Road, The Grove, Surrey Docks North, St Katharine Docks, Millwall, and Ludgate Circus. These planned stations were associated with early

Central London Railway proposals or unbuilt extensions of the Jubilee line, particularly the intended line to Woolwich Arsenal.

Since RODS was replaced with NUMBAT, analysis of the stations in NUMBAT files was also required. What made things even more challenging was that NUMBAT Origin-Destination matrix data only contained National Location Codes (NLCs), so the mapping of the stations to Location Codes was required. Originally I planned

415	NLCs in all three datasets
39	NLCs only in NLC Mapping
0	NLCs only in NUMBAT 2019
18	NLCs only in NUMBAT 2022
1	NLCs in NLC Mapping and NUMBAT 2019 only
0	NLCs in NLC Mapping and NUMBAT 2022 only
241	NLCs in NUMBAT 2019 and NUMBAT 2022 only

(Table 1)

To create a comprehensive mapping between station names and National Location Codes (NLCs), I created *create_station_nlc_mapping.py* that systematically processes all NUMBAT model output files from 2016 to 2023. Each of these files contains a Station_Entries sheet, which consistently stores the NLC in the first column and the station name in the third column. The script was designed to extract all unique pairs of NLCs and station names from each file, ensuring that any station present in any scenario or year would be included in the final mapping. After extracting the data from all 32 output files, the script combined and deduplicated the results, resulting in a master mapping that contains 472 unique station-NLC pairs. This mapping, saved as *comprehensive_station_nlc_mapping.csv*, provides a robust and up-to-date reference for all stations modeled in NUMBAT across the studied years.

However, a detailed investigation revealed an important distinction between different NUMBAT datasets. While the comprehensive mapping successfully captured all 472 stations listed in the NUMBAT output files' Station_Entries sheets, the 2022 NUMBAT OD matrix files contain 674 unique NLC codes, which is 202 more than the output files. This discrepancy highlights that the OD matrices include additional nodes beyond the passenger stations listed in the output files. Among these additional codes, three specific NLCs (6070, 6073, and 8204) were found to have significant passenger flows in the 2022 OD matrix but do not appear in any of the NUMBAT output files, or the *StationNodesDescription.xls* file provided by TfL themselves.

This finding suggests that these codes likely represent special network nodes such as interchange points, junction stations, or virtual nodes used for routing purposes rather than traditional passenger stations. For borough-based analysis, these codes can be safely excluded since they do not represent actual passenger stations with geographic locations that can be assigned to specific boroughs. Including them would introduce artificial nodes that could distort the spatial distribution of passenger flows and complicate the borough-level analysis without providing meaningful geographic insights.

Project Approach

Following the rigorous data preprocessing and cleaning phase, this project will employ a multi-stage quantitative methodology to investigate the relationship between changes in London's transit network structure and borough-level housing prices. The approach is designed to build upon established research while addressing a clear gap in the academic study of the London market. The core of this methodology is the construction and analysis of annual, borough-level transit network graphs from the harmonized Origin-Destination (OD) flow data for the period 2000-2023. This method moves beyond simple proximity-based metrics to capture the network's functional and structural properties, an approach validated by numerous studies using graph centrality to model property values in cities like Kolkata, Bangkok, and across China.

For each year in the study period, a directed and weighted graph will be constructed using the `igraph` library in Python, where the 33 London boroughs serve as nodes and the harmonized passenger flows represent the weighted, directed edges between them. The use of observed passenger flow data from RODS and NUMBAT to define these connections is justified by leading research that highlights the value of modeling actual travel behavior to understand urban dynamics. From each annual graph, a suite of accessibility indicators will be engineered to serve as the primary independent variables in the analysis. These indicators include (i) a set of centrality measures to quantify each borough's importance within the network, including its total passenger arrivals and departures (weighted degree), its role as a "pass-through" corridor (betweenness centrality), its overall reachability (closeness centrality), and its connection to other influential hubs (eigenvector centrality); and (ii) community structure metrics derived from the Louvain community detection algorithm, such as the participation coefficient, to quantify how a borough's travel flows are distributed across different functional travel clusters.

The final stage of the methodology involves statistical modeling to test the research hypothesis. A panel regression model will be employed to assess the relationship between the annual change in average housing price for each borough (the dependent variable) and the suite of calculated graph-based accessibility metrics (the independent variables). This model will incorporate borough fixed effects to control for time-invariant local characteristics and year fixed effects to control for macro-economic trends, such as interest rate changes, that affect the entire London market. The

decision to perform a long-term temporal analysis is motivated by causal inference studies showing the importance of capturing both the anticipatory effects of infrastructure announcements and their long-term impacts post-opening. Furthermore, the borough-level aggregation is directly justified by the spatial econometrics literature, which has consistently demonstrated that the economic impacts of transit are spatially heterogeneous and must be analyzed at a sub-city scale to uncover meaningful variation. Ultimately, this research approach is explicitly designed to fill the identified gap in the literature by applying a rigorous, independent, and transparent academic framework to the London context, which to date has been primarily analyzed through less methodologically detailed consultancy and government reports.

GitHub Repository

https://github.com/azhuravlev1/MRP_LondonTransit_RealEstate

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Relevant published sources

Consistent citation style (e.g., APA or IEEE)

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