The varying impact of geographic distance as a predictor of dissatisfaction over facility access

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Abstract

This research applies a geographically weighted regression analyses to compare perceptions of public service accessibility as captured by an attitudes survey against measures of geographical distance to those services. The 2008 Place Survey in Leicestershire, UK, captured data on respondent dissatisfaction over their access to different services. In this analysis, responses over access to Post Offices and libraries were summarised over census Output Areas and network distances to the nearest facility were determined. GWR was used to develop local statistical models the relationship between the proportion of respondents who were dissatisfied over their access to Post Offices and libraries and geographic distance, and how these relationships varied within and between different socio-economic groups (in this case OAC groups). The results show that the effect geographic distance as a predictor of access dissatisfaction is stronger for some facilities than others, that its effect varies spatially for some facilities and not for others indicating that other dimensions related to access need to be considered and that for some facilities the influence of geographic distance on perceptions of access will vary across specific socio-economic groups much more than for others as are the advantages of local statistical models

Key Words: Place Survey; access / accessibility; Post Office; Library;

1. Introduction

Issues of service provision and access have long been the subjects of academic and policy attention 1 2 especially in rural areas (eg Bracey 1953; Moseley 1978, 1979; Lowe et al 1986; Bell and Cloke 3 1990, 1991; Higgs and White 1997; White et al 1997; Farrington and Farrington 2005; Comber et 4 al, 2009; Langford and Higgs 2010). Evaluations of service or facility access can be divided into 5 two groups: one considering the spatial dimensions of geographic access (distances, travel times, 6 7 catchments, etc), the other analysing the underlying socio-economic aspects of access that relate to 8 the ability of individuals to access facilities such as cost, perceptions of service, quality, previous 9 experiences and the behavioural aspects of access. This paper develops an analysis that links these 10 different tranches of accessibility research by combining analyses of public perceptions of public 11 service accessibility from an attitudes survey with analyses of geographic road distance to those 12 13 services. It uses Geographically Weighted Regression (GWR) to analyse the relationships between 14 perceptions of accessibility to 2 facilities, libraries and Post Offices with geographic distance to the 15 nearest facility. These were chosen as public services to analyse because they are commonly 16 included in narratives about reductions in service provision and planned closures and because the 17 perform different functions: Post Offices are seen as performing key social and economic functions, 18 19 especially in rural areas, and libraries have long been held as important for educational and cultural 20 development, and more recently as information hubs. 21

22 Analysing public service accessibility is of particular current concern in the UK because of the 23 24 emerging 'Big Society' agenda of the government which proposes fundamental structural reform in 25 the relations between state and society, encompassing devolution of power from central 26 government, local autonomy, restructuring of welfare and health provisions and reduction of state 27 expenditure (Cabinet Office, 2010). Under these agendas, reductions in the state provision of 28 29 services are to be replaced by individuals and communities taking on responsibilities for service 30 provision. There is concern that the such reductions in provision and formal (state) infrastructure 31 may accentuate processes of socio-spatial marginalisation and exclusion: some people and places 32 with specific combinations of high levels of economic, social and cultural capital may experience 33 further improvements in relative service accessibility, while other people and places with limited 34 35 levels of such capitals are more vulnerable and may see sustained, and self reinforcing, levels of 36 service reduction. Using GWR to analyse the spatial variations in the relationship between 37 perceptions and geography for different geodemographic groups provides a spatially nuanced 38 analysis of how different variables interact across the study area and how that interaction varies 39 spatially within and between different socio-economic groups. 40 41

42 One of the fundamental tenets of geographical data analyses is to evaluate the potential existence of 43 spatial variability in relationships between attributes. GWR is a spatially explicit regression 44 technique (Fotheringham et al., 2002; Brunsdon et al., 1996) and allows one to consider (and to test 45 46 for) the possibility that relationships can vary over geographical space, by allowing regression 47 coefficients to vary with location. In this way GWR is a technique that deals with spatial non-48 stationarity in multivariate regression (Fotheringham et al. 1997) by estimating regression 49 coefficients locally using spatially dependent weights with the weight of data points being 50 determined by their distance from each of a given number of estimation locations. GWR is 51 52 becoming a more commonly used technique in computational geography and has been used to 53 investigate non-stationarity in a number of domains including health (Nakaya et al. 2005), 54 education (Fotheringham et al. 2001), regional economies (Huang and Leung 2002) and as a 55 method of spatial disaggregation (Li et al, 2009). Hitherto, GWR has not been used to analyse 56 attitude survey data nor to compare such responses with quantitative geographical measurements. 57 58 Only in a few instances have qualitative and quantitative measures of access have been analysed 59 and the spatial variations in the relationships explored. Maroko et al. (2009) used GWR to explore 60

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the spatial relationships between the variables associated with models of park acreage and density of physical activity sites.

There has been little research that has examined how the different dimensions associated with access interact, how they vary spatially, how they vary across different socio-economic groups and for different types of facility. This paper addresses such gaps by using GWR to consider perceptions of access with geographic measures of access for different geodemographic groups. It demonstrates the advantages of spatially explicit statistical methods and of multi-dimensional approaches to accessibility. In so doing, it emphasises the need for multi-dimensional analyses of access, the need to consider local, spatially explicit statistical models, as opposed to global ones, and the need to examine how these relationships vary within and between different socio-economic groups. The suggested method is one that could be used to indicate areas, and specific socio-economic groups in specific areas, that are potentially vulnerable to reductions in public service provision.

2. Background

Much previous research has examined spatial or geographic access to different services and facilities, often with the objective of informing decision making in spatial planning and policy. Typically in such studies, access to a particular service (e.g. health, greenspace, post offices, libraries, food) is quantified for different social groups (e.g. urban / rural, religious, ethnic, socio-economic status). Demographic data is summarised over spatial units such as post code districts, census areas, floating catchment areas, residential addresses or service / facility catchments and then GIS-based measures of distance (Euclidian or network) are calculated. Recent examples include studies of access to Post Offices (Langford and Higgs 2010, Comber et al., 2009), food outlets (Forsyth et al., 2010; McEntee and Agyeman, 2010) and health facilities (Sasaki, in press). In some cases, such analyses have been extended to compare current and future populations (Sasaki et al., 2010) to support long term facility planning and to answer the location-allocation problem associated with identifying the optimal location of facilities (e.g. Comber et al., 2009; Comber et al, 2011).

This tranche of accessibility research has been developed to identify gaps and inequalities, to evaluate service provision and policy plans and to highlight geographic regions with low service coverage. The work has frequently referenced concepts such as social justice, social inclusion, environmental justice, public participation and public engagement, while the location-allocation extension work considers how best to spread resources to minimise those gaps and the number of people (service users) without access. In general, these various analyses have adopted rather narrow notions of 'access', centred on the quantitative spatial analyses of service provision and service accessibility based on physical distance measures, albeit with growing sophistication in analysis. White et al (1997) and Langford and Higgs (2010), for example, have applied GIS to analyse changes in post office provision and associated subsequent impacts on accessibility, whilst Comber et (2009) developed a model to optimise closures patterns against stated accessibility objectives and many other similar examples of GIS-based analyses of accessibility can be found in the literature. However, omissions from such analyses include the behavioural aspects of service accessibility. Whilst people might have a service within some normatively accessible distance, there has been little analysis of whether people actually access this service, either failing to make use of any such service or making use of some more distantly located services. Latter situations might well reflect, public perceptions of service accessibility linked to a range of highly qualitative influences, including perceived service quality, opening hours and previous experiences. The failure to make use of any such service might well be viewed as indicative of social exclusion, whilst using more distantly located services might be seen to reflect the exercise of choice. Use of more distant service outlets has actually been shown to be quite commonplace in studies of rural retailing, where, for

example, the declining use of village shops, post offices and schools have all been ascribed to people travelling beyond the village to access other outlets, perhaps due to lower commodity costs, greater stock range or quality, or proximity to place of work or daily travel routes for work or schooling (Prentice 1991, Pinkerton et al 1995, Findlay et al 2001, Bowden and Moseley 2006, Powe and Hart 2009).

5 Adopting a specifically spatial definition of 'access' allows relatively easy spatial analysis using 6 7 tools such as a GIS. However 'access', as described above, is more complex than simple distance 8 measures and encompasses much a wider set of concepts. Early work by Aday and Anderson 9 (1974) identified two general themes in different concepts of health care access relating to 10 population characteristics such as income, insurance coverage and attitudes the specific service and 11 what they term the "delivery system" relating to the distribution and organization of facilities. This 12 13 distinction persists in much health planning research. More recent work indicates the multi-14 dimensionality of the concepts of access and accessibility. Farrington and Farrington (2005, p.2) 15 observed that accessibility can be viewed as "the ability of people to reach and engage in 16 opportunities and activities" and generally involves overcoming social dimensions of access and 17 separation, as well as spatial constraints. For example, work by Gray et al (2006) noted that access 18 19 to services in rural areas depended on a range of different combinations of journey-making 20 opportunities and constraints which were linked to the specific characteristics of particular 21 localities, the institutions and people that reside there. This highlights the significance of the social 22 dimensions associated with accessibility, with both the availability of services and transportation to 23 24 access them being conditioned by, as well as conditioning, the social resources available to 25 particular people, households, communities and organizations. Grav et al (2006) draws upon the 26 arguments of Urry (2002) concerning the significance of social capital in maintaining systems of 27 mobility and suggests that studies of accessibility need to consider how these are often underpinned 28 29 by networks of social of capital. These issues are particularly acute in rural and remote areas or for 30 groups of people where private transport is not readily available. Gray et al (2006) identify 'lift-31 giving' as a relatively common practice in some areas and other forms of social capital may also be 32 significant such as participation in community activity (Mahar, 1991; Atkin 2003; Tyler 2006, 33 Phillips, 2010). 34

36 The proposed structural reforms reducing the relationship between the state and society will replace 37 national 'public service agreements' that describe normative standards of service accessibility that 38 people should reasonably expect to receive (Farrington and Farrington, 2005) with a localist 39 approach whereby individuals and communities will have "new rights to bid to run services and to 40 41 save facilities at risk of closure", including the "right to bid to take over local state-run services" 42 (DCLG, 2010). Such changes are packaged by the Government as a mechanism for improving 43 public services by making them more tailored to local needs, reducing regulatory overheads and 44 encouraging innovation. However, there is clear potential that these changes may well lead to 45 increased spatial and social inequalities in accessibility to services as well as service fragmentation, 46 47 differentiation and potential decline. It has, for example, been argued that over 70 percent of local 48 authorities will be reducing subsidies to rural bus services (Campaign for Better Transport, 2011a), 49 which it is claimed will lead to a closure of many bus routes and severely impact on the lives of 50 some of the most disadvantaged groups in rural society (Campaign for Better Transport, 2011b) 51 52

In summary, much geographic research has considered access based on distance measures. In the social sciences, notions of access have been related to abilities to engage with a service. The impacts of reductions in public services and thus service accessibility that are being proposed will depend on the interaction between different factors. The ability of communities to develop their own strategies to access services and to overcome the reduction in centrally provided ones, will, according to yet further research, depend on their networks and interactions and other levels of

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social capital. The analysis described in the next section describes an approach for identifying areas that are potentially vulnerable to reductions in service.

3. Methods

3.1 Overview

This research describes a method to compare the relationship between different measures of service access - one based on distance and the other based on an attitude survey of service accessibility. By comparing the spatial variation in the relationship between these measures, this analysis aims to identify locales where there are significant differences between how the public perceive their access to services and their geographic distance to that service. It analyses different socio-economic groups to examine whether differences in patterns of group membership and / or distance to services is a predictor of service dissatisfaction. The analysis examines the variation in this relationship for different socio-economic groups described in the OAC classification developed by Vickers and Rees (2007).

18 3.2 Data and study area

This study analysed the responses to an attitudinal survey in the UK county of Leicestershire, conducted in 2009 by the County Council and associated District Councils as part of the Department of Communities and Local Government's (DCLG) 'Place Survey. Introduced in 2008, the Place Survey was to be conducted by all local authorities and was designed to both collect data which could be incorporated into the establishment of national indicators relating to local authority delivery against governmentally established normative standards, and also as a way that these authorities, and other local service providers, could gain "direct feedback on services" and explore people's "perceptions of the area" (DCLG, 2009, p. 5). In relation to the latter issues, the DCLG allowed the local authorities administering the survey, which was conducted through a postal questionnaire, to include additional questions if they so wished. In the case of the Leicestershire survey, questions were added, asking respondents to describe their satisfaction/dissatisfaction over access to a range of facilities, including Post Offices, libraries, primary health care, childcare, public transport, shops and green spaces. Respondents were asked to indicate their satisfaction / dissatisfaction on a 5-point scale.

The results from each Place Survey have been used in the State of the Countryside Report 2010 (CRC, 2010) which reports that the survey indicates that: bus use is greatest in urban areas, and least in rural areas of the South East; there was little rural-urban difference in people's self assessment of own health, although there was a tendency for people in more remote rural and urban areas to report low levels of good health; people in rural local authorities were slightly more likely to say that they were satisfied with their area as a place to live, felt that they belonged in their local area and that people from different backgrounds got on well together; a smaller proportion of people in rural areas expressed concern over antisocial behaviour, drunkenness and rowdiness, while more gave unpaid help to groups, clubs and other organizations; more people in rural areas felt that they have been involved in local decision making and were informed about where their council tax goes and how local public services deal with people. It was also suggested that there was little rural-urban difference in whether people felt the local authority provided value for money or in assessments as to how well it organised its services. However, it should be noted that this analysis was done at the level of local authority districts, which not only obscure localised spatial variation but may also submerge rural-urban differences given that the "design of territories for local authorities tends to include a mix of urban and rural areas" (RERC, 2009, p. 6). For this reason, analysis using smaller scale units, such as the ward or output area, may be much more advantageous.

The Place Survey is a postal survey with a sampling frame selecting household addresses at random from the Post Office small users Address File database. The aim was to reach a sample size of at least 1,100 in each district, regardless of population size. Central government provided the sample 1 2 of addresses. The questionnaire was sent to households only and was completed by any resident 3 aged 18 or over living at the address. A total of 20,260 questionnaires were sent out and the 4 response rate for each district ion Leicestershire was between 41% and 43%. Leicestershire 5 Statistics and Research Online provide detail of the Place Survey in Leicestershire¹ and an 6 7 interactive visualisation of the results². Leicestershire is a rural county (see Figure 1), with the City 8 of Leicester (a separate local authority) at the centre. In Leicestershire there were 8530 responses to 9 the survey. For the purposes of this study the data were summarised over Output Areas (OAs) - the 10 finest spatial detail over which census data are reported. There are 1993 OAs in Leicestershire 11 (compared to 133 Wards). Of these, 1961 OAs contained Place Survey respondents, providing over 12 13 98 percent coverage. OAs with no respondents were omitted from the analysis. The number of 14 responses in each OA that expressed dissatisfaction over access to each service were divided by the 15 total number of responses in that OA to generate proportions of respondents who were dissatisfied 16 with their access to Post Offices and libraries. 17 18

(Insert Figure 1 about here)

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21 Summarising the Place Survey data over OAs allowed other OA attributes to be analysed, in this 22 case the OA Classification developed by Vickers and Rees (2007). The OA Classification (OAC) 23 24 developed by Vickers and Rees (2007) is a geodemographic classification. It was the first freely 25 available geodemographic classification based on data collected for the 2001 Census of England 26 and Wales. It applied a hierarchical k-means classification method (Vickers and Rees, 2007), 27 identifying 7 Supergroups at the highest level of classification, 21 Groups at the next level and 52 28 29 Subgroups at the lowest level, and descriptive labels were created based on the mean values of the 30 census variables occurring in the seven classes at the highest level. These were Blue Collar 31 Communities, City Living, Countryside, Prospering Suburbs, Constrained-by-Circumstances, 32 Typical Traits, and Multicultural Communities. The OAC clusters were extracted from 41 census 33 variables relating to demographics, household composition, housing, socio-economic (embracing 34 35 qualifications, car-ownership, travel to work mode, long term illness) and employment. The final 36 set of variables were chosen according to the following criteria: their lack of correlation with other 37 variables or composite variables, their distribution, their consistency across the UK, their certainty, 38 their relevance across the UK and the expected lifetime and longevity of the variable's relevance. A 39 full description of the selection process and the final set of variables are given in Vickers and Ress 40 41 (2007).42

⁴³₄₄ 3.3 Analysis

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A GIS network analysis determined the road distance from the population-weighted centre of each OA to the nearest facility (Post Office or Library). The Place Survey responses were summarised over each OA as described above. Each OA was allocated to one of 7 OAC classes based on the socio-economic characteristics of the population derived from 2001 Census variable as described in Vickers and Rees (2007).

GWR was used to identify the spatial variation in the relationships between spatial access to
 services and perceptions of accessibility to that service at the OA level: that is, distance to the
 nearest facility was locally regressed against the proportion of respondents in each OA who
 expressed dissatisfaction with access to the facility using GWR. The variation was further analysed
 by considering the interaction between perceptions of access and geographic access for different

¹ http://www.lsr-online.org/leicestershire-place-survey-2008.html

² http://www.lsr-online.org/placesurvey.html

OAC groups. GWR analysed the proportion of respondents expressing dissatisfaction over their access to the service in question against geographic distance and OAC class as follows:

$$y = b_{0(u_i,v_i)} + b_1 x_{1(u_i,v_i)} + b_2 x_{2(u_i,v_i)}$$
(Eqn 1)

where y is the proportion of respondents dissatisfied over their access, x_1 is network distance to the nearest facility and x₂ describes the OAC groups and the coefficients for each of the predictor variables assumed to vary across the two-dimensional geographical space defined by the coordinates (u, v). The population-weighted centroid of each OA was used as the data point and the GWR results were modelled over a 1km grid, with the GWR bandwidth optimised over the function in described Equation 1. The GWR analysis was done in two stages: first to identify the spatial variation in distance as a predictor of dissatisfaction for all groups, second to analyse the spatial distributions of these relationships for different socio-economic (OAC) groups.

4. Results

4.1 Initial Analyses

Initial GWR analyses were run to examine the overall relationships between geographic access to Libraries and Post Offices with dissatisfaction over access as expressed through the Place Survey. The aim was to determine whether there was evidence of geographic variation in the relationships, and if so to examine this variation further

4.1.1 Libraries

GWR was used to analyse the relationship between the proportion of Place Survey respondents in each OA that were dissatisfied over Library access against geographic distance to the nearest Library. The results are shown in Table 1. It is apparent that, in the case of Libraries, there is little geographic variation in the relationship between geographic distance and perceptions of library accessibility, with the minimum coefficient indicating that dissatisfaction increases universally at around 1.3 percentage points per km.

(Insert Table 1 about here)

4.1.2 Post Offices

In a similar way GWR was used to analyse the spatial variation in the relationship between perceptions of Post Office accessibility against with geographic distance (see Table 2). In this case, there is much more variation than in the case of Libraries, and the global median coefficient of 4.4 percentage points per km actually masks much' variation in the relationship between levels of dissatisfaction and distance, with dissatisfaction scores over access increasing strongly with increasing geographic distance from a maximum of 24 percentage points per km in some areas and to a negative relationship in others.

(Insert Table 2 about here)

4.2 Analysis by socio-economic group

The second part of the analysis sought to identify variations between different OAC groups to see if the relationship between perceptions of service accessibility against geographic distance varies within and between groups. The GWR models were re-specified with a different 'Post Office Distance' coefficient for each OAC group. The GWR analyses were then rerun to explore the variation between groups. Two OAC groups were excluded from the analysis due to their low counts in the study area: the Multicultural OAC group which had only 27 OAs and City Living which had 17 OAs. These were omitted from the analysis as to avoid the problem of low geographical variability. For each observation the regression model sets the 'Distance from Post

Office' variable to zero for each OAC group except the one that the observation belongs to. For the two OAC groups above, this implied that for large geographical areas, these variables took the value zero, leading to difficulties in calibration.

4.2.1 Libraries

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Little variation between levels of dissatisfaction over library access and geographic distance was found for different OAC groups (Table 3): the global coefficients are similar for each OAC group with little variation in the minimum, maximum and median coefficient values.

(Insert Table 3 about here)

4.2.2 Post Offices

13 There was considerable variation in the relationship between levels of dissatisfaction concerning 14 Post Office access and geographic distance to the nearest Post Office (Table 4) than for Libraries. 15 The global and median values indicate the general rate of dissatisfaction with relative remoteness 16 and inter-quartile range (hereafter IQR) gives some indication of the representativeness of that 17 central trend. The global coefficient for All OAC groups shows that dissatisfaction over Post Office 18 19 access increases with relative remoteness by 4.4 percentage points per km. For some socio-spatial 20 groups the relationships are typically much weaker as indicated by the median coefficient, (eg 21 Prospering Suburbs) and for others much stronger (eg Constrained by Circumstances). Additionally 22 the within group ranges in the relationship between levels of dissatisfaction over access and 23 24 geographic distance varies from group to group. For example, the inter-quartile range of the 25 distribution of the coefficients for Prospering Suburbs is low (less than for All OAC groups), while 26 the highest range is for the OAC group Constrained by Circumstances. The group by group results 27 are described in more detail below and the results considered in relation to the OAC classification 28 summaries available from the Office of National Statistics³. Maps of the spatial distribution of the 29 30 coefficients are shown in Figure 2 for each OAC group. It should be noted that these maps do not 31 reflect the underlying distribution of OAC groups, rather they show the modelled variation in the 32 relationship between distance and dissatisfaction for those groups. 33

(Insert Table 4 about here)

(Insert Figure 2 about here)

All OAC groups

When all groups are considered together the greatest increases in dissatisfaction over Post Office with relative remoteness are found North East and South West of the study area. The areas with the lowest increases are to the south and to the North West. However when the spatial distributions of the local coefficients describing this relationship for individual OAC groups are examined, different spatial patterns are evident.

⁴⁸₄₉ Blue Collar Communities

Levels of dissatisfaction over Post Office access increased with relative remoteness for the Blue 50 Collar Communities at around 3.8 percentage points per km increase in geographic distance. The 51 52 IQR of coefficients for this group are hence relatively narrow (only Prospering Suburbs has a lower 53 range). This group is associated with a number of characteristics. The Blue Collar Community 54 group has far below average⁴ proportions of the adult population with higher education 55 qualifications and percentage of households which are flats. This group is also associated with far 56 above average⁵ percentages of households which are lone parent households with dependent 57 58

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³ http://www.statistics.gov.uk/about/methodology_by_theme/area_classification/oa/default.asp

⁴ For a variable to be 'far below average' it must have a difference of more than 0.15 below the UK mean

⁵ For a variable to be 'far above average' it must have a difference of more than 0.15 above the UK mean

children, of occupied household spaces without central heating, of terraced housing and of households that are public sector rented accommodation. The largest increases in dissatisfaction over Post Office access with distance for Blue Collar Communities occurs in the more rural parts of the study area to the North East and in pockets to the North and to the West. In these areas geographic distance to the nearest Post Office is a strong predictor of dissatisfaction over accessibility.

67 Countryside

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8 Levels of dissatisfaction over Post Office access increases with relative remoteness for the 9 Countryside OAC group at around 2.9 percentage points per km increase in geographic distance. 10 The IQR of the coefficients for this group is relatively wide (only Constrained by Circumstances 11 has a wider range). The Countryside group is associated with lower than average population 12 13 density, use of public transport to travel to work and percentage of households which are flats. It 14 has higher than average levels of households with 2 or more cars, people in employment who work 15 mainly from home, detached houses and proportions of the working population who work in 16 agriculture and fishing. The spatial distribution of the coefficients for this group are particularly 17 interesting given the geographic spread of Countryside OAs and the variation in rural areas. High 18 19 increases in dissatisfaction over Post Office access with relative remoteness are evident in the North 20 West of the study area and in a belt around the North East extremity. The heterogeneity indicated 21 by the IQR and the mapping of the distribution of coefficients may be indicative of different 22 subgroups in this group as indicated in the full OAC classification described by Vickers and Rees 23 24 (2007): on the one hand the gentrified who have chosen to live in the countryside, travelling to 25 work in their 2 or more cars or working from home and on the other farm workers. It is possible that 26 the gentrified may chose to live in remote areas and so are less dissatisfied over access to Post 27 Offices. 28 29

³⁰ Prospering Suburbs

31 Dissatisfaction over Post Office access increased with relative remoteness for the Prospering 32 Suburbs OAC group at around 1.4 percentage points per km increase in geographic distance – the 33 lowest of all the OAC groups. The IQR of coefficients for this group is the narrowest indicating a 34 general degree of homogeneity in the relationship between dissatisfaction over Post Office access 35 36 and relative distance. The Prospering Suburbs OAC group has lower than average levels of public 37 and private sector rented accommodation, terraced housing, flats, and houses without central 38 heating. It is associated with higher than average proportions of detached housing and households 39 with 2 or more cars. The weakness of distance as predictor of dissatisfaction over service access 40 41 may be expected for this social group who live in the suburbs and who travel regularly for work and 42 for retailing/leisure by car rather than by public transport. As a consequence, such residents may 43 well find it unproblematic to travel to services such as Post Offices, and indeed, may well access 44 these in conjunction with other journeys (e.g. the work commute, the school-run, the shopping trip). 45 The mapping of the distribution of coefficients for this group shows that dissatisfaction over Post 46 47 Office access increases with relative remoteness in the West of the study area: here geographic 48 distance is a strong predictor dissatisfaction about Post Office accessibility. 49

5051 Constrained by Circumstances

52 Dissatisfaction over Post Office access with relative remoteness increases for the Countryside OAC 53 group at around 6.5 percentage points per km – the highest of all the OAC groups. The range of the 54 coefficients for this group was the widest indicating high within group variation in the degree to 55 which geographic distance is a predictor of dissatisfaction over access. This group is characterised 56 by lower than average levels of detached housing, ownership of 2 or more cars and higher education 57 58 qualifications, and by higher than average proportions of flats and public sector rented 59 accommodation. The largest increases in dissatisfaction over Post Office access with relative 60 distance are away from the central urban belt and in the more rural parts of the study area to the 61

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North East and South West where geographic distance is a strong predictor of dissatisfaction over Post Office access.

Typical Traits

 The dissatisfaction over Post Office access with relative remoteness for the Typical Traits group increases at around 2.4 percentage points per km increase in geographic distance. This rate of increase in dissatisfaction and the IQR of coefficients for this group occupy the central values for the 5 groups in each case. This is group is very typical in its characteristics, with only the proportion of public sector rented below average and terraced housing above average. The spatial distribution of coefficients is similar in pattern to the general picture for All OAC groups, with pockets of high increases in the dissatisfaction with distance in the rural areas to North East and some other pockets to the North and West of the study area.

5. Discussion

The results show that in this study area distance is a strong predictor of dissatisfaction over access to libraries and Post Offices. They also show that levels of dissatisfaction over Post Office access vary with relative remoteness across the study area whereas for libraries they do not. Little spatial variation in dissatisfaction over geographic access to libraries was found within and between different geodemographic groups, but considerable variation in distance to the nearest Post Office was found within and between particular OAC groups. High coefficients, indicating geographic distance as a stronger predictor of high levels of dissatisfaction, were found for:

- Blue Collar Communities in rural areas;
- Constrained by Circumstances in rural areas, as well as smaller urban areas;
- Countryside in the North and North West;
- Prospering Suburbs in the West;
- Typical Traits in the North East.

Low coefficients indicating geographic distance as a weaker predictor of dissatisfaction were found for:

- Blue Collar Communities in urban areas;
- Constrained by Circumstances in or close to urban areas;
- Countryside in the extreme North West and around the urban fringe;
- Most of the Prospering Suburbs, except in the West;
- Most of the Typical Traits except in the North East.

These results indicate that geographic distance is good predictor of dissatisfaction for some services but not for others and the variation in the effect of distance within and between socio-economic groups. Whilst some of these results may be self-evident, they may also reflect the trade-offs made at an individual level between the benefits of living in a rural area and the lack of service provision that and service provision can never be uniform at the point of consumption.

The GWR analysis of dissatisfaction over library access found very little spatial variation in the relationship with geographical access and perceptions of accessibility, overall and within and between different OAC groups. In contrast, considerable spatial variation was found for access attitudes and distances in relation to Post Offices. The reasons for may relate to a number of factors. One may be that fewer respondents expressed dissatisfaction over library access (391/8530 respondents) compared to Post Office access (659/8530) suggesting that libraries and access to them may be a less emotive concept than access to Post Offices. People rely on Post Offices for a range of essential services in a way that they do not rely on libraries: they have to use Post Offices whereas they can be seen to choose to use Libraries. Additionally, Post Offices have been the subject of poorly considered recent national and local closure plans (see Comber et al, 2009; Langford and Higgs, 2010). The results potentially reflect the different dimensions and processes associated with access to any service for consideration in spatial policy and planning. These relate

to the different ways that individuals access different types of service: the perception of access to any given service will be related to geographic and other factors such as cost, previous experience, reputation (first and second hand), perceived quality of service, convenience etc., which will vary depending on the service in question and will be reflected in individual perceptions of access. There may be greater opportunities and choices over some services than others which are reflected in the results of this work: distance was significant factor in respondent perceptions over their access to Post Offices and not to libraries. Variation in the impact of distance over perceptions of access highlights an important point: the concepts of facility 'access' and 'accessibility' involve much more than just geographic or spatial access (Maroko et al., 2009). Much spatial planning assumes that geographic distance is important per se regardless of the nature of the facility, whereas this research has shown that this may not be the case.

13 Some potential limitations to this study should be noted. First, there is a danger of the results being 14 influenced by the 'ecological fallacy' given the low number of respondents (mean number of 15 respondents per OA ~4.3), despite the good spatial coverage of respondents. The implications of 16 this concerns the extent to which the respondents in each OA adequately characterise that particular 17 census area, and whether their individual social characteristics relate to the OAC characteristics 18 19 ascribed to them. To quantify any possible impacts a secondary analysis was run for the 396 Lower 20 Super Output Areas in Leicestershire to compare with the OA analysis. LSOAs are composed of 21 around 5 Output Areas (mean number of respondents per LSOA, 21.5). Figure 3 shows that the 22 spatial pattern and distribution of distance as a predictor of dissatisfaction for all respondents are 23 24 similar whether they are analysed by OA or LSOA. Table 5 summarises the distribution of the 25 coefficients associated with distance as predictor of respondent dissatisfaction. The sensitivity of 26 the results is shown in Figure 3 and Table 5 which indicate that the coefficients and their variation 27 are similar regardless of the census unit used to summarise the data, although the actual distances 28 29 will be different, due to the differing spatialities. This perhaps suggests that the scale of this 30 relationship is robust at regardless of whether it is analysed at OA or LSOA level and that the GWR 31 analysis allows inferences to be made about how levels of dissatisfaction vary with distance for 32 different social groups depending on the geo-demographic classification of the area they come 33 from. Second, the OAC was selected as the geodemographic classification for analysis in this study 34 because it is freely available and it is commonly used. Whilst census variables could have been 35 36 selected to describe library and post office users, the use of a predefined geodemographic 37 classification avoids the selection of specific variables related to those services which would require 38 a further level of analysis and would detract from the purpose of this paper: to illustrate the 39 importance of analysing different accessibility dimensions using local statistical methods which 40 41 identify any variation in the correlations between access distances amongst and between different 42 socio-economic groups for the geodemographic is a proxy. Third, this study developed GWR 43 models of the interaction between dependant and independent variables. GWR makes a number of 44 assumptions. Brunsdon et al. (1998) note that GWR assumes error terms in the model are 45 independent and identically distributed random variables, whereas they are likely to be spatial 46 47 correlated and Griffith (2008) and Wheeler (2007) develop critical discussions of GWR. However, 48 the aim of this paper was not to develop or extend statistical models but to explore the use of local 49 models to examine the spatial interaction of data originating from different sources and describing 50 different qualities associated with accessibility. Fourth, in this work the relationships between the 51 52 spatial and some of the experiential dimensions associated with access were explored. It was 53 assumed that any geographical characteristics were explained by consideration of distance to the 54 nearest facility which may not be the case. A range of other factors are also likely to be important. 55 Future work will consider the social and behavioural aspects associated with access as well as social 56 capital including consideration of some of the wider dimensions relating to accessibility that are 57 58 beyond geographical or spatial factors, such as financial, informational and behavioural influences. 59 This will require a considerable amount of additional data - access behaviours, public transport and 60 car ownership data to construct drive times etc. However, despite these limitations, this work does 61

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identify contrasts in the relationships between facilities and how access interacts with geographic distance. The analysis could be further extended in this way through the analysis of geodemographic data on, for example, actual retail spend or the use of public facilities which would allow variation in relationships amongst physical access to services, stated perceptions of access to those services and actual behaviour to be compared and analysed for specific social groups. For example, the inclusion of some measure of the relative reliance on public transport services (Storey and Brannen, 2000) would allow issues that have been identified as important for rural women, people with disabilities and for low income groups to be analysed (Little et al 1991; Halliday 1997; Boardman 1998; Farrington et al 1998; Halliday and Little, 2001; Pavis et al 2000, Bowden and Moseley 2006). Additionally, the relationships between people's expressed wants and normatively assessed needs may be variable and in some situations may be due to lower accessibility expectations (Farrington and Farrington, 2005).

(Insert Figure 3 about here)

The aim of this work was to quantify and explore some of the different associated with facility access. It compared distance to nearest facility with perceptions of access. This is not to assume that satisfaction over access refers to the nearest facility. Rather it is to test that assumption a) in different places using GWR, b) for different social groups c) for different facilities. The results suggest that in this study area that access dissatisfaction varies across these considerations. The use of GWR to analyse attitude survey data of access dissatisfaction in conjunction with physical measures of access, allowed the relationship between different dimensions of access and accessibility to be examined. One might expect that as distance from services increased so might dissatisfaction over access to that service. Whilst the concept of 'accessibility' is more complex than stated attitudes in postal survey and GIS-based distance measures, this type of analysis can be used to identify the locations where pockets of variation in the attitudes / distance relationship exist for different social groups. For example, areas where dissatisfaction is high and access is high, where dissatisfaction is low and access is low and locations where either dissatisfaction or physical access is low and the other is high. Thus, by considering how such relationships vary in space and across different social groups, this method identifies subgroups that are potentially vulnerable to reductions in service provision. For example, communities where dissatisfaction over service access is high relative to distance may be those with potentially low levels of social capital - although the verification of this suggestion would require further research.

The current localism / Big Society in the UK initiative reflects a wider phenomenon of reduced spending on public sector services, which has been accompanied by a subtle shift in emphasis in the objective of such work: from seeking to improve coverage, to seeking to determine where services (and thus expenditure) could be reduced. The ability of communities to plug the service gaps resulting from reductions in public service provision is a crucial tenet of the Big Society agenda. Identifying vulnerable communities - those who may not have the social capital to bid for and run facilities at risk of closure or to take over local state-run services as envisioned in the structural reforms being proposed (DCLG, 2010) – is important if those groups are not be socially excluded by the changes in service delivery. The use of GWR in this work demonstrates that it is possible to generate a richer analysis of accessibility by considering both the qualitative and quantitative dimensions of access.

6. Conclusions

This study suggests the following statements for this study area:

1) Distance is a significant factor in predicting the dissatisfaction over access to both Post Offices (median of 4.4 percentage points per km) and libraries (1.3 percentage points per km).

2) There is little local variation in the effect of geographic distance as a predictor of library access dissatisfaction.

3) There is considerable spatial variation in the effect of geographic distance over access to Post Offices (up to 23.9 percentage points per km).

4) There is considerable spatial variation within and between different socio-economic (OAC)

groups in the effect of geographic distance on Post Office access dissatisfaction indicating that in certain areas the notion of accessibility is related to other factors.

5) There is little variation within and between different socio-economic groups in the effects of geographic distance as a predictor of access dissatisfaction.

Thus, the effects geographic distance as a predictor of access dissatisfaction is stronger for some facilities than others. These effects will spatially vary for some facilities and not for others,

¹³ indicating that other dimensions of access need to be considered in some cases. Finally, for some ¹⁴ facilities the influence of accessing on percentions of access will surry acress area; finally

facilities the influence of geographic distance on perceptions of access will vary across specific socio-economic groups much more than for others. These findings indicate that studies of access and accessibility should include the multiple dimensions associated with service access such as

18 access behaviours, perceptions, access geographies, etc. In this research considering just 2 of these 19 was found to provide a more rounded analysis of service access. The results also indicate the need

20 for accessibility analyses to include local statistical methods such as GWR to identify the spatial 21 variations in the effect of predictor variables and thereby to provide spatial planning and policy with 22 the ability to spatially target resources and activities. The use of spatially explicitly regression 23 24 models allows variations in the effect of distance within and between socio-economic to be 25 identified and spatially located. Identifying areas with varying levels of dissatisfaction in relation to 26 geographic access identifies where more information about local levels of social capital is needed in 27 order to understand how problems of reduced service provision might be addressed and in turn, to 28

determine areas that may be vulnerable to the impacts of the increased localism agendas such as the
 Big Society and that may also lack the social capital to organise and run previously state-run
 facilities and services.

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Figure 1. Rural (light) and urban (dark) OAs in the study area, Leicestershire (UK) with Post office (O) and Library (+) locations indicated.

1. Blue Collar Communities under 1.5
1.5 to 2.9
2.9 to 4.0
4.0 to 5.8
over 5.8 under 1.5
1.5 to 2.9
2.9 to 4.0
4.0 to 5.8
over 5.8 Prop~Dist Prop~Dist Ð Prop~Dist under 1.5 1.5 to 2.9 2.9 to 4.0 4.0 to 5.8 over 5.8 Prop~Dist under 1.5 1.5 to 2.9 2.9 to 4.0 4.0 to 5.8 over 5.8 Countryside 4 ¥ 4. Prospering Suburbs Prop~Dist under 1.5 2.9 to 2.9 4.0 to 5.8 over 5.8 Prop-Dist under 1.5 1.5 to 2.9 2.9 to 4.0 4.0 to 5.8 over 5.8

5. Constrained by Circumstances

6. Typical Traits

All OAC groups

colour figure2

Figure 2. Geographical variations in the coefficients of Output Area Dissatisfaction with Post Office access (%) against Distance to Post Offices (km) for Output Area Classification groups with the centroids of the Output Areas indicated.

colour figure3



	Min	1 st Quartile	Median	3 rd Quartile	Max	Global
X Intercept	1.283	1.420	1.454	1.492	1.554	1.5068
Library Distance	1.260	1.278	1.296	1.320	1.455	1.2694

Table 1. Table 2. Summary of the GWR model of the effects of distance to the nearest library as a predictor the proportion of respondents dissatisfied with their access.

	Min	1 st Quartile	Median	3 rd Quartile	Max	Global
X Intercept	-8.574	2.247	3.028	4.087	23.610	2.9635
Post Office	-8.952	3.455	4.391	5.106	23.940	4.1682
Distance						

Table 2. Summary of the GWR model of the effects of distance to the nearest Post Offices as a predictor the proportion of respondents dissatisfied with their access.

	Coun		1stQu	Media	3rdQu	Max	Globa
OAC Group	t	Min.	•	n	•	•	I
	233	1.31				1.39	
Blue Collar Communities		6	1.324	1.343	1.376	1	1.353
	357	1.98				2.22	
Countryside		2	1.999	2.042	2.149	6	2.112
	836	1.33				1.44	
Prospering Suburbs		4	1.383	1.394	1.413	1	1.432
Constrained by	108	2.38				2.62	
Circumstances		7	2.436	2.487	2.554	3	2.544
	382	1.08				1.15	
Typical Traits		8	1.129	1.141	1.15	9	1.162
	1916	1.21				1.27	
All OAC groups		7	1.229	1.238	1.247	2	1.223

Table 3. Summary coefficients describing the relationship between the proportion of people who are dissatisfied with access to Libraries and Distance to Libraries, by OAC group

	Coun	Min	1stQu	Media	3rdQu		Globa
OAC Group	t		•	n	•	Max.	1
	233	-				16.5	
Blue Collar Communities		9.26	3.416	3.799	4.577	1	3.380
	357	-				27.8	
Countryside		18.1	1.533	2.866	3.796	1	2.652
	836	-				12.0	
Prospering Suburbs		9.90	0.897	1.399	1.841	2	1.875
Constrained by	108	-				19.5	
Circumstances		6.83	5.654	6.537	8.217	1	6.539
	382	-				13.6	
Typical Traits		3.98	1.786	2.461	3.286	3	2.193
	1916	-				20.7	
All OAC groups		4.53	3.832	4.605	5.195	2	4.413

Table 4. Summary coefficients describing the relationship between the proportion of people who are dissatisfied with access to Post Offices and Distance to Post Offices, by OAC group

Census Unit	1stQu.	Median	3rdQu.	Global
OA	3.455	4.391	5.106	4.1682
LSOA	3.298	3.902	4.607	4.0285

Table 5. A comparison of the GWR coefficients describing the relationship between the proportion of people who are dissatisfied with access to Post Offices with Distance to Post Offices for OAs and LSOAs.